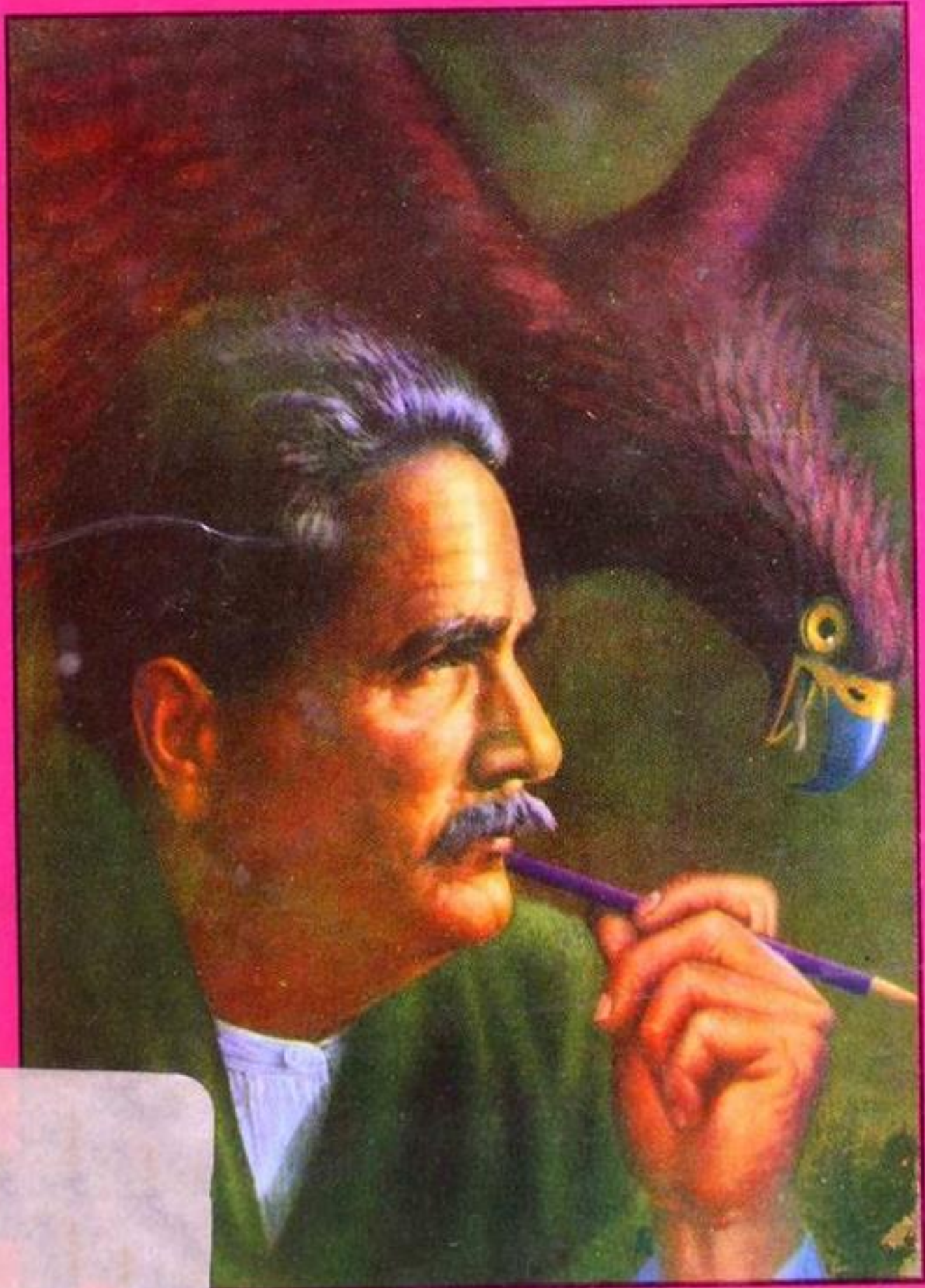


The Unknown Iqbal



Dr. Mohammad Aslam Jawed

When I depart from the world
Each one will say , "He was known to me;"
But in truth none knows this traveller
Or what he said, and to whom, nor whence he came.

---- Iqbal

THE UNKNOWN IQBAL

Dr. Mohd. Aslam Jawed

1996

KITAB PUBLISHING HOUSE

D-52, Flatted Factories Complex, Jhandewalan,
New Delhi-110055 (INDIA)

Phone & Fax : 091-011-520124

© : All rights reserved

First Edition : 1996

Price : Rs.225/-
(Two hundred twenty five Only)

Published by : **KITAB PUBLISHING HOUSE**
D-52, Flatted Factories Complex,
Jhandewalan, New Delhi-110055
(INDIA)
Phone : 091-011-520124

Printed by : **CAMRAN PRESS SERVICE**
1116, Main Bazar, Pahar Ganj,
New Delhi-110055, Ph.: 526053

Composed by : **DELHI OFFSET PRESS**
4717, Hauz Qazi, Delhi-110006
Ph.: 7514663

To My Mother

Zareena Khatoon

CONTENTS

Preface	i-iii
Chapter-I	
ECONOMIC-SOCIAL AND POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF THE INDIAN MUSLIMS	1
Chapter-II	
IQBAL : THE MAN	31
Chapter-III	
POLITICS OF IQBAL	65
Chapter-IV	
IQBAL AND THE IDEA OF PAKISTAN	108
Chapter-V	
POLITICAL IDEAS OF IQBAL	145
Chapter-VI	
CONCLUSION	194
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY	202
INDEX	214

PREFACE

Mohammad Iqbal occupies a prominent place among the eminent thinkers of the modern India. He propounded and preached the philosophy of activism, assertion and re-affirmation of the spiritual values of the East at a time when Western imperialism was at its zenith, and almost all the countries of Asia were under various colonial regimes. Through his poetry and prose he revolted against all those philosophies which encouraged comatose apathy for every thing that is mundane and a life of inactivity. He emphasized that the goal of humanity was not submission but self-development and self-assertion . He aimed to present a cultural ideal and an atmosphere which should raise man above the territorial or racial considerations, and give life a purpose and a goal. His ardent desire for equality, peace, progress and happiness of mankind led him to condemn feudalism, capitalism and imperialism. He was a rare combination of poet, philosopher, politician, teacher, barrister, reformer, visionary, mystic and journalist. He studied the Western political thought from Plato down to Karl Marx and had also acquired a deep knowledge of the Eastern thought particularly Islamic and Hindu political thought. It is not an easy task to understand such a multi-dimensional and versatile thinker.

Though much has been written on the various facets of Iqbal yet a systematic study of his political ideas and activities has not so far been attempted. Even in the books written on Indian Freedom Movement there is scant reference to Iqbal, though he was a leading politician of Punjab and was a well

known figure all over the country. He was intensely patriotic and his patriotic poems became immensely popular. His poem "*Sare Jahan Se Achchha Hindustan Hamara*" (Our Hindustan is the best in the world) found a sacred place in every patriotic heart. He was Indian in his sentiments and outlook though his mode of expression was to a very large extent influenced by his Arabic and Persian learning. The tragedy of Iqbal is that he was misunderstood and misinterpreted by the communalists. Hindu communalists ignored his patriotism, universalism and his reverence for Rama, Krishna, Gita and Gayatri and the Muslim communalists put emphasis only on those writings which could arouse the Islamic fervour and keep the Muslim masses away from the nationalist and secular forces.

The present study is an attempt at analysing political ideas and activities of Iqbal in an objective and impartial way. It is based on my Ph. D. Dissertation "*Political Thought of Iqbal*". The study has been divided into six chapters. The first chapter deals with the socio-economic conditions of India before and after the advent of the British rule in our country. The colonial policies ruined the Indians particularly the Muslims who were the ex-rulers and were regarded mainly responsible for the revolt of 1857, with the result that they remained backward in all walks of life vis-a-vis the other communities and this factor greatly affected and shaped the thinking of the Muslim leaders including Iqbal.

The second chapter deals with Iqbal's life and influences. In the third chapter, I have discussed Iqbal's political activities both inside and outside the Punjab Legislative Council. He was not a trained politician but throughout his life, directly or indirectly he associated himself with the Indian politics and political developments. In the fourth chapter attempt has been made to find out whether or not Iqbal was the propounder of the idea of Pakistan.

The fifth chapter deals with Iqbal's views on the concepts of democracy, nationalism, communism and ego (self) in the context of national and international developments of his times. His political ideas and activities have been critically examined and evaluated in the concluding chapter. The arrangement of chapters of this thesis is chronological, as it helps in understanding the shifts and changes in Iqbal's ideas and activities.

I have made an effort to explore and analyse Iqbal's ideas in an unbiased way. I have concentrated on Iqbal's original works which are written in English, Urdu and Persian languages. The task was difficult, but my knowledge of these languages helped me a great deal in this work. I also visited Pakistan and consulted libraries particularly Iqbal Academy Pakistan, Lahore and collected relevant material on the subject. I have tapped both the primary and secondary sources and have studied Iqbal's original works, speeches, statements and letters. I have also consulted Home-Political Files 1905-1938 (Fortnightly as well as subject-wise) of Punjab which throw considerable light on the political situation and activities in the Punjab province. Punjab Census Reports of 1911, 1921, 1931, Legislative Council Reports during 1926-30 and Banned Urdu literature have also been consulted. I also found much material in the newspapers like *the Muslim Outlook, Hamdard, The Tribune, The Hindustan Times, The Times of India, Pioneer, Leader, Statesman* and *the Civil and Military Gazette*. A number of secondary sources such as books on Iqbal and on the history of national liberation movement were also used for this study.

In the end, it is my pleasant duty to acknowledge my debt of gratitude to persons without whose help and co-operation, this research would not have been possible. My foremost obligations is to my respected teacher and thesis supervisor professor Z.M. Quraishi, professor in the Department of Political Science, University of Delhi, for his inspiration and advice during the course of my work. My thanks are also due to the authorities and staff of the National Archives Library, the Jamia Millia Islamia Library, the Central Reference Library, University of Delhi and Iqbal Academy, Lahore, Pakistan, Bazm-i-Iqbal and Institute of Islamic Culture Lahore Pakistan, for providing me facilities for research work.

I am also obliged to my friend and colleague Dr. N.A. Khan Shahid, Reader in English, Satyawati College (University of Delhi) for reading the manuscript and giving me valuable suggestions.

I owe a particular debt of gratitude to my wife Dr. Ajeet Jawed and my sons Amit and Aseem whose sincere co-operation made this research possible.

6th July, 96

MOHD. ASLAM JAWED

ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF THE INDIAN MUSLIMS

Of all the countries on the Asiatic continent, India from the earliest stages has generated the greatest interest and enjoyed the highest fame.¹ To generations of Europeans, India was an El Dorado, a land overflowing with milk and honey, a jewel of the East. It always appeared to their imagination as "adorned with whatever was most splendid and gorgeous; glittering, as it were with gold and gems, and redolent of fragrant and delicious odours."² For centuries, they dreamt and laboured in order to find the easiest and the quickest route to this country to exploit its fabled treasures.

In 1498 Vasco de Gama discovered the sea route to India and a naval European power, the Portuguese, came to India for the first time. The Zamorin of Calicut gave Vasco de Gama shelter and permission for trade, thus marking the beginning of a new epoch in the long and chequered history of India. At that time, this event passed almost unnoticed in the country, and indeed for many decades, the Europeans were no more than unusually adventurous traders. The whole glory of no more than unusually adventurous traders. The glory of Mughal Empire in India lay in future, and no one could have dreamt that Vasco de Gama's landing was the precursor of European domination over the entire Asian continent based firmly upon their maritime

supremacy. This, in fact, transpired, and when just over two centuries later the last of the great Mughal emperors Aurangzeb died and the mighty structure of the empire began to crumble, it were the Europeans who stepped into the void. The Portuguese had by then been joined by the Dutch, the Spaniards, the French and the British and slowly but surely increased their influence in this "great and wealthy India."³ They eagerly sought to expand their trade in India and ruthlessly vied with one another for the lion's share of the economic and political power in the country.

The Medieval Legacy

It, therefore, becomes imperative to analyse in brief the tangled and tortuous the history of disintegration of the national unity of India and the rise of British power in the country. One by one, the British succeeded in ousting the Portuguese, the Dutch and the French from the Indian scene. They used the native rulers by inciting them against each other with perfidious dexterity and succeeded in dominating India which had an area of nearly 2,000,000 square miles, equal to that of the whole Europe, minus Russia or of 25 Englands.⁴ The acquisition of this huge area made Britain a first-rate power of the world and brought poverty to the millions of people of this country.

The British conquest shattered the existing socio-economic and political system of India but the conquerors remained a foreign force, operating from abroad. India had been conquered before but by invaders who settled within her frontiers and made themselves part of her life. They had conquered India as the Normans conquered England or the Manchus conquered China.) "She had never lost her independence, had never been enslaved. That is to say, she had never been drawn into a political and economic system whose centre of gravity lay outside her soil, had never been subjected to a ruling class which was and which remained permanently alien in origin and character."⁵ Therefore, the whole panorama of Indian history before the advent of the Britishers can be viewed as an endless series of invasions followed by periods during which the invaders were assimilated into the vast cultural complex which they encountered. The process of assimilation was not always calm and peaceful. Nevertheless, they ended by becoming an integral part of the Indian scene and gradually lost their roots. This happened even in the case of Islamic invasions that for centuries had kept India in a state of constant turmoil. The Mughals who represent the acme of Islamic power in India became Indianised.⁶ The process of synthesis, India has been famous for, also worked wonders in the case of other Muslim

invaders, who with the passage of time absolutely lost their foreign identity and became one with the people of India.

Except, perhaps for the first flush of invasion, when the "infidels" and the "believers" measured swords and shrank from no extremity of pious barbarity, Hindus and Muslims settled down peacefully to live together, and the iconoclastic Muslim soon learned to admire and assimilate Hinduism and Hindu customs to such a degree that Timur made it a religious justification for attacking the territory of the Muslim kingdom of Delhi. After a generation or two the Muslim ruling class ceased, indeed, to be foreign in any real sense.⁷

They were born in India, lived there all their lives and knew no other homeland. "The Muslim in India, unlike the Britisher of a later day, was not a bird of passage, intent only on getting the maximum out of the country in the minimum possible time."⁸ An Akbar or Sher Shah has, therefore, been hero to Hindus and Muslims alike.

The real history of the middle ages when Qutubuddin Aibak established the Sultanate in 1206 down to the end of the 18th century when the last Mughal fought a losing battle with the British for the Delhi throne, is a natural process of and conscious attempt at a new synthesis of ideas, a rapprochement and an intermingling of life between Hindus and Muslims.⁹ Centuries of mutual inter-course and understanding developed between them, in the course of time, made it difficult to distinguish them from each other.

Although caste and creed forbade inter-dining and intermarriages, yet there were different classes to which both Hindus and Muslims belonged e.g. peasants, landlords, traders, artisans and labourers, soldiers and government servants etc. and within a class Hindus and Muslims were often indistinguishable from each other in dress, housing, etiquettes and manners, whether in villages or in towns.¹⁰ The position of women, the age of marriage, the manner of cooking, seclusion of women, the joint family and even some wedding rituals were uniform to these classes of Hindus and Muslims. "There was a broad identity of economic interests which held a class together and cut across the religious cleavage."¹¹

The sufferings of common people, be it Hindus or Muslims, drew them together, and gave rise to a new mystical sect which minimised the doctrinal differences between Hinduism and Islam and sought to unite all men on a simple, more emotional and spiritual platform. The new Muslim sects like the Roshniyas, Ilahiyas and Satyapir cults were inspired by Hinduism. Pir Sadruddin was a missionary of the

Islamic sect, an honoured sect of Khoja Muslims of India. To meet the Hindu prejudices, he adopted Hindu names and customs, and published a book called *Dasavatar* in which Ali was made out to be the tenth Avatar of Vishnu. "He made Brahma to be Mohammad, Vishnu to be Ali and Adam Shiva."¹² The Roshniya sect was founded by Mian Roshan Bayezed. He taught that God was all pervading and, that pirs were incarnations of God and perfection could be attained only through the pir, a variation on the Hindu doctrine of salvation through the Guru. The cult of Satya-pir was founded by Husain Shah of Bengal (1452-1478). He strove hard to reconcile the two religions. He was a great patron of Bengali language and ordered the translation of MAHABHARATA and GITA into Bengali. Satya pir's ideas paved the way for the advent of Chaitanya movement, where the Muslims joined the Hindu crowd singing praises of Krishna.¹³ Ramanand, the great saint, had a Muslim weaver Kabir as a disciple who was the personification of the process of Hindu and Muslim intermingling. To him, one God is called variously as Rama, Keshav, Khuda or Allah. Thus in the life of Kabir the two streams of religious thought united to fertilise the plains of Hindustan. Mecca became Kashi and Rama became Rahim. The spiritual successor to Kabir was Guru Nanak who represented the high watermark of this synthesis. His inseparable companion was Mardana, a Muslim musician.¹⁴ Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti of Ajmer contributed towards this synthesis in a unique way. He founded a sect of Husaini Brahmins who observed fast during the Hindu Shivaratri and Muslim Ramzan and gave feasts for the Muslim Id and the Hindu Ramnaomi. The men used to wear the Muslim dresses and the women put on the Hindu vermilion dot on the forehead.¹⁵

Thus, from the very dawn of the Muslim rule in India, a spirit of deep mutual understanding and sympathetic recognition of the opposite view-points was ushered in. Amir Khusrau (1253-1347) the first and foremost of the Indo-Persian poet had studied Hindu philosophy and was greatly impressed and influenced by it. He was the first poet to use Hindi words, employed Hindu themes and revelled in Hindu imagery. His love for this land was expressed by Amir Khusrau in bonds such as the following "I am an Indian Turk and can reply you only in Hindi. As I am in fact the parrot of India, question me in Hindi that I may talk sweetly. I have no Egyptian sugar to talk of Arabia or Arabic."¹⁶ Firoz Shah Tughlaq (1353-88), a pious Muslim, ordered the translation of 1390 volumes of sanskrit literature captured at Kongis. Among them a Persian translation of a book on Hindu philosophy called *Amrit Kunda* is preserved in the archives of the India Office.¹⁷

The spirit of co-operation, tolerance and respect for each other also existed on the political plane. The Muslims made India their home and adopted many symbols, customs and traditions of the country in conducting the political, social and economic affairs. Thus, "The early Sultans of Delhi", writes V. Raghavendra Rao, "did not hesitate to adopt Hindu symbols on their coins. They stamped on their coins such Hindu symbols as lotus, trident, swastika, the letter sree, and the portrait of goddess Lakshmi."¹⁸ Zain-ul-Abidin, Sultan of Kashmir (1417-67) abolished *Jaziya* (a religious tax on Hindus), encouraged Hindu literature, painting and music and caused many translations to be made from Sanskrit, Arabic and other languages, irrespective of religion.

Akbar was thus not an accident but a product of his time. In the court of Akbar, there were many Sanskrit scholars. Rahim was the most famous among them. He was adept in Sanskrit. The liberty with which Rahim sang in praise of Brahma, Rama and Krishna clearly explains the then existing toleration and love and admiration of Hindu Gods. In a beautiful sloka, of which an Indian devotee could be proud of, Rahim sings of Vishnu :

Your abode is the jewel-laden ocean;
 You have for wife, the lotus diety.
 What can I give, O lord of universe?
 Well since Radha stole Your mind,
 Mindless you are, I offer you my mind.
 Here take it.
 Ratnaakro asti —²⁰

Rahim's songs of Krishna were sung by him with as much devotion as that of an ardent Vaishnava.

Thou as Krishna appeared, as Rama Lakshman
 Without stain thyself took form,
 Thyself Mahadev, art a shining beam,
 Thyself art Brahma who established Vedas,
 Thyself the three Vedas, Thyself the three worlds
 Thou, the tapas, Thyself the Yogi, who Yoga established.
 Thyself became fish of the sea,
 Thyself took the form of Narasima.²¹

Saint Tulsidas, whose *Ram-Charitmans* is a sacred Hindu scripture, wrote *Barvai Ramayana* as a tribute to Rahim Khan Khanna. It was Rahim's admiration for Tulsidas that led to this reciprocal gesture.

Rahim also praised Maharana Pratap Singh, the avowed enemy of his master, Akbar. He was called as "Pratap's Panegyrist: Akbar's poet-premier." A Hindi poem *Padamavati* considered as one of the finest was written by Malik Mohd Jayasi.²² A great poet of Sanskrit of Akbar's court was Gobina Bhatta, honoured by the title Akbariya Kalidasa. Akbar had also set up a translation bureau under Abul Faizi to get translated Sanskrit works into Persian. Some of them were *Ramayana*, *Lilavati*, *Atharave Veda*, *Nala Damayanti Bhagvad Gita*, *Yoga Vasishta*, *Singhasan Battisi* and *Panchtantra*. *Mahabharata* was also translated into Persian and was profusely illustrated and caligraphed at a cost of 40,000 Pounds In 1605 A.D. Akbar issued a silver coin, known as Siya Ram coin.²³ He also used to wear the Hindu-mark on his forehead. It was because of this that he was called as "Hymmayun Kula Tilakmani." He was deeply loved by his subjects so much so that sick infants were brought to him to receive his benediction. He discarded Turkish cap in preference to Rajput turban and the free Muslim beard was shaven and in its place he grew the side whiskers of the Muttra Hindu.²⁴

Akbar also passed an order in 1586, that the cases of Hindus were to be tried by Hindu pandits and not by Kazis.²⁵ as a result of this he got the full co-operation of Hindus in running the affairs of the country. Hindus were given the high administrative posts. Akbar's Finance Minister was Todar Mal and the General of his army was Raja Man Singh, a Rajput Hindu.

The tree of toleration and integration that Akbar planted, blossomed richly within the Royal family. A Sanskrit Pandit Jagannath was patronized by Shah Jahan.²⁶ But it was prince Dara, the great grandson of Akbar who gave his life for the cause of national unity. For long years he studied Sanskrit and lived among sadhus and sanyasis. He was the one who translated the *Upanishads* into Persian. His preface to the translation opens with the orthodox Hindu text 'Om Sree Ganesh Namoh'. He also translated *Yogavasishta*, the *Ramayana* and *Bhagvad Gita* but his greatest work was '*Majmaul-Bahrin*' (the meeting of the two Oceans in which he boldly defied the bigotry of orthodox Muslims and argued that there was no difference between Hindu and Muslim mysticism and the two were the same.²⁷ He considered Vedas as sacred and had engraved the word '*prabhu*' on all his personal belongings.²⁸ Princess Jahanara studied Hindu epics and Vedas with great avidity. King Aurangzeb also was fond of Hindi poets. Poets like Vrinda, Matram, Kalidasa, Trivedi and Bhusan were prominent poets in his court.²⁹

Shaysta Khan, Aurangzeb's uncle was also an accomplished

Sanskrit scholar. Aurangzeb also had in his employment a large number of Hindu officers, some of whom like Maharaja Jaswant Singh and Raja Jai Singh, besides holding the high rank among Mansabdars, were appointed Governors of provinces. His Finance Minister, Raghu Nath, also was a Hindu.³⁰

Religious toleration was thus the rule rather than the exception in India. Muslim monarchs gave generous endowments to temples and granted jagirs to Hindus. Likewise, Hindu rulers made endowments to the Muslim places of worship. It is not surprising that the Muslim Sultans visited the temples and the Hindus reciprocated this gesture by showing reverence to the tombs of Muslim saints.³¹

In Delhi itself, when the Mughal empire was on the decline, the two communities lived peacefully. The Mughal emperors trusted the Hindus and were trusted by them in return. The Mughal court celebrated *Dashera* and *Diwali* with as much splendour and gusto as the Muslim festivals like *Id*. The *Rakshabandhan* ceremony also found recognition in the Mughal palaces. Shah Aalam made *Ram Kaur*, a *Brahmin* lady, his sister in return for the services she rendered to his murdered father.³² The proximity and friendship that developed between the two communities as the result of the association of centuries, engendered a sense of oneness and equality that urged them to participate in the festivals of each other. A glorious example of it is *Pankha Festival* held at Mehrauli which till today is a manifestation of the Hindu Muslim amity and a symbol of secularism.³³ Sir Hassan Suhrawardy states:

The practice of many Hindu social customs is an Indian innovation not known in other Islamic countries. Pilgrimages to the shrines of the saints, giving offerings and making vows, burning *chirag* (the oil-lamp) over the tomb of a saint, the partaking of sweets and food given as offering on tombs and shrines of saints as sacred are not indigenous to Islam, but are the result of the influence of Hindu environment, which has also resulted in veneration for the Muslim saints, gradually merging into such phases as are hardly distinguishable from the saint worship of Hinduism.³⁴

Most of the Muslim kings were sincerely interested in the social as well as moral well-being of their subjects, irrespective of the sect to which they belonged or the creed they professed. The horrible and

inhuman practices of sati, infanticide and child marriages were systematically discouraged and forbidden and widow marriage was legalized.³⁵

This social and cultural intermingling gave birth to a new language-i.e. Urdu, the lingua franca of India, which incorporated in itself Hindi, Sanskrit and regional dialects spoken in different parts of the country. Urdu was adopted by Hindus and Muslims alike as a medium of expression and both contributed to its development. Pandit Daya Shankar Kaul, 'Naseem' wrote the celebrated *Masnavi Gulzar-i-Naseem*. Pandit Brij Narain 'Chakbast', Munshi Durga Sahai 'Sarur', Pandit Rattan Nath 'Sarshar', Munshi Jawala Prasad 'Barq', Prem Chand, Lala Sri Ram and Maharaja Sir Kishan Prasad 'Shad' greatly contributed in the enrichment of Urdu.³⁶ In the 19th century when Bahadur Shah Zafar distinguished himself in Urdu poetry and recited his own compositions to his courtiers Urdu replaced Persian. Thus Urdu literature flourished rapidly. Ghalib, the great Urdu poet and Zauq, the king's favourite (rival contemporaries) contributed immensely to the growth of poetry and Urdu became virtually the national language of the whole country.³⁷

Thus the interaction between the two communities gave birth to a composite culture called Indian culture. "To the Hindus," writes Ishwari Prasad in *A History of Muslim Rule in India*, "there was nothing derogatory to their self-respect if the emperor was Muslim: They had become reconciled to him as he had ceased to be a foreigner and had become one of themselves."³⁸ Even in the mid 19th century, there was unanimous and spontaneous agreement between the Hindus and Muslims that Bahadur Shah Zafar alone had the right to become the Emperor of India.³⁹

Of course, there were wars between the Hindu and Muslim rulers but they were caused on the same pattern as those in Europe without alignment on any religious lines. They were actuated by temporal and mundane motives and in fact there were more wars between Muslim kings than between Hindu and Muslim rulers. In wars, the Hindus served freely in the armies of Muslim rulers and the Muslims did likewise in the service of the Hindu Kings. Akbar had a Hindu general when he fought his battle for the crown with the Afghan Sher Shah. Not only Akbar but Aurangzeb too, had Hindu commanders. Aurangzeb's imperial interest combined with religious fervour led him to fight many a battle. To safeguard his empire, he fought with the Afghans, Rajputs and Muslim rulers of Bijapur and Golkunda with the same valour and ardour. Shivaji fought for the Muslim Queen of Bijapur

against the Mughals and was addressed by Aurangzeb as "*Muti-ul-Islam*", i.e., one favourable to Islam. Thus even the Maratha movement was not in its inception antidynastic or anti Muslim.⁴⁰

The prevailing peace in the country together with the personal interests of the sovereigns gave a powerful impetus to the growth of art, literature and architecture. The city of Delhi with its red sand stone walls, Red Fort, Chandni Chowk, Jama Masjid, Fateh Pur Sikri and the unrivalled Taj Mahal were made during the Mughal period. Taj and other monumental buildings of Mughal period owe their grandeur and splendour to the combined dexterity of Muslim and Hindu sculptors, artists and masons, who put their heart into their construction, which till today remain unrivalled in so far as their exquisiteness is concerned.⁴¹

The Hindus and Muslims had historically lived at peace with one another. Dr. Rajendra Prasad in his book *India Divided* writes:

It rests upon an unwarranted assumption, but upon well ascertained facts that Hinduism and Muhammadanism have acted and reacted upon each other, influencing social institutions, colouring religious thoughts with their typical and religious hues, there being conspicuous illustrations of the union of the two streams of Hinduism and Islam which since Muslim conquest, have followed side by side in India.⁴²

Lack of hostility, at the social level led to the economic development of the country. That India was then basking in the glory of the Mughal splendour was noticed by every foreign visitor. Ralph Fitch, the first envoy of the English merchant bourgeoisie, who arrived in India during the last days of Akbar's reign, was greatly impressed by the big towns and lavish wealth of the Mughal Empire, compared to which his own country appeared to him as poor and under-developed.⁴³ Sir Thomas Roe, the first merchant Ambassador of England to the Moghul Court during the reign of Jahangir (Successor of Akbar) records in his diary, how ashamed he was of his clothes. He wrote, "The Moghuls were dressed in the most dazzling manner. Five years allowance (his salary was fixed at @ 600 a year at Jahangir's court) would not have furnished me with one indifferent suit sortable to theirs."⁴⁴ About the then economic situation of India V. Anstey wrote, "Indian methods of production and of industrial and commercial

organisation could stand comparison with those in vogue in any part of the world."⁴⁵ India was a highly developed manufacturing country exporting her manufactured products to Cambodia, Egypt, Italy, Mexico, China, Japan, Ceylon, Iran, Arabia and other countries. Her calicoes, silk, muslin and numerous varieties of these were so amazingly fine that "a piece twenty yards long and one yard wide could be made to pass through a finger ring."⁴⁶ In the 17th century, several European companies were competing for the Indian products. A well-known French traveller Tavernier noted in his book *Travels in India* that Kasim Bazar, a village in the kingdom of Bengal furnished about 22,000 bales of silk annually, each bale weighing 100 livers. The Dutch generally took either for Japan or for Holland 6,000 to 7,000 bales of it and they would have liked to get more, but the merchants of Tartary and the whole Mughal Empire opposed their doing so.⁴⁷ *patoles*, stuff of silk decorated all over with flowers of different colours were manufactured at Ahmadabad and were exported to Philippines, Barndo, Java, Sumatra and other neighbouring countries.⁴⁸ In England itself there was a

"Passion for coloured East Indian Calicoes, which spread through all classes of community..... At the end of the 17th century, great quantities of cheap, graceful Indian Calicoes, muslin, chintzes were sent to England and they found such favour that the woollen and silk manufacturers were seriously alarmed."⁴⁹

By mid-18th century Murshidabad in Bengal was compared with London "as extensively populous and rich as the city of London" no less than by Lord Clive himself.⁵⁰ All over the country there were greater cities and a large number of big manufacturing and trading centres, and a very rapid and indigenous system of communicating news and market prices had been evolved.⁵¹ The great business houses often received news, of the wars that were going on, long before the despatches reached the officials of the East India Company.⁵² India's banking system was efficient and well organised throughout the country and the *Hundies* or bills of exchange issued by the great business or financial houses were honoured everywhere in India as well as in Iran, Kabul, Herat, Tashkent and other places in Central Asia.⁵³

Indian steel was the material used for the famous Dumasca blades. Huge iron columns at Delhi and Dhar and the beams in Konark

temples prove the ability of Indian crafts-men to forge the metal into larger masses than European foundaries could negotiate before the 19th century. Even in sixteenth century an Italian noted that some of the ships built in Deccan ports were larger than any in Europe, and ship-building continued as a major industry till the first decade of the 19th century.⁵⁴ Such prosperity or economic development could not exist without there being continuous peace over th stretches of time in the country.

But with the establishment of the British rule, this socio-economic, political and cultural system was broken and was followed by the unprecedented exploitation of the Indians. William Bentick himself confessed, "In many respects, the Mohammedans surpassed our (British) rule; they settled in the countries which they conquered; they all intermixed and intermarried with the natives; they admitted them to privileges; the interest and sympathies of the conquerors and conquered became indentical. Our policy on the contrary, has been the reverse of this -- cold, selfish and unfeeling."⁵⁵ British policies brought unending miseries to the Indians, particularly the Muslims, the then rulers of India.

The Effect of British Rule on Muslims Before 1857

The British traders got an unprecedented opportunity when chaos and uncertainty followed the fall of the Mughals and with alacrity they seized it. In this, they were supported by their own government who saw in them the instrument for realizing the economic ambitions which the Industrial Revolution in England had opened up before their eyes. On Indian soil, they had built up their forts and factories in Madras, Bengal and Bombay. A quarrel arose between the company and Siraj-ud-Daula, the Nawab of Bengal, about the fortifications that the company was erecting in Clcutta. The result was a battle, called the battle of Plassey in 1757. The Nawab was betrayed and defeated, the Company now became the zamindar of the 24 parganas nearly 900 square miles of territory and also the ruling power behind the rulers in Bengal. In 1764, the Company's forces defeated the Mugal troops at Buxar and Clive who had already assumed the title of Governor of Bengal, obtained from the Emperor, the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. After this the Company became the greatest king-making power in India.

After the battle of Plassey the economic drain took the character of indiscriminate loot and plunder. The state that Clive founded and ruled for seven years was "nothing more than gangster's state and at no

time in Indian history had any part of it suffered so greatly as the people of Bengal (particularly the Muslims) did in these years.⁵⁶

The British were aware that the establishment of their rule in the sub-continent would not be popular with the Muslims because they could not be easily reconciled to their loss of political power. Hence, they adopted such policies which ultimately, brought ruin to the Muslim community as a whole irrespective of class distinction, from aristocracy to artisans. They were reduced to the position of such abject poverty that it was openly confessed by the British that, "if any statesman wishes to make a sensation in the House of Commons, he has only to narrate the history of one of the Mohammadan families in Bengal."⁵⁷

The Muslim community received the first shock from the Permanent Settlement which seriously damaged the position of the great Muslim houses.⁵⁸ It elevated the Hindu collectors to the position of landlords, gave them proprietary rights in the soil. On the whole, the tendency of the Permanent Settlement was to acknowledge as the landholders, those who directly dealt with the husband men, and they were Hindus. In Bakragange district, for example, Muslims were 64.8 per cent of the total population but owned less than 10 per cent of the estates and paid less than 9 per cent of the total land revenue.⁵⁹ Thus the British policy virtually closed the doors of landlordism to Muslims.

The Muslim aristocracy got another setback when the British took over from them the revenue administration which was their first great source of income in Bengal. By 1769 a British official collector was appointed to each administrative unit in Bengal. Indians, majority of whom were Muslims, were dismissed from all but the most minor offices and by 1772 Mohd. Riaz Khan who held the post of Naib Diwan or deputy collector of revenue was dismissed.⁶⁰

The Courts of Law were another source of income and the Muslims had monopolized it. A Muslim department with its headquarter in the Nizam Palace at Murshidabad, and a network of officials spreading over every district in the province, administered the criminal law. The Kazis sat in the Civil and Domestic Courts.⁶¹ But Lord Cornwallis who wanted Muslims to be merely subordinates, abolished the office of Naib Nizam. Muslim judges were dismissed, the Nizamat adalat was moved to Calcutta and was reconstituted with Europeans.⁶² The introduction of the Penal Code deprived the Muslims of almost all the respectable appointments", writes Griffith, a well known British historian on India.⁶³ By 1856, the Muslims' disadvantage was overwhelming; of 366 persons listed as holding appointments in

the judicial and revenue services in Bengal with salaries of fifty rupees and upwards, only 54 were Muslims.⁶⁴

Besides the revenue and the judicial departments, the doors of the army were also closed for the Muslims. "We shut the Mussalman aristocracy out of the Army, because we believed that their exculsion was necessary to our safety," admits Hunter.⁶⁵ He further states, "no Mohammadan gentleman of birth can enter our regiments, and even if a place could be found for him in our military system, that place would no longer be a source of wealth."⁵⁶ The exclusion of Muslims from the army for political reasons led to large scale unemployment for the Muslim soldiers.⁶⁷ Consequently, as late as the first war of independence, the Brahmins of Oudh alone formed 60 per cent of the sepoy in the employment of the East India Company.⁶⁸ The Nawab of Awadh burdened by a subsidy for a British force, could not find employment for all the Muslim Cavalrymen seeking employment. Bishop Heber, writing in 1824, while passing through Rohilkund, stated,

The Muslim chiefs who are numerous, are very angry at being without employment under government or hope of rising in the state or army, and are continually breaking out into acts of insubordination and violence... The number is rated at perhaps, taking all Rohilkund together, not fewer than 100,000. All these men have everything to gain from a change of government.⁶⁹

The educational policy of the Company also adversely affected the Muslims. It not only closed the doors of employment to the Muslims but also increased the number of illiterates among them. Before the introduction of the British system, education was widely spread among the Muslims. Colonel Sleeman observed in the first half of the 19th century;

Perhaps, there are fewer communities in the world among whom education is so generally defused as among the Mohammadans in India. He who holds an office worth twenty rupees a month commonly gives his son an education equal to that of Prime Minister. They learn through the medium of Arabic and Persian languages, what youngmen in our colleges learn through those of Greek or

Latin-that is grammar, rhetoric and logic. After his seven years of study, the young Mohammadan finds his turban upon his head almost as well filled with the things which appertain to these branches of knowledge as the youngman read from Oxford-he will talk as fluently about Socrates, Aristotle, Plato and Hippocrates, Galen and Avicena..⁷⁰

Every Mussalman of position had a Madrassa or Maktab. These Madrassas turned out well educated people, able to conduct business in the courts as judges and vakils, i.e. to occupy administrative posts, but under the British rule "hundreds of ancient families were ruined and the educational system of Mussalmans-which was almost entirely maintained by rent-free grants, received its death blow."⁷¹ In the beginning, the British were reluctant to introduce English education in India. John Malcolm in 1812 opposed it on the ground that,

The effect of the education (English) will be to do away with all prejudices of sects and religions by which we have hitherto kept the country-the Mussalmans against Hindus, and so on; the effect of education will be to expand their minds and show them their vast power.⁷²

By the end of the 18th century, however, the view of English rulers' changed. They realized how extremely difficult it would be to run the Company's offices and courts without English knowing Indians. This brought further miseries for the Muslims. The little hold which the Muslims had in the judiciary and administration was lost when in 1837 the British decided to conduct their business either in English or in the local vernacular languages. Thousands of Muslims were turned out of jobs in courts and offices.

The Muslims evinced no enthusiasm for the pursuit of English education which according to Hunter was "opposed to the traditions, unsuited to the requirements; and hateful to the religion of Mussalman"⁷³ and consequently "out of 300 boys in the English colleges, not one per cent were Muslims."⁷⁴ In fact, a vigorous protest was staged by 8,000 Calcutta Muslims when English was made the official language of the government. Although an English language class had been established in Calcutta Madrassa as early as 1826, only two students passed the junior scholarship examination during the next 25 years.⁷⁵

Apathy to English education deprived the Muslims from all

important posts. Hunter wrote, "None of the native gentlemen who have won their way into the coveted Civil Service or up to the bench of high Court are Mussalman."⁷⁶ Not only this, the staff of clerks attached to various officers, the responsible posts in the courts and even higher offices in the police, were recruited from Hindus.⁷⁷

Besides closing the doors of all avenues of employment to the Muslims, the government also started discriminating against them. The Calcutta paper *Dur-Bin* stated:

All sorts of employment, great and small are being gradually snatched away from the Mohammadans and are being bestowed on men of other races, particularly the Hindus. Recently, when several vacancies occurred in the office of the Sunderbans Commissioner, that official who is advertising them in the Government Gazette, stated that the appointments would be given to none but Hindus.⁷⁸

All this clearly reveals that the British authorities singled out the Muslims for exclusion from official posts in Bengal. This also makes evident the helpless condition of the Muslims who were qualified but were discriminated against because of political reasons. In Orissa too, the Muslims had been levelled down and down with no hope of rising again.⁷⁹ "A hundred and seventy years ago," wrote Hunter, "It was almost impossible for a well-born Mussalman in Bengal to become poor, at present it is almost impossible for him to continue rich."⁸⁰

Thus the economic and political policies of the Company virtually ruined the Muslims. It excluded Muslims from all the important posts for political reasons and crushed the aristocracy by snatching their sources of income. The introduction of English education and the opposition and apathy of Muslims towards it, left them far behind the other communities. This in coming years gave rise to rivalry between the two communities and ultimately resulted in the division of the subcontinent.

The commercial policy of the company not only ruined the aristocracy, but also the artisans and peasants. It shattered the traditional base of the Indian economy and made it subservient to the industries of great Britain. They reduced India merely to a supplier of raw material for the factories of Britain and a market to sell the manufactured goods of British Industrialists. This policy was pursued with unwavering resolution and with fatal success.

Intoxicated with their power and corrupted by the sight of boundless wealth within their reach, the company servants began to plunder the country. As early as in 1762, the Subedar Mir Kasim of Bengal was complaining.

The English agents plundered his people, injured and disgraced his servants and exposed his government to contempt. They forcibly took away the goods and commodities of the ryots, merchants etc. for a fourth part of their value, and by way of violence and oppression, they obliged the ryots etc. to give five rupees for goods which are worth but one rupee...⁸¹

Not only this, every Gomastha (company's agent) also became judge and his house a *cutchuree* (court). They even passed sentences on the people and drew money from them for pretended injuries.⁸²

The commercial policy of the East India Company combined with brutal political oppression had severe consequences for the Indian craftsmen, most of whom were Muslims. All the finer qualities of textiles like *Dacca Muslin* and *Kashmiri shawls* were woven by Muslim master weavers. The manufacture of *rice-carpets* was also a Muslim monopoly. The rich brocades which had been in fashion both among men and women of means were made by Muslims. The manufacture of the more delicately furnished jewellery, inlay work in silver and gold and creation of many articles of beauty were almost entirely in Muslim hands. Due to anti-Muslim policy of the company along with the disappearance of the Muslim courts which had been the great purchasers of these articles, condition of the Muslim working people deteriorated rapidly and they were reduced to beggary.⁸³ Flourishing industrial places, markets and towns were ruined. "Dacca, which was known as the *Manchester of India*", wrote Trevelyan, a Treasury official who served in India under Lord Bentick and at later stage became the Finance Member of the Government of India, "has fallen off from a very flourishing town to a very poor and small one; the distress there has been very great indeed."⁸⁴ The peculiar kind of silky cotton formerly grown in Bengal, from which the fine *Dacca Muslin* used to be made was hardly ever seen.⁸⁵ In 1787 the export of *Dacca Muslin* to England amounted to 30 lakh (\$3 million). It ceased altogether by 1817.⁸⁶ This decadence had occurred not only in Dacca, but in all the districts. The decay and destruction along with famine brought undending miseries to the Indian people who started selling whatever they had for livelihood. Griffith quotes Bishop Herbert confessing:

A Mussalman family, formerly of great wealth and munificence, were endeavouring to dispose off their library, a very valuable one, for subsistence.⁸⁷

Thus for political reasons, the Muslims became the special victims of the East India Company's policy in India. Besides, the officers of the company were crude in their dealings with the Muslims.⁸⁸ "If there was pride on one side there was the determination to break that pride on the other,"⁸⁹ and with the political power in their hands, the British successfully reduced Muslims to the rank of, "porters, messenger, fillers of ink-pots, menders of pens, hewers of wood and drawers of water."⁹⁰ Though it is true that all this happened in Bengal, but more than half the Muslims in India lived in that province which then comprised most of north-east India and which also included Calcutta, the centre of British power.

Not only this, to continue and to consolidate their rule, the East India Company also tried to divide the Indians by its policy of favouritism to one community against another. Sir John Malcolm, a British statesman who had greatly contributed to the expansion of the British Empire in India, stated before the Parliamentary Committee in 1813:

In the present extended state of our Empire, our security for preserving a power of so extraordinary a nature as that we have established, rests upon the general divisions of the great communities under the Government, and their sub-division into castes and tribes; while they continue to be divided in this manner, no insurrection is likely to shake the stability of our power...

...We shall always find it difficult to rule in proportion as it (the Indian community) obtains union and possesses the power of throwing off that subjection in which it is now placed to the British government.⁹¹

In 1821, another British official signing himself "Carnaticus" wrote in the Asiatic journal: "Divide-et-Impera should be the motto of our Indian administration, whether political, civil or military." The peaceful co-existence of Hindus and Muslims and the lack of mass rivalry between the two communities prevailed before the British rule in India was admitted by British high officials. Sir John Maynard, a retired senior member of the Executive Council of Punjab wrote in an article:

It is of course true that British authority could not have established and could not now maintain itself but for a fissiparous tendency, of which the Hindu-Muslim antagonism is one of the manifestations. It is also true that the mass rivalry of the two communities began under the British rule. Persecuting rulers made their appearance from time to time in the pre-British era.. But the Hindu and Muslim masses before they had eaten of the tree of knowledge and became religion conscious... worshipped peacefully side by side at the same shrines.⁹²

The British broke this unity and tried to make an alliance with Hindus out of the compulsion of the situation. Being an alien government and numerically small, they needed, natives of India who could help them in ruling over this goldmine. In 1843 a British official wrote:

How can I shut my eyes to the realities that this generation of the Muslims who cannot tolerate our existence can not be friendly to us. Our real policy should be to treat with friendliness and lend our support to Hindus.⁹³

Thus, by the policy of *Divide-et-Impera*, the British tried to destroy the then prevailing harmony and brotherly feelings among the Indians. They conciliated with Hindus but cleverly kept them out of important and higher offices. Hindus were included but to the subordinate ranks. All the important posts in the army, police, political sphere and administration were kept by British themselves unlike the previous rulers of India, i.e., the Mughals, who settled here and regarded the country as their motherland, intermixed and intermarried with the natives. The British regarded themselves as superiors to the Indians and remained aloof. So much so that the Indian graduates from the medical college, set by the British, were not permitted to become members of the Indian Medical Service itself which was reserved for Europeans, "as most Europeans", wrote Michael Edward, "did not want to be attended by the Indian doctors."⁹⁵ This attitude of the British was resented by the educated Hindus.

The British not only regarded themselves as superiors, a race born to rule and invincible but they also viewed Indian culture and religion as inferior to their own religion, Christianity. They insulted both the Muslim and Hindu religions and propagated Christianity and facilitated conversions. The English missionaries and other preachers of

Christianity used abusive language in their references to the revered leaders of both the communities. Mohammed and Rama, hitherto holy beings were referred to as sublime imposters and unmitigated blackguards. Captain. T. Macan in his evidence before the Commons Committee on 22 March, 1832, testified on his personal knowledge that a clergyman speaking at a street corner gathering told his Muslim audience that Mohammed through whom they hoped that their sins would be forgiven "was himself in hell" and that they too would be there, if they followed his teachings and principles.⁹⁶ To facilitate conversions from Hindu community, the British Indian Government enacted a law in 1832 by which they abrogated a provision of Hindu law by which a convert from Hinduism, ipso-facto lost all his rights to property vested in him by the mandatory provisions of Hindu Law. They also forfeited ancient rent-free jagirs granted to thousand of temples and mosques. It was also made impossible for the prisoners to observe their religious rites of prayers. The Hindu law relating to adoption was nullified, the Indian soldiers were offered bribes, promotions and other rewards to accept Christianity. This annoyed both the Hindus and Muslims and produced hatred for the British rule in India.⁹⁷

Though the British had gained and retained power in India through Indian soldiers yet they never trusted them and kept them out of the important posts. They humiliated them and ignored their demands. British officers persistent indifference to the Indian soldiers' grievances about pay, living conditions and want of ordinary necessary amenities of human life created discontentment among the soldiers and they became restless.⁹⁸

Thus, more or less, both Hindus and Muslims were the victims of the British exploitation. The socio-economic, political and religious discriminatory policies of the British rulers had the cumulative effect of filling their cup of woe to the brim and the hearts of the entire Indian people in all walks of life were filled with discontentment, distrust, anger and hatred towards the British rule. They all united, irrespective of caste and creed to end the colonial domination in 1857. The revolt of 1857 was not merely a "sepoy mutiny", as stated by many English writers, it was much more than this. It was the first war of Indian Independence. In the words of Sir William Howard Rusell:

...we had a war of religion, a war of race, and a war of revenge, of hope, of national determination to shake off the yoke of a stranger.....⁹⁹

1857 And Its Aftermath

When the revolution began, both the Hindus and Muslims participated in it in large numbers. They all looked towards Delhi and regarded Bahadur Shah Zafar to be the Emperor of India and hoped for the success of the revolution.

It was not a revolt of one community but the Muslims for historical and ideological reasons were more violently anti-British. To many of them, India under British rule was *Dar-ul-Harb* (land of war) and the *Jihad* (holy war) against the firangi (British) rule was not only a national necessity but a religious duty.¹⁰⁰ Hence, the British feared the fiery Muslims more than Hindus. This has been admitted by T. Rice Holmes, who stated, "the Mohammadan villagers distinguished themselves by their cruelty against the British civilians."¹⁰¹

The British regarded the Muslims responsible for the revolt. A British official of Bengal, Henry Harrington Thomas wrote a pamphlet in 1858, stating "No, it is amongst the Mohammadans not the Hindus, that we must look for the real originators of this terrible plot....." while explaining the reasons of the anti-British attitude of the Muslims towards the British, Henry stated

But in India the Mohammadans had other motives for seeking our destruction, besides their rooted anti-Christian feeling. They could not forget that they had been the masters of the country for many generations, and they never ceased to persuade themselves, that if the British power were thoroughly destroyed they would recover their lost position.¹⁰²

As a result, after the capture of Delhi, the heavy hand of the British fell more severely upon the Muslims than on the Hindus. Bahadur Shah was arrested and tried. Hudson shot dead three Mughal Princes and presented their heads to Bahadur Shah with words: "Here is the Company's nazar (a tribute made in token homage) to you which had not been presented for years."¹⁰³

The three heads were hung up in front of the city-gate which has since then been popularly known as the *Khooni-Darwaza* (The Gate of Murder) and were exhibited for three days. Later 24 Shahzadas (princes) were executed and hanged.¹⁰⁴ Many of the leading Muslims such as Nawab of Jhajjar, Ballabgarh, Faruqnagar and Faruqabad were hanged or exiled. Muslim quarters were the special target of the British wrath

everywhere. General Neil's instructions to Major Renaud were: "The town of Fatehpur which has revolted, is to be attacked and the Pathan quarters to be destroyed with all their inhabitants."¹⁰⁵ "Show these rascal mussalmans," said Captain Roberts that with God's help "Englishmen will still be masters of India."¹⁰⁶

Zahir Dehlvi writes in *Dastan-i-Ghadar* (Tale of Mutiny) that Mian Mohd Amin Panjakush, an excellent writer Maulvi Imam Baksh Sahbai along with his two sons, Mir Niaz Ali and many people of Kucha Chellan who were fourteen hundred in number were arrested and taken to Raj Ghat Gali. There, they were shot dead and their bodies were thrown into the Jamuna.¹⁰⁷ Hundreds of crying, hungry and thirsty children died in their mothers' arms and thousands of women hearing about the approach of the company's soldiers jumped into the well for fear of dishonour. A military officer stated, "We took out of the wells hundreds of women who were not drowned because there was not enough water left in them, and were either lying or sitting on the dead bodies."¹⁰⁸ All the wells of Kucha Chellan were filled with dead bodies.¹⁰⁹

The varitable reign of terror described above turned Delhi into a barren silent city. "Shaher Sahra ho gaya" (the city has become a howling wilderness) moaned Ghalib,

Here there is a vast ocean of blood before me, God alone knows what more I have still to behold. Urdu Bazar is gone, what then of Urdu? Delhi is a no more a city, it is camp-fort..... The mahajans (Hindu merchant Class), remain, but of Muslims (well-to-do) only three are left.¹¹⁰

The Machiavellian policy of the British towards Muslims was so ruthlessly carried out that the proud Muslims were reduced to great straits, with their heart broken in despondency and their pride humbled in the dust. *Jama Masjid* was made a barrack for soldiers and had lavatories and urinals attached to it. Under its minars pigs were slaughtered and pork cooked on open fire. Another mosque, *Zeenat-ul-Masajid* was used as a mess for the British officers. Donkeys were tethered in the famous mosque of Nawab Hamid Ali Khan. The magnificent *Akbarabadi Masjid* under the walls of the Fort was razed to the ground. Some Mussalmans were stripped naked, tied to stakes and branded from head to foot with red-hot pieces of copper. Before execution, they were asked to sweep the Church floor. Dead bodies were laid on all sides. "Dogs were feeding on the dead; vultures were

pecking and feasting on the corpses," wrote Lord Roberts in his *Forty-one-years in India*.¹¹¹ In brutal killings and looting, the English officials admitted that they had surpassed Nadirshah.¹¹²

Thus repression and sufferings of the Indian people were tremendous but the Muslims were singled out and became the special victims of the outrage and atrocities at the hands of the British for political reasons. After the reoccupation of Delhi, Hindus were allowed to return within a few months; but the Muslim population was altogether excluded and the attachment on their houses was lifted only in 1859. The British made every citizen who wished to return to the city after expulsion to pay a fine. Muslims were required to pay 25 per cent of the value of their real property, while Hindus had to pay only 10 per cent.¹¹³

Large-scale confiscation of Muslim property left the community economically in even more desperate condition than it had been before. In the words of B.R. Ambedkar "they (Muslims) had sunk into the lowest depth of broken pride, black despair and general penury."¹¹⁴ In 1869 in the three grades of Assistant Government Engineers in Bengal, there were fourteen Hindus and not one Muslim, among the apprentices, there were four Hindus and two Englishmen but not one Mussalman. Among the sub-engineers and supervisors of the Public Works Department there were 24 Hindus to 1 Muslim, among the overseers, 2 Muslims to 63 Hindus. In the same year, in the office of accounts there were 50 names of Hindus and not one of Muslims and by 1871, there was not a single Muslim in police, Public Works, Custom, Marine and Survey Department.¹¹⁵ In 1872 "out of 300 students on the roll of Hoogly-College only 3 were Muslims."¹¹⁶ Thus economically, according to Hunter, Muslims were the "race ruined under British rule."¹¹⁷

The loss of political and economic power left the Muslim community in India in a state of confusion. With no hope of regaining the political power, they confined themselves into a shell where they could get solace from the glorious past. This attitude gave rise to revivalist movements among the Muslims. "Back to the examples of the prophet" was the call of the revivalists.¹¹⁸ They attributed their fall from political and economic power to their fall from the ideals of Islam. Two of the early revivalists were Shariatullah of Bahadurpur (in the district of Faridpur in Bengal) and his son Dudu Mian. Their movement was called Fairazi movement. For Fairazis, India on passing under British rule had ceased to be *Dar-ul-Islam* or the land of Islam and had become *Dar-ul-Harb*, the land of war, and hence they preached *jihad* (holy war)

against the British rule in India.¹¹⁹

Another revivalist movement was initiated by Syed Ahmed Rai Bareilvi in the United Provinces. He founded the Tariqah-i-Mohammadiyah or the return to the ways of Prophet. Both the Fairazi and Tariqah-i-Mohammadiyah intended to purge un-Islamic practices and advocated *jihad* to end the alien rule in India. "A network of conspiracy", wrote Hunter, "had spread itself over our provinces and the bleak mountains which rest beyond the Punjab are united by a chain of treason depots with the tropical swamps through which the Ganges merges into the sea."¹²⁰ The revivalists regarded the Western education and culture as the symbols of slavery and set up their own Islamic theological university Deoband in Saharanpur district of U.P. in 1867.

Meanwhile, another school of thought had emerged which emphasized the requirements of the new age of science and machine for the Muslims. This school was represented by Sir Syed Ahmed. Ironically, whereas the revivalists advocated *jihad* against the British rule, the modern school sided and supported it and considered it friendly for the Muslims. They also asked the Muslims to take English education which had become the cinderella of all government services.¹²¹ Mohd. Iqbal born in 1877 was the unique blend of these two schools. He was a puritan, profoundly religious, a philosopher, poet and patriot who in the coming years played an important and controversial role on the Indian political scene.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

ECONOMIC-SOCIAL AND POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF THE INDIAN MUSLIMS

- 1 H.Murray, *The History of British India*, Vol. I, Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1843, p.17.
- 2 Ibid., p. 18.
- 3 Karan Singh, *Prophet of Indian Nationalism*, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1962, p. 16
- 4 G.C. Sondhi, "Impact of Islam-The Story of Medieval Synthesis", in *The Gates of Liberty*, Comp. by G.C. Sondhi, Calcutta: G.C. Sondhi, 1948, p.62
- 5 Ibid., p.59
- 6 Karan Singh n,3,pp.16-17
- 7 K.S. Shelvankar, *The Problem of India*, London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1940, p.14
- 8 H. Mukherjee, *India Struggles for Freedom*, Bombay: Kutub Publishers, 1946,p.14
- 9 G.C. Sondhi, n.4,p.43
- 10 Beni Prasad, *The Hindu Muslim Question*, Allahabad: Kitabistan, 1941, p.12

- 11 *Ibid.*
- 12 V. Raghavendra Rao, *Indo-Muslim Culture*, Bangalore: Vichara Sahitya, n.d., p.64
- 13 *Ibid.*, p.65
- 14 *Ibid.*, pp.72-73
- 15 Cyril Modak M.A., *India's Destiny*, Allahabad: Kitab Mahal, 1994, p.14
- 16 V. Raghavendra Rao, n.12, p.22
- 17 *Ibid.*, p.79
- 18 *Ibid.*, p.62
- 19 S.R. Sharma, *Mughal Empire in India*, 1934; rpt. Agra: Educational Publication, 1971, p.521
- 20 K.S. Shrinivasan, "Intellectuals Role", *Hindustan Times* (New Delhi), 12 July 1987
- 21 Rao, n.12, p.39
- 22 Shrinivasan, n.20. Also see Modak, n.15, p.31
- 23 *Ibid.*
- 24 Rao, n.12, p.114. Also see Murraray, n.1, p.212
- 25 Rao, n.12, p.48
- 26 Sharma, n.19, p.328
- 27 Modak, n.15, pp.15-16
- 28 Srinivasan, n.20. see also Rao, n.12, p.84
- 29 Rao, n.12, p.87
- 30 Ashoka Mehta, "We Shall Unite", in *Hindu and Muslim: A Historical Survey*, Comp. P.D. Saggi, New Delhi, 1968, pp.19-20
- 31 Hindus used to visit Khwaja Moinuddin Chisti Ajmer and Nizamuddin Aulia.
- 32 Shan Mohammad, *Sir Syed Ahmad Khan*, Lahore: Universal Books, 1976, p.21
- 33 *Ibid.*
- 34 Sachidananda Sinha, *Iqbal, The Poet and His message*, Allahabad: Ram Narain Lal, 1947, pp.349-50.

- 35 "It is remarkable," writes Tavernier in *Travels in India* "that a woman cannot burn herself with the body of her husband without having received permission from the Governor of the place where she dwells and these governors who are Mussalmans, hold this dreadful custom of self-destruction in horror and do not readily give permission. For widows who have children, are not permitted under any circumstances to burn themselves with the bodies of their husbands." However, the practice continued, particularly in the Rajput states. In 1780 the deceased Raja of Mewar was joined in death by his 64 wives. A Sikh Prince of Punjab took with him 10 wives and no less than 300 concubines. It was Raja Ram Mohan Roy, who with the help of British authorities got it abolished. But unfortunately, this inhuman practice is being glorified by Hindu fundamentalists. They are encouraging the revival of this social evil. The act of Sati in Deorala Village, Jaipur on 4 September 1987 is one instance of this See Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India*, Vol. II, London: Oxford University press, 1925.163
- 36 Modak, n. 15, pp.29-30.
- 37 Sondhi, n. 4.46; Shan Muhammad, n. 32, p.21.
- 38 Ishwari Prasaad, *A History of Muslim Rule in India*, Allahabad: The Indian Press, 1958, p.136
- 39 Surender Nath Sen, *Eighteen-Fifty Seven*, Calcutta: The publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1957, p.xix.
- 40 M.G. Randade, *Rise of the Maratha Power*, p.303, quoted from Yusuf Ali, *The Making of India*, London: A & Black Ltd., 1925, P.173-74.
- 41 *Ibid.*, p. 115.
- 42 Rajendra Prasad, *India Divided*, Bombay: Hind Kitab Ltd., 1947, p.53.
- 43 Ram Krishan Mukherjee, *Rise and Fall of the East India Company*, Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1973, p.140.
- 44 *Ibid.*, p.141.
- 45 Quoted from Sondhi, n.4,p.8
- 46 H. Mukerjee, n. 8, p.21.
- 47 Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India*, Vol. II, London: Oxford

University Press, 1925, p.2.

48 *Ibid.*, p.3. Also see Pandit Sunderlal, *British Rule in India*, Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1972, p.33.

49 *Ibid.*

50 Sondhi, n.4, p.61.

51 Writing in 1585, Fitch observed, "Agra and Fatehpore are two very great cities, either of them much greater than London and very populous." They refer to Lahore as "one of the principal cities for trade in India." See for details Ram Krishan Mukerjee, n.43, p.192.

52 Sondhi, n.4, p.61.

53 *Ibid.*

54 H. Mukerjee, n.8, p.19.

55 When Clive had left England, he was a poor man. But in India fortune smiles on him. He himself reported, "fortunes of \$100,000 have been obtained in two years." See Ram Krishan Mukerjee, n.43, p.191.

56 Sondhi, n.4, p.58.

57 W.W. Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans*, London: Trubner and Company, 1871 (Typed Script), p.215.

58 *Ibid.*, p.154.

59 M.R. Bagi, *The Muslim Dilemma in India*, Delhi: Vikas Publishing, 1974, p.55.

60 Michael Edward, *British India 1772-1947*, London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1967, p.49.

61 Hunter, n.57, p.226

62 P. Hardy, *The Muslims of British India*, Cambridge: Chambridge University Press, 1972, p.37.

63 Sir Percival Griffith, *The British Impact on India*, London: Macdonald, 1952, p.306.

64 Hardy, n.62 p.38.

- 65 Hunter, n.57, p.225
- 66 *Ibid.*, p.217.
- 67 Hardy, n.62, p.35
- 68 Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pak Subcontinent*, S. Gravenhag: Mouton and Co., 1962, p.216.
- 69 Hardy, N. 62, p. 36.
- 70 Refaqt Ali Khan, "*Muslims in Medieval India*", in Zafar Imam (ed.), *Muslims in India*, Delhi: Oreient Longman, 1975, p.16.
- 71 Hunter, n. 57,251.
- 72 Sunder Lal, n.48, pp.149-50. Also see Baig, n. 59, p.55.
- 73 Hunter, n.57 p. 242.
- 74 *Ibid.*, p.251.
- 75 Michael Edward, n.60, p.118.
- 76 Hunter n. 57, p.226
77. *Ibid.*, p.228
- 78 Muhammad Noman, *Muslim India*, Allahabad: Kitabistan, 1942, p.22.
- 79 Hunter, n.57, p.240.
- 80 *Ibid.*, 216.
- 81 Griffith, n.63, p.364.
- 82 *Ibid.*, p.366.
- 83 Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, n. 68, p.219.
- 84 Griffith, n.63, p. 398.
- 85 *Ibid.*
- 86 Ram Krishan Mukerjee, n.43, p. 338.
- 87 Griffith, n.63, p.398.
- 88 Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, n.78, p.225. Rabia Begum, a daughter of Bahadur Shah, was reduced to a plight which was next to starva

tion, and in desperation married Hussaini, a Muslim cook in Delhi. Fatima Sultan, another daughter of Bahadur Shah, had to work for her living in a Christian Missionary school for Women in Delhi. Such was the fate of the direct descedents of great Mughals.

89 *Ibid.*

90 Unter, n.57, p.170; Griffith, n.63, p.307.

91 Sunderlal, n.48, p.148.

92 Lajpat Rai, *Unhappy India*, Calcutta Banna Publihers, 1928, pp. 403-09.

93 Noman, n. 78, p.29.

94 Calcutta Medical College was set up in 1835, Madras Medical College in 1852 and Bombay Medical College in 1848.

95 Michael Edward, n.60, p.109.

96 Sunder Lal, n.48, p.267.

97 *Ibid.*, p.269.

98 *Ibid.*

99 *Ibid.*, p.270.

100 Ashoka Mehta, 1857 *The Great Rebellion*, Bombay; Hind Kitab Ltd., 1946, p.68.

101 T. Rice, Holmes, *A History of Indian Mutiny*, London: Macmillan, 1904, p.68.

102 Lajpat Rai, n.92, pp.401-02.

103 Quoted from Sunderlal, n.48, p.358.

104 Prince Mirza Qaisar a son of Emperor Shah Alam, who on account of his old age was physically incapable of taking part in the revolution and Prince Mirza Mohd. Shah, a grandson of Emperor Akbar Shah who could not stand up erect due to `gout all his life were dragged and hanged. Other princes were jailed and were made to grind corn. Mirza Koyash, the son of Bahadur Shah, whom the Governor General had, in the previous year, declared to be Bahadur Shah's heir apparent, disappeared

mysteriously. He was last seen near Delhi, riding a horse. He was bare headed and had a dusty face. Hudson had been looking for him everywhere. What happened to him has not been discovered to this day. The princesses who succeeded in evading death or imprisonment by escaping from Delhi wandered about destitute from door to door. The princesses too, wandered outside Delhi, utterly destitute. Two of them stayed in Delhi. One of them **Rabia Begum**, a daughter of **Bahadur Shah**, was reduced to a plight which was next to starvation, and in desperation married **Hussaini**, a Muslim cook in Delhi. **Fatima Sultan**, another daughter of **Bahadur Shah**, had to work for her living in a Christian Missionary School for Women in Delhi. Such was the fate of the direct descedents of great Mughals.

105 Ashoka Mehta, n. 100, p. 68.

106 *Ibid.*

IQBAL : THE MAN

Muhammed Iqbal is considered as "one of the greatest intellectual forces that modern India has produced."¹ He has also been characterized as the "Voice of the East" who gave a clarion call for the re-assertion and re-affirmation of the cultural and spiritual values of the East at a time when almost all the countries of Asia had become the victim of Western imperialism. He is considered as the representative of his age. Both his life and thought in a way represent the deep sorrow, anguish and the aspirations of the Indian people as well as the cultural and ideological currents of his time. He was a rare combination of seer, statesman, poet-philosopher, politician, teacher, lawyer and reformer. He is admired as a poet and thinker of the first magnitude. Iqbal, an opponent of feudalism, capitalism, imperialism oppression and exploitation used the medium of poetry and prose to express his thoughts and to reach the general masses. He propounded a theory of action as opposed to contemplative inactivity of '*Taqdir*' which had long characterized the East. It played an important role in awakening the people of the colonial countries from their deep slumber. Through his philosophy, he preached patriotism, peace, love, humanity, harmony and oneness of mankind. But the misrepresentation and distortion of his views by some of his critics had made him controversial. The Hindu communalists projected him as communal and a separatist, whereas the Muslim communalists ignored his patriotism, universalism and portrayed him as a poet-philosopher of Islam. But the study of his life

and thought makes it crystal clear that he was a patriot, an advocate of the communal harmony and the unity and integrity of India. He was "in the broadest sense of the word Indian in his sentiments and outlook, though his mode of expression was to a very large extent influenced by his Arabic and Persian learning."² To understand him is to discover the India of his times, the mental state of the people, the socio-economic, political and religious trends which ultimately shaped the destiny of the sub-continent.

Iqbal was born in a middle class family of Sialkot in the Punjab (now in Pakistan) on 9 November 1877,³ and died at the peak of his glory and fame on 21 April 1938 at Lahore. His ancestors were Kashmiri Brahmins who embraced Islam and migrated from Kashmir to Sialkot not long after 1857. Iqbal's family was humble, hard-working and was held in high esteem by the people of the town. His father Sheikh Nur Muhammad had not acquired any formal education and learnt the trade of tailor and embroider. He had a great love for learning and had many scholarly friends who gathered for discussions at his business premises. He was affectionately called by his friends as *unparh Falsafi* (uneducated philosopher). Iqbal's mother, Imam Bibi, was also a deeply religious woman. As the child of a working class family she acquired no formal education except an elementary knowledge of Quran, different forms of Ibadat (religious prayers) deep consciousness of Iman (belief) and Ihsan (right doing). These qualities she firmly instilled in her children. Iqbal was very attached to her.⁴ Religious atmosphere at home made a deep impression on his young mind and religious beliefs took hold of him firmly throughout his life and coloured his thought.

When Iqbal grew up, the question of his education began to worry the family. The Muslim mind at that time was in dilemma. Non-acceptance of English education meant bleak future and acceptance was seen as a sinful act by the large orthodox sections of the Muslims society. This dilemma also confronted Nur Muhammad. Despite his piety and religious disposition, he decided to provide his children English education. The western missionaries had already established in 1889 a junior college, 'The Scotch Mission College' (currently named Murray College) in Sialkot. The Scotch Mission College simultaneously offered courses in liberal art then currently taught in English universities and some courses in Arabic and Persian, keeping with the classical traditions of Muslims. Iqbal was sent to this school. While he was studying in fourth standard Nur Muhammad was assailed by his doubts as to the wisdom of educating Iqbal in a system prejudicial to

the true faith. He had almost decided to withdraw Iqbal from the school which was a secular institution and send him to mosque. Before taking this decision, however, he consulted his intimate friend Maulvi Mir Hasan who taught Arabic and Persian at the school. Mir Hasan, a man steeped in the old Islamic culture and a scholar of immense knowledge in Arabic and Persian, knew no English, yet was aware of the pragmatic and broad educational values of the English education. He advised Nur Muhammad to allow Iqbal to continue with his studies and consequently Nur Muhammad gave up the idea of withdrawing his son from the Mission School.⁵

In the school, Iqbal was considered a brilliant student. He won prizes and scholarships and was greatly fascinated by his teacher Mir Hasan who developed interest in Iqbal for Islamic history and polity. Very soon Mir Hasan recognized Iqbal's extraordinary intellectual capacity, his literary bent of mind, and encouraged him. In school days Iqbal started writing poems and verses. After passing his matriculation Iqbal joined Scotch Mission College in Lahore for his intermediate studies. His student days in Lahore coincided with an important phase in the evolution of modern India and particularly of Muslims in India. By then, change had already occurred in the British policy towards the Muslims. It started with Lord Mayo in the seventh decade of the nineteenth century⁶ and continued till last during the colonial rule. After completely shattering Indian Muslim's dream of regaining political power of India, the British gradually reversed their policy towards the Muslims. So far as the favoured community, the Hindus had started creating trouble for the Britishers. The desire to curb and contain the rising nationalist feelings of the educated Hindus and their demand for share in the administrative spoils and in the political field, led the colonialists to patronise the Muslims community. They realised the virtue of the policy "counterpoise of native against native."⁸ To consolidate their rule, they began for the first time to look upon the Muslims with favour. A British official B. Fuller openly declared that out of his two wives the Muslim was the favourite. The Aligarh movement grew in the favourable atmosphere of British support.⁹

Meanwhile, the Muslims who had been left behind in every sphere, had started pondering over the reasons of their backwardness. This reasoning found expression in the Aligarh movement. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the founder of this new spirit tried to rescue the Muslim community from the state of isolation, apathy, aloofness and fatalism into which it had lapsed after the failure of the revolt of 1857. He projected a new image of the Muslims in the eyes of the British rulers

and challenged W.W. Hunter's view that the Muslims were disloyal and hostile to British rule in India. He also discovered Quranic sanctions to disprove Hunter that Islam, the religion of Muslims, was against Christianity. He declared that "no religion upon earth was more friendly to Christianity than Islam."¹⁰ While trying to project the Muslims as the loyal subject, Syed also tried to project the British as friends and well-wishers of the Muslim community. He asked his co-religionists to regard India under the British rule as Darul-Islam and not as Darul Harb and to get English education for the economic advancement.¹¹ It was stated by Syed and other leaders of the Aligarh movement that it was a reform movement yet its roots were in the economic necessities. The Muslim community, particularly the middle class, lagged behind the Hindu middle class by at least fifty years. The leaders asked the poverty-ridden Muslim community to adjust with the new system and situation and shed those beliefs which stood in the way of their economic betterment. In Punjab, the hometown of Iqbal, Aligarh movement found support in a sizeable number of Muslims. Maulvi Mir Hasan was in sympathy with the aims of Aligarh movement and had close contact with Sir Syed. The Aligarh spirit was supported by *Observer*, a popular English paper under the editorship of Sheikh Abdul Qadir and *Makhzan*, a famous literary magazine of the northern India.¹²

By the end of the nineteenth century Aligarh movement had succeeded in attracting to its fold a number of young Muslims and Iqbal who had a very receptive mind also came under its influence. He attended the meetings of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam which had been established in 1885 in Lahore with the object of disseminating western learning among the Muslims and imparting religious instructions along with the secular education.¹³ Very soon it emerged as a powerful and influential organisation. It set up schools both for boys and girls and opened Islamia College in Lahore in 1892.¹⁴ Throughout his life Iqbal whole-heartedly supported and patronised the educational activities of the Anjuman and even served for a time as member of the teaching staff of Islamia College.¹⁵

Anjuman's anniversary sessions and conferences were attended by the prominent leaders of the Muslims. It also provided a platform to Muslim thinkers and writers like Mian Mohd. Shibli Nomani, Khwaja Altaf Husain Hali etc. It was for the annual session of the Anjuman held on 24 February 1900 that Iqbal wrote and recited a poem entitled *Nala-i-Yatim* (Orphans's Cry). In the cry of an orphan, the audience heard their own hearts cry as they too had long felt forlon and

abandoned and this element was to be a compulsive factor in moulding the psychology of the Indian Muslims in the coming years. Many of Iqbal's audience wept, whereas the pragmatic ones donated generously (almost 300 rupees) to the Anjumans fund. The printed copies of the poem designated to sell for pennies fetched four rupees each.¹⁶

However, the Aligarh movement was not the only intellectual force at work during the formative years of Iqbal's life. There were other influences also. The Indian National Congress had been founded in 1885, not as an organisation to fight for India's liberation, but as "another stone in the foundation of the stability of that Government."¹⁷ In a few years it came to be known in official circles as the "factory of sedition."¹⁸ Although the Congress could not acquire base in Punjab in the early years of the 20th century, yet its spirit of nationalism had influenced the youth of Punjab including Iqbal.

The Aligarh movement was not altogether hostile to the concept of the All India nationalism. Sir Syed opposed the Congress but his opposition to it was based on economic and political reasons. He explained,

I am not opposed to the independence of India or to self-government, but I am opposed to that system of government which is the ideal of the Congress. The Congress wants the people of the country without restrictions or reservations to elect a group of their representatives, who by establishing a parliament, would rule the country on the basis of a majority vote such a government based on majority vote, will necessarily place all the authority and supremacy in the hands of the Hindus. The Muslims are in a minority, and in any matter that may be entirely opposed to their interest they will not be able to check the operation of the majority vote. And in India, majority government instead of becoming a democratic government for the Muslims, will become a totalitarian government. For the Muslims there would be no difference between such democratic and despotic government.¹⁹

Thus the interest of his community which was in minority and had to be in permanent minority in the representative set up based on the concept of majority rule as supported by the Congress led Sir Syed to oppose it. But his opposition to Congress does not mean that he was anti-Hindu or in other words communal, otherwise he would not have formed the *United Indian patriotic Association* in 1888, a joint organisation of both Hindus and Muslims. Even the Aligarh College which was founded with the liberal financial assistance from the Muslims was not discriminatory in the matter of admission either for study or for teaching. It had a good number of Hindus both as students and teachers.²⁰

Thus Syed's movement did not run counter to the mainstream of Indian nationalism. Both were striving for concessions from the rulers, though the Aligarh movement leaders desired special sectional benefits. The movement was neither communal nor separatist, the form it took afterwards. In his speeches and statements Sir Syed described India as a beautiful bride and Hindu and Muslim her two eyes.²¹ He emphasised the unity between Hindus and Muslims proclaiming the oneness of the two communities in all matters of national importance and said that "except only in mosques and temples, the Muslims and Hindus be not distinguished."²² To him the word nation was applicable to all the people who lived in a country.²³ He addressed both the Hindu and Muslim races by one word, i.e. Hindus as they were the inhabitants of Hindustan.²⁴ *Tribune*, a reputed English paper of Punjab, characterized Syed as "large minded patriot" and remarked that Syed was "worthy of imitation not by men of his own creed, but even by Hindus."²⁵ All this makes it crystal clear that Aligarh movement at that time ran in a direction parallel to the Indian National Congress and the Muslim youth in particular participated fully in the national movement.

Iqbal's poetry reflected his 'real self', his inclination towards patriotism, his pride in being a son of the soil, an inheritor of the great Indian civilization, who desired to liberate his motherland from the foreign yoke and above all to restore the glory of the people of the east. "He sang his verses in a beautiful voice, almost entranced and the people around him could not escape his influence."²⁶ "I never saw him," writes Abdul Qadir a close associate of Iqbal, "with pen and paper proposing to think about verses. With him it was more like a flowing river or a fountain of words."²⁷

Along with poetry, Iqbal concentrated upon his study and secured his Master's Degree by standing first in the university. He was

appointed a Lecturer in the Oriental College, Lahore and from there he moved to the government College, Lahore as reader in philosophy. Along with teaching he also wrote a book which happened to be the first book on Economics in Urdu language entitled *Ilm-Ul-Iqtisad* (Science of Economics, 1903) Commenting on this book, Dr. Anwar Iqbal Qureshi, a well known economist and scholar noted "The freshness of approach and firm grasp of economic principles exhibited by the young author prompts me to venture the thought that he should have devoted himself permanently to the study of Economics."²⁸

In Lahore, T.W. Arnold who had earlier been with Sir Syed Ahmad at Aligarh and had joined the Government College, Lahore as a Professor of Philosophy, was a major intellectual influence on Iqbal. Arnold was an admirer of Islamic culture and asked his Muslim students that "Muslims must have confidence in the grandeur of Islam both of past and present."²⁹ Iqbal, the disciple of Arnold, had deep faith in Islam and his thinking was thickly coloured with its teachings. In one of his early discourses published in *Makhzan* in March 1905, he dwelt at great length on the question of reforms in Muslim society. He wrote:

Among Muslims social reform is really a religious problem. Islamic culture is nothing but practical expression of the religion of Islam. Besides, no part of our life can be divorced from the impact of the religious doctrines.³⁰

T.W. Arnold also exposed Iqbal to the world of Western Political Thought and Literature. In 1905 Iqbal under the advice of Arnold proceeded to Europe for higher studies. His quest for knowledge led him to join Cambridge to obtain Bachelor of Arts degree. He wanted to benefit from the lectures of the neo-Hegelianist-John McTaggart and James Ward who lectured at Cambridge to the undergraduates. Moreover, two outstanding orientalist, E.G. Brown and Raynold A. Nicholson, were at Cambridge lecturing on Persian literature. In 1907, he obtained a bachelor degree from the Cambridge and had also successfully qualified in 1908 as a barrister-at-law at Lincon's Inn, London.³¹

Along with his studies Iqbal also associated himself with Anjuman-i-Islam, a society which was already working under the leadership of Hafiz Mahmood Shirani. The Anjuman was an aggregation of educated Indian Muslims in England which aimed at eradicating certain misconceptions about Islam and Indian Muslims. Iqbal

actively participated in the meetings of the society and soon made deep impact of his knowledge upon the members. During his association with the society, he was asked to deliver a lecture on "Certain Aspects of Islam", at Caxton Hall to which Iqbal agreed. His lecture was greatly admired and was reported in all the important daily newspapers of England.³² This brought him fame in the foreign land and he became a known figure in intellectual circle of the British society.

His stay in England coincided with an interesting phase in the history of English political thought. The *Communist Manifesto* and *Das kapital* of Karl Marx had shaken the intellectual world. Though Karl Marx with his revolutionary theory had once for all "put Hegel on his feet," but among the British academicians Hegel was still preferred. It is fairly certain that Iqbal during this phase of his career came under the spell of Hegelian ideas.³³ Iqbal was also profoundly influenced by the philosophy of Rumi, a Persian mystic. German philosopher Nietzsche's theory of 'superman' with its passionate insistence on the development of 'human ego' and French philosopher Bergson's theory of 'time' and of 'pure duration' also influenced Iqbal. Among the Greek philosophers Aristotle was more favourable to Iqbal than Plato. Works of Tolstoy, Shakespeare and Einstein also appealed to him. But his main source of inspiration remained the Islamic traditions.³⁴

Besides, European and Greek thinkers Iqbal was also influenced by Indian saints and Epics. "How far the stream of Iqbal's thought was influenced by the current of Hindu thought," writes *Abdulla Anwar Beg*, "is difficult to say, but the fearlessness with which he plunged into unfathomable depth and consistency with which he upheld the dictates of reason seems to suggest that the force of generations of Hindu thought which formed wrap of his mind, even if covered with Islamic thought, was not extinct."³⁵ While working on his thesis, 'The Development of Metaphysics in Persia', Iqbal had the opportunity to study Vedas and Upanishads. He was greatly influenced by Bhagwad Gita and Krishna's Theory of Action, Shankar Acharya's deep thinking and Ramanuja's religiousity. While discussing the philosophy of Persian thinker Mani, Iqbal observed his curious resemblance with the great Hindu thinker Kapila. Even his philosophy of change was influenced by that of Mahatma Buddha. His reverence for Buddha was so profound that he referred to Buddha as prophet. This was a bold move on his part, since the orthodox Muslim could never conceive of any one else being referred to as prophet.³⁶ In spite of being a true follower of Islam Iqbal was proud of his Brahmin origin and considered his philosophical nature as a part of the ancestral legacy. According to his

biographer Abdul Majid Salik, Iqbal had studied Sanskrit and at one stage was contemplating translating Ramayana into Urdu. He referred Ram Chandra as Imam-i-Hind (spiritual leader of India) and praised his purity, love for mankind and called Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikh religion as a 'Perfect Man', produced by the land of five rivers.³⁷

However, the two years stay in Europe also modified some of his ideas towards men and institutions. A Muslim preacher of Afghanistan *Saiyed Jamal-ud-Din Afghani's* concept of Commonwealth of Islam transcending territorial and national boundaries impressed Iqbal. He got convinced of the inadequacy of nationalism and stated that nationalism allied with aggressive, acquisitive and destructive doctrine of imperialism leads to war.³⁸ Iqbal started aspiring for a cultural ideal which could raise men above territorial or racial considerations and could give life a purpose and an aim.³⁹

With changed outlook and laden with high degrees Iqbal returned to Lahore in 1908. Meanwhile, many developments had taken place on the Indian political scene. The division of Bengal, the formation of Hindu Mahasabha in Punjab, the formation of Muslim League, the introduction of separate electorate and the consequent communalisation of the atmosphere of the society greatly shook a sensitive man like Iqbal. The minority position of his community which had to be permanently in minority status in the Indian political set up led him to take pride and solace that the believers of his religion were numerous and scattered all over the world. From nationalist stream he "turned to other stream along which flowed the ideas which had far flung affiliation in the world of Islam."⁴⁰ This trend of thought inspired him to write *Tarana-i-Milli* (The song of the community): *Cheen-O-Arab Hamara, Hindustan Hamara, Muslim hain ham, watan hai, sara jahan hamara* (China is ours, Arabia is ours, we are Muslims, the whole world is ours.)

In Lahore Iqbal was appointed Professor of Philosophy in the Government College and was also allowed to practice law simultaneously. But his literary bent of mind could not adjust itself with the then existing restrictions in the teaching profession. Iqbal resigned from professorship in 1911,⁴¹ and devoted himself to writing which proved his outstanding genius, and immortalized him. *Asrar-i-Khudi* (Secrets of Self) was one such work. It was published at Lahore in 1915. In this Iqbal bitterly opposed the concept of fate or predetermination and regarded man's potentialities greater than even those of the angels, and man could reach up to the infinite. Through his inspiring verses he

asked the man to make his own destiny. *Khudi ko kar buland itana ke har Taqdir se pehlay; Khuda bande se yeh pochley bata teri raza kya hai* (Raise the self to such a height that before destiny, God should ask man 'What dost thou desire?') *Asrar* was written in Persian. Nicholson translated it into English and this increases the number of readers of Iqbal and won him international recognition as an outstanding philosopher. A Russian scholar who had travelled all over India, visited Lahore only to see Iqbal and wrote a comprehensive review on *Asrar* in Russian language. The British Indian government conferred Knighthood on Iqbal in 1922 for this work.

By then Russian revolution had occurred. It also influenced the thinking of Iqbal. In *Khizar-i-Rah* which followed *Asrar*, Iqbal laid greater emphasis on the value of movements and socio-economic developments. He wrote poems on Karl Marx, Lenin, Revolution and Bolshevik Russia but did not approve some of the basic fundamentals of communism.⁴² In 1923 he published *Payam-i-Mashriq* (The Message of the East) and in 1927 *Zabur-i-Ajam* (Persian Psalms). *Payam* won him universal popularity, Nicholson wrote its review. Da Deutsche Russu translated the introduction of *Payam-i-Mashriq* into German. Hussain Danish, a Turkish scholar, translated several poems of Iqbal into Turkish and wrote an elaborate review on *Mashriq*. Da Ficher of the Leipzig university wrote a comprehensive review of *Payam* and compared Iqbal to Goethe. The German orientalist Dr. Hans Maenge, a famous poet, translated *Payam* writing it on Parchment with oriental paintings and sent it to Iqbal as a present. In Germany a society was founded after the name of Iqbal, with the object of disseminating Iqbal's teachings.⁴³

In his own country, Iqbal's work were widely appreciated and compared with the works of Shelly, Goethe and Burke. Like Shelly, Iqbal was called as supreme rebel, "a more dignified and a more mature."⁴⁴ His message of self-reliance, self-reverance, self-assertion and of hope had a universal appeal and he came to be known as prophet of unity⁴⁵ and 'Tarjuman-i-Haqiqat'⁴⁶ (exponent of truth). Prominent politicians of the day like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sir Tej Bhadur Sapru, Sarojini Naidu and Kamla Nehru were among his readers. The spell of his magic verses and pungent thoughts affected the minds of many people. Those who came under his revolutionary spell were Faiz, Maqdoom and Ali Sardar Jafari. The nationalist mind like Zakir Hussain, Sheikh Abdulla and Dr. Abid Hussain were influenced and inspired by his ideas.⁴⁷ Munshi Premchand, a great story writer of our country, read a lot of Iqbal and was influenced by his patriotism,

humanism and burning passion for social justice.⁴⁸ He described his works as, "true literature, literature indeed of the highest kind which goes to shape the destiny of nations."⁴⁹ Premchand was an admirer of Iqbal, and whenever he felt the need to say something through poetry or to set a poetic seal on any of his own statements, he was often seen running to Iqbal for an appropriate couplet in Urdu or Persian.⁵⁰ In a letter to B.D. Chaturvedi, Premchand wrote, "Great wilters do not belong to any province or any country. When we are a part of the same nation, we should be as proud of Bankim as of Iqbal or Josh."⁵¹

Iqbal's works also had an appeal for the Muslim communal mind, as his mode of expression was Persian and Arabic and the similes he used were Islamic. The fanatical Muslim communalists used his teachings for their own communal interests. They ignored his teachings of humanism, universalism and his love for his motherland and portrayed him mainly as Pan-Islamist.⁵² In fact, Iqbal's works contained divergent currents of ideas which appealed to the different sections of the Muslim community. "Perhaps, the right way to look at Iqbal is," wrote Hamilton Gibb, "to see him as one who reflected and put into vivid words the divergent currents of ideas that were agitating the minds of the Indian Muslims. His sensitive poetic temperament mirrored all that impinged upon it—the backward looking romanticism of the liberals, the socialist leaning of the young intellectuals, the longing of the militant Muslim Leaguers for a strong leader to restore the political power of Islam."⁵³

But Iqbal never gave up to any party or sect what was for mankind⁵⁴ and his devotion to Islam did not take precedence over his devotion to his mother land. He remained an ardent preacher of patriotic unity in the struggle against colonial domination. In no period of his activity did he deem it possible to set an alliance of Muslims with British colonialists against the Hindus. The following verse clearly reflects his love for his country.⁵⁵

*Hai agar qaumiyyat-i-Islam Paband-i-Maqam
Hind hi buniyad hai iski na Faris hai na Sham.*

(If Islamic nationality is to be confined to a place, it should be India, neither Persia nor Syria).

He wanted to see united India free from foreign subjugation and inner-dissensions particularly between Hindus and Muslims. He told both of them:

*Dani az afrang wa azkar-i-frang
Ta kuja dar qaid-i-zunnar-i-frang?
Zakhm azo, nashtatr azo sozan azo
Ma wajoay khoon wa umeed-i-rafoo!*

(You know the west and its deeds,
how long will you remain tied to its strings?
The wound, the lancet and the needle are all waste,
Ours is the pool of blood and the expectation that incision will
be stitched up).⁵⁶

This makes it clear that Iqbal stood for the freedom of the country and desired unity between the two major communities of India. "In his later phase it is true," writes Raja Rao and Iqbal Singh that, "Iqbal's name came to be associated with the advocates of Pan-Islamism. But even there his approach to the problem was, in the last analysis, essentially non-communal, and it would be a mistake to rank him among the professional middle-class communal leadership."⁵⁷ Iqbal's letters also speak that he was not sectarian. In a letter written to Dr. Nicholson Iqbal clarified.

My object in my Persian books is not the advocacy of Islam. I wanted to put forth before the world a new system and, of course, it is impossible in this attempt to ignore a social system whose primary object is to abolish all distinctions of race, colour, tongue and blood, and which preach universality of the best kind.⁵⁸

Even Sarojini Naidu once remarked that the poetry of Iqbal had released her soul from the narrow confines of nationalism and made her capable of loving the entire universe.⁵⁹ This view was also shared by Sir Tej Bhadur Sapru in the following words:

In my opinion, those who call Iqbal a mere Islamic poet, do a great injustice to him, for to say so is to limit the sphere of his influence. No doubt, he has written a great deal on Islamic philosophy, Islamic greatness and Islamic culture, but nobody has till now limited the influence of Milton by calling him a poet of Christianity or designating Kalidas a poet of Hinduism. Men professing relig-

ions other than the Christianity have not, on account of this aspect of Milton's poetry, diminished their admiration for him. If Iqbal deals with great events of Islamic history, or talks about Islamic glories, there is no reason why non-Muslims should not honour him.⁶⁰

"Not only Iqbal," opines Roop Krishna

Almost all the contemporaries of Iqbal had similar way of thinking and took similar action in life. For instance, Lala Lajpat Rai, Mahatma Munshi Ram and Mahatma Hans Raj were men of noble intentions and good patriots, as was Iqbal, but were first of all Hindus and then anything else. They were all preachers but preachers of Aryanism, therefore, preacher of decadent ideas. They were all fascinated by past.⁶¹

But what was significant to Iqbal was not so much the religion of Islam as the scientific attitude and humanitarianism of Muslim culture.⁶² "Aesthetically," writes Krishna Chander M.A.,

Iqbal (along with Tagore and Munshi Premchand) sums up completely the cultural renaissance of India. He was the spirit which in its best and vital elements transcended all castes, communities and creeds and which in its passionate zeal for freedom felt dissatisfied even with the infinite.⁶³

One day a Darvesh (seer) paid a visit to Iqbal. The conversation that took place between the two reveals Iqbal's dissatisfaction with the infinite.

"Pious man! pray for me," said Iqbal to *Darvesh*.

"Do you want riches?" asked the latter.

"No," said Iqbal. "I am not greedy for that

I am a *Darvesh* and God looks to my humble needs."

"Do you desire honour or rank in the world then,"

"No, that even I have, I do not aspire to a high rank."

"Do you wish to meet God?" enquired the *Darvesh*.

Then Iqbal remarked, "To meet God? Darvesh! How can I meet Him. I am a man (banda). He is God. The only relation that I have with Him is that of worship. Meeting, what does that means? If I came to know that God is coming to see me, I'll run away to a distance of twenty miles, for the simple reason that if the river meets the drop, the latter will vanish. I want to preserve my identity as a drop and do not want to efface myself. While at the same time, in maintaining my position as a drop, I want to create in myself the properties of a river".⁶⁴

Though Iqbal was deeply religious, he was not conservative. He was a reformer. He wanted to eradicate the evils from the society by reconstructing the fundamental legal principles of Islam. His book, *Reconstuction of Religious Thoughts in Islam* which was published by the Oxford University Press in 1934 created quite a stir among the oriental scholars the world over. While commenting on this book Gibb remarked "Indeed, had it not been for Iqbal's prestige as a poet and a leader in Indian Islam, it is doubtful whether so revolutionary and heretical a work would ever have been published."⁶⁵ His progressive interpretation of Quran was that it was "a message of death to a capitalist, and a helping hand to the poor and the destitute."⁶⁶ He also stated that:

the claims 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 in my opinion, perfectly justified. The teachings of the Quran that the life is a process of progressive creation necessitates that each generation, guided but not hampered by the work of its predecessors should be permitted to solve its own problems.⁶⁷

Iqbal was a liberal thinker. He supported the abolition of the Caliphate by the Turkish National Assembly by arguing that the responsibility for the political administration of an Islamic state was vested in the Muslim community and not in the single individual. He regarded the action of the Grand Assembly as a dynamic example of a

creative interpretation of Islamic laws that the Turks had set for the rest of the world. He justified the establishment of a secular state in Turkey and opined that the republican form of government was not only consistent with the spirit of Islam but it was also a necessity in view of the new forces being unleashed in the world of Islam.⁶⁸

His liberal outlook did not let him accept orthodoxy. He wore a moustache but departed sufficiently from Muslim orthodoxy as not to keep beard. This once deprived him of the blessings of a Muslim divine. Iqbal Singh in his remarkable book on Iqbal, *The Ardent pilgrim*, narrates an interesting incident of Iqbal's life:

It happened towards the end of his life. He had heard of a Muslim sage, Sher Mohd, living in Shakarpur, a village not far from Lahore-who had earned great reputation for his spiritual gifts through a life of great piety, austerity and conformity with the God's law. Iqbal went to see the saint personally. Mian Sher Muhammad, when saw the stranger asked him the purpose of his visit. Iqbal explained that he had come to ask for his blessings and to beg to pray for him..Sher Mohd had an obsession about beard and firmly believed that it was easier for a camel to pass through the eye of the needle than for an unbeard Muslim to enter the kingdom of the Heaven. He advised everybody who came to him for guidance to cultivate beard. He told Iqbal point blank that he could not intercede with God on his behalf since he had shaved off his beard. Iqbal got up and walked upto the cab standing at some distance from the village. Meanwhile, someone had recognised Iqbal and told Sher Mohd who the stranger was, whom he had turned away so unceremoniously. The poor unsophisticated divine was greatly upset at what he had done. He ran after Iqbal and managed to catch up with him just as the latter was getting into tonga. He apologised profusely for his rudeness and explained that his admonition regarding keeping of a beared was

meant only for the ordinary Muslims. For one whose services to the community were of such outstanding order, he added, there was no need to worry about such minor observances.⁶⁹

Iqbal assailed and exposed the Pirs and Mullas who exploited the poor innocent people. The following incident recounted by Iqbal himself reflects his boldness:

After my moving to Javid Manzil (Iqbal's residence on Mayo Road. It was named after Javid Iqbal, his son), one day in summer, a Pir Sahib came to see me. The heat was at its height and the glare of the sun was too much for the eyes. A man drenched in sweat and breathless from exhaustion came and flung himself at the feet of the Pir. This was a disciple. He said, 'I heard that your Holiness had arrived. I left Mughalpur (a suburb of Lahore) quite early in the morning. I followed your trail, failing to find you at numerous places until I was directed here. Thank God! I found you after all. My plight is miserable your Holiness! I am starving and under a debt of two hundred rupees. I can find no job. Pray for my rescue from all these troubles.' Here the disciple took out two rupees from his pocket and offered them to the Pir. Pir Saheb pocketed the money and raised his hands to pray, asking me to join him. 'You go ahead yourself, I shall pray when you conclude.' Pir Saheb shut his eyes, mumbled for a while and concluded by covering his face with his hands, sweeping them down to the tip of his beard and blowing his holy breath upon his disciple. The disciple was overjoyed with great hopes of the instant subsiding of the clouds of misfortune and destitution. I then said to the Pir Saheb, 'Now it is my turn.' So I lifted my hand and said aloud: 'O God! The Pirs of our days have gone astray. Guide them to the right path.'

Pir Saheb protested, demanding an explanation for this uncalled for supplication. I said, 'look Pir Saheb! I did not interrupt in your prayer at all. Let me make my supplication in peace now.' He became silent and I continued, 'O Lord! enlighten the disciples of our times, and keep them safe from the misguidance of their Pirs.' Pir Saheb interrupted again but I paid no heed to this protest and continued, 'The poor disciple says he is under a debt of two hundred rupees not realizing that now his debt has grown to be two hundred and two rupees.' At this Pir Saheb became more indignant saying, 'This is an insult, mind you Sir.' I said, 'Alright, I end my prayer but on the condition: you return the two rupees to the disciple, arrange for his relief from his debt and get him some job.' Pir Saheb was highly displeased but returned the two rupees and promised to look after the needs of his disciple. These are the ways of the Pirs.⁷⁰

He attacked the customs of child marriage and also attacked polygamy permitted in the Muslim community and characterized it as a "religious sanction of rape" to the rich Muslims.

He pulled up the religious leaders, Pirs, Priests and Mullahs of both the communities in the same breath for preaching hatred and discord. He wrote, "the religion of Mulla is creating trouble in the name of God," the religion of kafir, "consists of planning for earnest endeavour." He also called them "dark souls" and the sufis "blood thirsty leopards."⁷¹ In spite of being a true follower of Islam he was proud of his Brahmin origin and boldly said:

*Mara binger ke dar Hindustan diger namay beeni,
Brahmin-zada-i-ramz-ashna-i-Rom-O-Tabrizast!*

(Look at me. For none but me, a descendent of Brahmins, is privy to the secrets of Rom and Tabriz).

*Mir-O-Mirza ba siyast-dil-o-din bakhtu und,
juz brahman pisare mehrame asrar kajust?*

(The Mirs and the Mirzas have gambled away their souls in politics!

Except a Brahmin boy, who knows divine secrets?⁷²

Iqbal wrote poem on *Aftab* (sun) and *Rama* in which he declared Ram as a prophet and a beacon-light. His bold insistence that "dynamic infidal is more righteous than a passive Muslim", his belief that "there is no judgement day at the end of life, but that everyday is a judgement day," and his attack on the organised static faith was interpreted by the Mullahs as an attack on Islam. They accused him of non-conformism and called him heretic. Pirzada Mohd. Siddique Saharanpuri enquired from Maulana Abu Mohd. Syed Didar Ali Shah, the Imam of Masjid Wazir Khan of Lahore, who was notorious for declaring Muslims as heretics on any slight pretext:

What do the Ulemas and the exponents of Shariat hold in matter where a Muslim assigns divine attributes to the Sun, addresses his prayers to it, does not believe in the day of judgement, makes fun of Moses, satirizes the Muslims divines and the sufis, call them names, declares a Hindu religious leader whom they consider to be a reincarnation of God, as a 'prophet' and a 'beaconlight' and lavishes praise upon him? Is such a man Muslim or kafir? What is your verdict in regard to social intercourse, commercial dealings and relationships of any kind of other Muslims with such a person?⁷³

The Maulana immediately gave his verdict that such a person could not be regarded as Muslim and observed that:

Unless the poet in question does not recant his heretic statements and does not repent for all that he had said, all Muslims should refrain from social intercourse with him and if they do not do so, they could be committing an unforgivable sin.⁷⁴

The reactionary verdict led to the Maulana becoming an object of ridicule of Maulana Nadvi and other learned and enlightened Muslim divines. They went to the extent of saying that no one was

Muslim if Iqbal, who was a true devotee of the prophet and a devout Muslim, could be called heretic.⁷⁵

All this pained Iqbal and out of anguish he said of himself:

*Zahid-e-tang nazar ne mujhe kafir jana,
Aur kafir yeh samajhta hai musalman hoon main!*⁷⁶

The orthodox Muslims consider me a 'Kafir' (non-believer) and in kafir's eye I am a Muslim.

Iqbal was progressive and not the blind follower of the past traditions. To him ".....a false reverence for past history and its artificial resurrection constitute no remedy for a people's decay." "The verdict of history," as a modern writer has happily put it, "is that worn out ideas have never risen to power among a people who have worn them out."⁷⁷ Iqbal was secular and stood for the national integration. The essence of Iqbal's life and work was his humanism, writes Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, a well-known writer. In 1923, Mulk Raj Anand, at that time a student aspiring to become a poet, called on Iqbal. When Anand told him that he had a friend and his sister-in-law waiting outside Iqbal himself got up and fetched them. Mulk Raj said, "I have brought some poems-Calf love poem. And I looked towards Yasmin." "If the calf is that lovely girl bless you both!" "I was born a Hindu," Mulk Raj said and "she is a Muslim." "That is just the kind of union I want," Iqbal said.⁷⁸ Iqbal also gave him a signed copy of *Bang-i-Dara*, a collection of his patriotic poems. When Mulk Raj Anand was wrongly implicated in a terrorist bomb-case, Iqbal secured his release, by arguing his case in his role as a Barrister. And when Yasmin was married off with a railway guard (Who ultimately murdered her) Iqbal expressed his deep sympathy and gave him part of the money to buy a fare to London and study philosophy.⁷⁹

Ashiq Hussain Batalvi narrates one more such incident. Once he spotted in the Nila Gumbad market of Lahore a young Hindu frustrated and dejected to the point of attempting suicide. Batalvi took him to Iqbal who with an amusing dialect based on the doctrine of karma removed that foliage of abstraction from which that young man's mind had been suffering. This young-man later grew up to become a famous Hindi, Urdu and Punjabi writer, Davindra satyarthi.⁸⁰

Yet another incident speaks of his generosity and kind heartedness. Close to Iqbal's house was a movie theatre. Once his friend Abdul Rashid Tariq drew his attention to the noise next-door and advised him to move to a quieter location. Iqbal said:

the fact of matter is that the bungalow is owned by two orphan Hindu children to whom I pay a monthly rent of Rs. 130. If I shift from the bungalow, I am afraid that these orphans may not be able to rent it out for a similar amount of money.⁸¹

Iqbal was anxious that the material conditions of the people should change but he had no attachment with wealth and was devoted to contentment. Once he was invited in the famous Dumrao Raj case by the well-known Calcutta lawyer C.R. Das, to give his opinion about the correct reading of a disputed word as an expert before the court. Iqbal went to Patna and received one thousand rupees per day as his fee and a hundred rupees daily allowance for his clerk. Dr. Abdullah Suhrawardy and many other lawyer's were also there. Pt. Motilal Nehru was counsel on the other side. Iqbal was requested to stay there for a month or two and study the case, but Iqbal told them that he was thinking of leaving for Lahore, as he was fully prepared to give his opinion. C.R. Das explained to him that it was a state affair and by his mere stay he could earn a thousand rupees a day and if he liked he could stay for two months but Iqbal appeared before the court next day where C.R. Das and other lawyers were conducting the case. He drafted his opinion and presented it to the court and took the next train to Lahore.⁸²

He never attached importance to wordly grandeur and lived a life of simplicity. Once a gramophone company which had recorded his songs, wanted his photograph to be inserted in their propaganda literature. Iqbal refused to give them a photograph with a remark, "I have natural dislike for such things. I cannot tolerate my photograph to be used for commercial purposes."⁸³

As a rule Iqbal never accepted anything by way of tribute. Even in the days, when he gave up his legal practice owing to ill-health and faced financial hardships, he never compromised with his principles. On Iqbal Day which was celebrated in his life time on 9 January 1938, some of his admirers wanted to raise a fund for the poet, but he declined the suggestion by saying "I feel that the needs of the people as a whole are far more pressing than the needs of a private individual, even though his work may have been a source of inspiration to most people. The individual and his needs pass away; the people and their needs remain....."⁸⁴

His political philosophy also stood for the cause of the down-trodden and intended to liberate them from all kinds of exploitation. He

bitterly condemned capitalism and imperialism and turned more and more towards socialism during the last years of his life.⁸⁵ Though he did not join any left party-Communist Party of India, the Congress Socialist party or the Radical League of M.N. Roy-yet through his verses he played an important role in imparting left ideas to the people of the country. Along with writing revolutionary poetry, Iqbal's desire to learn more and more about socialism continued till the end of his life. Once Sajjad Zaheer and Dr. Ashraf, the prominent left leaders of United provinces who along with Munshi Premchand had founded the Progressive Writers' Association went to Iqbal in 1935 for his blessing and support. "Iqbal's attitude towards us was so encouraging and kind that I," writes Sajjad Zaheer:

dared present at the very outset our differences and complaints before him instead of paying formal tribute to him. I talked about new socialist thought.....He listened to me with rapt attention and seriousness. It even occurred to me as if he was encouraging me to talk more.

Then he said,

Tasir had some talk with me on the Progressive Writers' movement and I was interested.....I may be mistaken in my understanding of socialism. I had asked Tasir to provide some authentic books on the subject. He promised but did not fulfil his promise. You know my viewpoint.....Obviously my sympathies are with the movement for socialism and progressive literature.....⁸⁶

Thus Iqbal was progressive and opponent of injustice and discrimination. For this he was immensely popular and was greatly respected by his students. As a teacher he always stood for merit and encouraged the talents of the students. Jalaluddin Akbar narrates an incident relating to the awarding of a state scholarship for Persian to a student standing first in the merit examination, from the University of Punjab. The scholarship covered the cost of higher studies in Britain. In 1929, Iqbal set the question paper and was appointed its chief examiner. Akbar appeared in this examination, but contrary to his expectations did not do well. To plead his case, Hafiz Mohd. Shirani and Sir Abdul Qadir approached Iqbal and informed him that if Akbar failed, the state

scholarship would be won by a Hindu student. Iqbal replied

I know that this candidate in addition being a good poet is excellent in Persian, but the scholarship should be awarded to the most deserving student.⁸⁷ (Consequently, that year, the state scholarship went to a Hindu student, who had secured two marks more than Akbar. The student was Hira Lal Chopra, a renowned Persian scholar and writer who later on became the Head of the Department of Islamic History and Culture, Calcutta University.)

Even Gandhiji praised Iqbal's calibre and referred to Iqbal's poems in his speeches. He regarded Iqbal's "*Tarana-i-Hindi*" poem as national song, as model of the lingua franca of the country in the following words:

Which heart will not throb on hearing Iqbal's Hindustan Hamara? If there is one I should consider it to be a misfortune? Is the language of this song of Iqbal Hindi or Hindustani or Urdu? Who will say that this is not the national language of India, that the language is not sweet, or that it does not express highest thought? To conclude, even if I were alone to say so, I am quite clear, that ultimately, neither the Sanskritized Hindi, nor the Persianized Urdu will win the race, Hindustani alone can do so.⁸⁸

Iqbal was also selected for the appointment of first Vice-Chancellorship of Jamia-Millia university by Gandhiji. In a letter written to Iqbal Gandhiji said:

The Muslim national university (Jamia-Millia) calls you. If you could take charge of it, I am sure it will prosper under your cultural leadership. Hakimji Ajmal Khan and Dr. Ansari and of course the Ali brothers desire it. I wish you could see your way to respond.⁸⁹

Iqbal humbly declined the offer by saying,

I regret very much my inability to respond to the call of those for whom I have the highest respect, for reasons which need not and perhaps cannot be mentioned at present. While I am a strong supporter of National Education I do not think I possess all the necessary qualifications for the guidance of a university which requires a man who would steer the infant institution through all the struggles and rivalries likely to arise in the earlier stages of its life. And I am, by nature, a peace time worker.⁹⁰

Though Iqbal did not accept the offer yet he prepared the syllabus of Jamia Millia along with other educationists and eminent leaders.⁹¹ In 1928 he was invited to Madras, Hyderabad and Aligarh to deliver a series of lectures. In Madras, besides the *Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu*, addresses of welcome were presented to him by the Brahmin scholars of South India. The University of Mysore also arranged a lecture to be delivered by him. A professor of Philosophy who was a non-Muslim remarked in the course of speech.

The Muslim may claim Dr. Iqbal a million times as their property, but he belongs to us all. He is not an exclusive property of any religion or class. If they are proud that Iqbal is a member of their religion, it is no less pride to us that Iqbal is an Indian.⁹²

In 1934, Iqbal was awarded D. Litt by the Punjab University, and in 1937 the Allahabad University conferred on him the Degree of Literature. In 1937, he was invited to Oxford for Rhodes lecture. As a member of the Senate and Syndicate of the Punjab University and for many years, as the Dean of its Oriental Faculty, his advice on educational affairs was sought and availed by those engaged actively in the work of education. He was also invited by the king Nadir Khan of Afghanistan to advise him on the proposed reorganisation of the Department of Public Instructions.⁹³

His advice on political matters of the country was sought even by the foremost Congress leaders. In 1926 Iqbal was elected a member of the Punjab Legislative Council. He was invited by the British to

participate in the second and Third Round Table Conferences. He was a member of the Muslim League and served this party till the end of his life. In 1930, he was elected president of the All India Muslim League. It is there that he, in his Presidential Address, demanded the formation of a Muslim State in the north-India but within the Indian Federation. It is this demand which led many to call him "separatist", "communal", "reactionary", "Pan Islamism" and the "Founder of Pakistan." But in the words of B.R. Nanda,

Like most of the great minds of the world, he was misunderstood. He was called a Pan-Islamist, a reactionary politician and the unkindest out of all, he was termed communalist. If Iqbal was a politician at all he was nothing but a Pan-Asiatic.⁹⁴

Iqbal was a patriot and proud to be the son of India. He had a large circle of non-Muslim friends which included Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Raja Narendra Nath, Sir Gokul Chand Narang, Sir Joginder Singh, Sir Sunder Singh Majithia and Maharaja Sir Kishan Prasad. He stood for the freedom of the country and held all the freedom fighters in high esteem. He also wrote poems eulogising *Gandhi*, *Motilal Nehru* and *Jawaharlal Nehru* and condemned the traitors like *Jafar* of Bengal and *Sadiq* of Deccan who betrayed their motherland. In *Bal-i-Jibril* (Gabriel's wing) 1935, *Javid Nama* (The book of eternity) 1932, *Zarb-i-Kalim* (The Rod of Moses) 1936, and in his last work *Armughan-i-Hijaz* (The Gift of Hijaz) which was published posthumously (1938), he preached patriotism and unity of India.

He was a true believer of Islam, but was not communal and believed that "no religion teaches hatred of other religions" and first of all every one, no matter to which community or religion he belonged was Hindi that is Indian. Once he said to Ranjee G. Sahani, "I am sprung from the same stock; India is older than Hinduism and Islam and will remain when we and our creeds become one with yesterday's even thousand years....."⁹⁵ His message of love, unity and harmony was not only for the Indians but to the whole mankind. Like Burke he was born for the universe.⁹⁶ Only three months before his death in a New Year's message from Lahore Radio, he said:

Only one unity is dependable, and that unity is the brotherhood of man, which is above race, nationality, colour and language. So long as this so-called democracy, this ac-

cursed nationalism and this degraded imperialism are not shattered, so long as men do not demonstrate by their actions that the whole world is the family of God, so long as distinctions of race, colour and geographical nationalities are not wiped out completely, they will never be able to lead a happy and contented life and the beautiful ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity will never materialise.⁹⁷

During the last four years of his life his activities were restricted by his ill-health. In 1934 he suffered from a severe throat infection which resulted into cardiac asthma. In 1935 his wife passed away; in 1937 he developed cataract and his vision was affected. He was active and very much mentally alive even four hours before his death. In the last night of his life Iqbal discussed philosophy and politics with Baron Von Veltheim of Germany. Baron was with him until about midnight.⁹⁸ At the closing hours of his time on this earth, he asked his friend Diwan Ali who was with him to sing a few verses of the mystic poet of the Punjab Bulleh Shah. The verses seemed to touch a very tender chord in Iqbal's heart and tears trickled down his cheek,⁹⁹ and in early morning of 21 April 1938, the 'Voice of the East' which had stirred so many people for divergent reasons departed from this world.

Gloom descended on Lahore when the news of Iqbal's death became known. All Public offices including the civil secretariat, the district court offices, schools, colleges and markets remained closed. Huge crowd estimated from 20,000 to 50,000 assembled to join his funeral procession. Rush at the plot where Iqbal was to be laid to his eternal rest was so great that the City Magistrate had to put in great efforts and had the police posted to check the people from rushing to the grave side.¹⁰⁰ All the dailies of India, The Times of India, The Hindustan Times, The Statesman, Pioneer, Leader, Tribune and the Daily Herald published the news of his death on the front pages and wrote editorials and articles on him. Educational institutions in Patna and Jamia-Millia of Delhi also remained closed for a day and Lucknow Radio Station arranged a special half an hour programme on 21 April in connection with Dr. Iqbal's death.¹⁰¹

Rich tributes were paid to his memory by the eminent men not only of India but the world over. His death was regarded as a "National loss to India."¹⁰² In the words of Rabindranath Tagore:

The death of Sir Mohd. Iqbal creates a void in our literature that, like a mortal wound, will take a very long time to heal. India whose place in the world is too narrow, can ill afford to miss a poet whose poetry had such universal value.¹⁰³

Sarojini Naidu, paying her profound homage to his memory said:

Though the earth may enshrine the precious dust of Sir Mohd. Iqbal's body, his imperishable genius will shine through the ages in undimmed splendour.¹⁰⁴

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said:

I have learnt with deep sorrow of Sir Mohd. Iqbal's death. Only a short while ago, I had the privilege of having a long discussion with him as he lay on his sick bed and his keen intelligence and love for Indian freedom impressed me deeply. By his death India loses a bright and scintillating star, but his great poems will keep his memory fresh in the minds of the coming generations and inspire them.¹⁰⁵

In the words of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru:

I have been deeply shocked to hear the news of the death of Sir Mohd. Iqbal, whom I met only two months ago in Lahore. One of the greatest living poets of the world, he was a master craftsman in Persian and Urdu poetry and for the last thirty years I have admired him as poet, and a thinker of the first magnitude. India loses in him a great poet and a man of rare culture.¹⁰⁶

The passing away of Sir Mohd. Iqbal was regarded by Subhash Chandra Bose as "the disappearance of one of the brightest stars from the literary firmament of India. "Bose further added," We bow our heads in reverence to one of the great sons of India"¹⁰⁷ Priemeir of the United Provinces Pt. Gobind Vallabh Pant called him as "an outstand-

ing personality in the world of letters. He was a gifted poet and a man of deep culture and broad outlook."¹⁰⁸ Raja Narendra Nath said, "India was proud of him," Gokul Chand Narang said, "He will enjoy permanent place in the chamber of fame."¹⁰⁹ Jinnah paying his tribute said, "such a great son of Islam, such a noble soul, such a great patriot and one of the greatest Indian had been taken away from us."¹¹⁰

Even the accused persons in the Fatehwal case, including Sardar Dan Singh Wachhos, Lala Hemraj, Sardar Shiv Dev Singh and Pt. Ram Chand in a message expressed their sorrow and grief and called him "true friend of humanity."¹¹¹

Bar Associations of Lahore, Gujranwala, Sialkot and other parts of Punjab, schools and colleges, students' unions, Progressive Writers' Union etc. passed resolutions expressing shock. Mammoth public meetings were held all over the country, Lahore, Karachi, Calcutta, Madras, Patna and Lucknow in which resolutions were passed calling him as a matchless thinker, a peerless philosopher, a poet without an equal, an inspirer of nationalism, a friend of down-trodden humanity and liberator of enslaved people, a son of the Indian soil whom his motherland was proud of.¹¹²

The shock and rich tributes expressed all over the country show that Iqbal was a genius. It is not enough to say that he was a great scholar nor it is enough to say that he was a doyen of the socialist movement or a great humanist, or a man of rare culture. Whatever expressions are used for him are not enough to stream up his multi-dimensional personality.

Geniuses like Dr. Iqbal do not die. They live in their works and in the words of Professor Mujeeb, "Dr. Iqbal's work will speak for him till ages after our controversies have been buried in the dust."¹¹³

2

REFERENCES AND NOTES

IQBAL THE MAN

- ¹ Sachchidananda Sinha, *Iqbal the poet and His Message*, Allahabad: Ram Narain Lal, 1947, p.20.
- ² *Ibid.*, p. xxiii.
- ³ There is a divergence of opinion about the date of his birth. Many writers on *Iqbal* including V.G. Kiernan, S.A. Vahid, Abul Hasan, Ali Nadwi, Sachidananda Sinha and Tarachand have accepted it to be 22 February 1873. The introduction to *Kuliyat-i-Iqbal* also mentions this date. But recently many researchers on Iqbal have stated it to be 9 November 1877. Besides, Iqbal himself mentioned this date in his doctoral thesis. However, according to Vahid Qureshi and Akbar Haidry, the correct date is 29th December 1873, See Naqush, Lahore: Idara-i-Farogh-I-Urdu, 1977, pp. 30-31.
- ⁴ Hafceez Malik (ed.) *Iqbal-Poet Philosopher of Pakistan*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1977, pp. 3-4
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5.
- ⁶ W.W. Hunter, *Rulers of India: Earl of Mayo*, London: Clarendon Press, 1891, p. 10.
- ⁷ Binayendra Mohan Choudhry, *Muslim Politics in India*, Calcutta: Orient Book Company, 1946, p. 19.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*

- ⁹ P. Hardy, *The Muslims of British India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972, p. 151.
- ¹⁰ Shan Muhammad, *Sir Syed Ahmad Khan: A Political Biography*, Lahore: Universal Book 1976, p. 111.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 109.
- ¹² *Observer* was started in Ludhiana in 1895 but subsequently shifted to Lahore:
- ¹³ Rafiq Zakaria, *Rise of Muslims in Indian Politics*, Bombay: Somaiya Pub., 1970, pp. 216-17
- ¹⁴ *The Tribune*, 7 and 10 July 1906.
- ¹⁵ Riaz Hussain, *The Politics of Iqbal*, Lahore: Islamic Book Service, 1977, p. 8.
- ¹⁶ Malik, n. 4, p. 16 Also see, Iqbal Singh, *The Ardent Pilgrim*, Bombay: Orient Longman Ltd., 1951, p. 7.
- ¹⁷ Ainslie T. Kmbree, *India's Search for National Identity*, New Delhi: Chanakya Publications, 1980, p. 44.
- ¹⁸ Hirendermath Mukerjee, *India Struggles for Freedom*, Bombay: Kutub Publishers, 1946, p. 63.
- ¹⁹ K.H. Qadiri, *Hasarat Mohani*, Delhi: Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-Delhi, 1985, pp. 54-56.
- ²⁰ J.C. Chakarvaty who joined the college in 1888 was a distinguished mathematician and rose to become acting registrar. In latter years Sardar K.M. Panikkar taught there when it became a full-fledged University. The first graduate of the University was Ishwari Prasad and the first Master of Arts was Amba Prasad. See V.B. Kulkarni, *India and Pakistan*, Bombay: Jaico Pub. House, 1973 p. 153.
- ²¹ Shan Muhammad, n. 10. p. 238.
- ²² Aligarh Institute Gazette, 7 April 1988, cited in *Ibid.*, p. 239.
- ²³ *Ibid.*
- ²⁴ Sir Syed at that time was an ardent advocate of the Hindu Muslim unity. He once said, "Without any doubt, as I want friendship, unity and love between the two communities inspite of religious distinction. Similarly I want mutual co-operation, love, sympathy and brotherhood, especially without minding the political differences." In 1877 Anjuman-i-Islamia requested the Government of Punjab that 50 per cent of the posts in

government services be given to the Muslims on the basis of their population. The government turned down their request, saying that services were provided to all irrespective of religious distinctions on the merit. Sir Syed appreciated the action of the government and stated that Indians, especially the Muslims were in the habit of trying to get everything without attempting to acquire the necessary capabilities. See Shan Muhammad, n. 10, pp. 238-40. Also see Hardy, n. 9, pp. 136-39.

²⁵ Shan Muhammad, n. 10 pp. 240-41.

²⁶ Abdulla Anwar Beg, *Poet of the East*, Lahore: Qaumi Kutub Khana, 1939, p. 18.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Quoted from Riaz Hussain, *The Politics of Iqbal*, Islamic Book Service, 1977, p. 4.

²⁹ David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978, pp. 247-48.

³⁰ Quoted from Rafiq Zakaria, n. 13, p. 259.

³¹ Hafeez Malik, n. 4 p. 19.

³² Safdar Mahmood, Javaid Zafar, *Founders of Pakistan*, New Delhi: Uppal Publishing House, 1988, pp. 158-59.

³³ Iqbal Singh, n. 16, p. 38.

³⁴ Michael Edward, *British India*, London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1967, p. 264.

³⁵ Abdulla Anwar Beg. n. 26, preface, p. xi.

³⁶ Zafar Uganwi (ed.) *Secrets of Iqbal*, Calcutta: Calcutta University, 1984, pp. 84-91. Also see, S.M.H. Burney, *Iqbal-Poet patriot of India*, Delhi: Vikas publishing House, 1988, p. 44-65.

³⁷ Burney, n. 36, p. 66. Also see, Sardar Jafri, "I had a Dream: Temple of Love". *The Times of India*, 18 November 1990.

³⁸ Iqbal Singh n. 16, p. 49.

³⁹ *Hindustan Times*, 22 April 1938.

⁴⁰ Syed Mahmud, *Hindu Muslim Cultural Accord*, Bombay: Vora and Company, 1949, p. 58.

⁴¹ G. Allana, *Muslim Political Thought Through the Ages*, Pakistan, 1969, rpt.; New Delhi: Publication Department, 1987, p. 188.

- 42 Justice S.A. Rahaman, *Iqbal Aur Socialism* (Urdu), Delhi: Firdaus Pub., 1979, p. 38.
- 43 Abdulla Anwar Beg, n. 26. pp. 147-49.
- 44 *The Tribune*, 26 April 1938.
- 45 *The Times of India*, 22 April 1938.
- 46 *The Statesman*, 22 April 1938.
- 47 Ali Sardar Jafari, *Iqbal Shanasi* (Urdu), New Delhi: Maktaba Jamia 1976, p. 22.
- 48 V.S. Naravane, *Prem Chand - His Life and Works*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1980, p. 45.
- 49 Amrit Rai, *Prem Chand-A Life*, New Delhi: P.P.H., 1982, p. 124.
- 50 *Ibid.*
- 51 Madan Gopal, *Munshi Premchand: A Literary Biography*, New Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1962, p. 447. Iqbal on his part was also devoted to the stories of Premchand. When *Prem Pachisi* was published from Kanpur in 1915, Iqbal promptly sent a long and highly favourable comment on it which was later also used for advertisement.
- 52 Naravane, n. 48. p. 44. Also see, *The Times of India*. 23 April 1938.
- 53 Hamilton Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1947, p. 61.
- 54 *The Times of India*, 22 April 1938.
- 55 L. R. Gordon Polonskaya, "Ideology of Muslim Nationalism", in H. Malik (ed.), *Iqbal: Poet Philosopher of Pakistan*, n. 4, p. 116. See also *Bang-i-Dara, Kulliyat-i-Iqbal* (Urdu), Hyderabad: Commercial Book Depot, 1972, p. 147.
- 56 *Pas Chih Bayad-Kulliyat-i-Iqbal* (Persian,) Lahore: Sheikh Ghulam Ali and Sons, 1978, p. 46. See also translation by B.A. Dar, Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1977, p. 123.
- 57 Raja Rao and Iqbal Singh (eds.) *Changing India*, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1939, p. 192.
- 58 *Ibid.*, p. 192.
- 59 P.N. Chopra, *Rise of Indian Muslims in the Struggle for Freedom*, New Delhi: Light and Life Pub., 1979, p. 192.

- 60 Sachchidananda Sinha, n. 1, p. 27.
- 61 Roop Krishna, "Iqbal Poet and Preacher", in *Iqbal-A Critical Study* (comp.) by M.H. Siddiqui, Lahore, 1986, p. 214.
- 62 Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought*, Lahore: Iqbal Academy and Institute of Islamic Culture, 1989, pp. 14-15.
- 63 *The Tribune*, 26 April 1938.
- 64 Anwar Beg, n. 26, p. 115.
- 65 *Pioneer*, 22 April 1938. Also see Gibb, n. 53, p. 81.
- 66 Hafeez Malik, n.4, p. 276.
- 67 Iqbal, n. 62, p. 134.
- 68 *Ibid.*, pp. 124-25.
- 69 Iqbal Singh, n. 16, pp. 216-17.
- 70 Cited from Hafeez Malik, n. 4, p. 52.
- 71 S.A. Vahid, *Introduction to Iqbal*, Karachi: Pakistan Publication, n.d., p. 23.
- 72 *Zabur-i-Ajam-Kulliyat-i-Iqbal*, n. 56, p. 13. Also see, Burney n. 36, p. 117; Muammad Iqbal, *Secrets of the Self*, translated by R. A. Nicholson, New Delhi: Arnold Heinemann, 1978, p. 116.
- 73 Quoted from Burney, n. 36, pp. 114-15.
- 74 *Ibid.*
- 75 *Ibid.*
- 76 Jagan Nath Azad, *Zindagi, Shakhshiat Aur Shairi* (Urdu), New Delhi: NCERT, 1977, p. 18.
- 77 Muhammad Sadiq, *A History of Urdu Literature*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984, p. 459.
- 78 Iqbal, n. 72, p. 114.
- 79 *Ibid.*, pp. 114-15.
- 80 Cited from Hafeez Malik, n. 4, p. 36.
- 81 Quoted from Burney, n. 36, p. 114.
- 82 Anwar Beg, n. 26, p. 39.
- 83 *Ibid.*, p. 125.

- 84 Riaz Hussain, n. 15, p. 103.
- 85 Jawarharlal Nehru, *Discovery of India*, London: Meridian Books Ltd., 1951, p. 355.
- 86 Mohd. Hasan, *A New Approach to Iqbal*, Delhi: Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1987, pp. 12-13.
- 87 Burney, n. 36, p. 114. Also see, Hira Lal, "Iqbal and India", in Shahid Haneef (ed.), *Tributes to Iqbal*, Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publishers, 1977, p. 219.
- 88 Quoted form Burney, n. 36. p. 10.
- 89 Ibid. Also see, *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Vol. XIX, p. 34.
- 90 Latif Ahmed Sherwani, *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1977, p. 203.
- 91 Zafar Ahmad Nizami, *Builders of Modern India*, New Delhi, 1988, p. 161.
- 92 Anwar Beg, n. 26, pp. 62-63.
- 93 Sheikh Abdul Qadir, *Iqbal - the Great Poet of Islam*, Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publication, 1975, p. 43.
- 94 B.R. Nanda, "Iqbal and Nietzsche", in Mohammad Haneef Shahid (ed.), *Tributes to Iqbal*, n. 87, p. 173.
- 95 Sachchidananda Sinha, n. 1, p. 35.
- 96 *The Times of India*, 23 April 1938.
- 97 Quoted form Sherwani, n. 90, p. 251.
- 98 *Statesman*, 22 April 1938.
- 99 Iqbal Singh, n. 16, p. 221.
- 100 *The Tribune*, 22 April 1938.
- 101 *Leader*, 23 April 1938 and *The Hindustan Times*, 22 April 1938.
- 102 *Statesman*, 22 April 1938.
- 103 *Ibid.*
- 104 *The Hindustan Times*, 22 April 1938.
- 105 *Ibid.*
- 106 *Ibid.*

- 107 *Statesman*, 22 April 1938.
- 108 *The Hindustan Times*, 22 April 1938.
- 109 *Tribune*, 22 April 1938.
- 110 *Statesman*, 22 April 1938.
- 111 *Tribune*, 22 April 1938.
- 112 *Ibid.*
- 113 *The Hindustan Times*, 22 April 1938.

POLITICS OF IQBAL

Once Iqbal remarked "while writing my life, it would be of little use to mention as to when or where I graduated. The study of the great mental conflict that I had to pass through and the consequent growth of thought is more important."¹ As the great mental conflict which determined his politics was the product of the then socio-economic-political and religious conditions of the country and particularly his own province, Punjab, it becomes relevant to review them in brief to understand Iqbal's political thinking and actions.

The socio-economic-political conditions of Punjab which was annexed in 1849 were conditioned by the British economic and strategic interests in this land. Their policy was to develop the province as a producer of raw material for industries in Britain, a colonial market for the consumption of British manufactured goods, and a base for recruitment to the British-Indian Army. For the fulfilment of these objectives, they constructed railways and kept Punjab predominantly agricultural, but politically and educationally a backward province.²

To continue and to consolidate their rule in Punjab, the British who were not only alien but were also a microscopic minority, needed the support and co-operation of those who had influence and control over the general masses of the province. Besides, to ensure the supply and loyalty of the soldiers, it became imperative for them to appease and align with that section of the people which commanded allegiance of the masses.³ Hence, they rewarded with lands and titles, the Sikh and

Muslim landlords of Western Punjab who had supported them during the war of 1857.⁴ They also won over the religious leaders, Mahants, Mullas and Pirs and the holy places were permitted to retain their endowments and lands.⁵ And in return both the feudual lords and Pir-Mahants supported the British rule in the country and opposed the patriotic forces and their movements.

Along with winning over the influential sections of the society to their side, the British followed such policies which divided the people, brought friction and disharmony and successfully prevented them from uniting against their exploiters.⁶ The concept of self-government based on the principle of majority, the introduction of competitive test for government services, representation on local and provincial boards and councils and the activities of the Christian missionaries opened a new arena for communal politics. The vested interests in the Hindu,, Muslim and Sikh communities started unifying their respective communities in terms of religion to get more advantages from the colonial government. The community consolidation not only produced rivalries among the three communities and disturbed the prevailing peace in the society but it also came into conflict with the ideology of the All India National Liberation Movement. This not only weakened the freedom-fighting forces but also successfully divided the people on communal basis which ultimately divided the country.

The Hindu, Muslim and Sikh alike began to give up practices which were common to them. Separate organisations were set up to make the individual conscious of his community and to identify his interests with it. *Himayat-i-Islam*, *Lahore-Anjuman-i-Islamia*, *Arya-Samaj* and the *Singh Sabha* were the outcome of this kind of thinking. As the numerical majority was important in the British introduced political set up, each community started making efforts to prevent it from disintegration and to woo the members of other communities to increase its own numerical strength. As the divisions and disunity among the people was to be advantageous for the Raj, the British rulers helped in the formation of these communal organisations.

The first important Anjuman under British rule was organized under the auspices of the British themselves. The *Anjuman-i-Islamia* was formed at Lahore in 1869 to protect the Muslim interests and to encourage Muslim loyalty towards British rule. In 1884 *Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam* was formed which sought to assert for the separate political identity of the Muslims and to rescue the Muslim orphans so as to save them from falling into the hands of the followers of other

religion.⁷ As the community formed slight majority in the total population of the Province, The Muslim revivalist sought to attract the Sikh towards Islam. Mirza Ahmad wrote that Guru Nanak was actually Muslim and that the Sikhs were thus akin to Muslims. The Sikh leaders retaliated by publishing pamphlets, poems and papers highlighting the atrocities committed on Sikhs by the Muslim rulers. This kind of literature greatly affected the harmonious relationship between Muslims and Sikhs.⁸

The peace in the Province got completely disturbed when Hindu revivalists made an attempt to get converts from both the Sikh and the Muslim communities. This process started rapidly with the establishment of Arya Samaj by Swami Dayanand in 1875 in Bombay. In January 1877 Coronation Darbar was held in Delhi and Swami Dayanand was also present in the function. There he was invited by the Hindu leaders of Lahore to visit Punjab. In April 1877, Swami visited the province and laid the foundation stone of Arya Samaj in Lahore.⁹ Its leaders launched a vigorous movement in 1880 to bring back the Hindus to Hinduism who had joined other faiths.

The Arya Samajists attacked the Sikh religion and stated it to be inferior to Hindu religion. Swami Dayanand described Guru Granth Sahib (Holy Book of Sikhs) a work of little importance and Guru Nanak a Dhambhi (hypocrite). The Arya Samachar, published from Lahore lampooned Sikhism as:

*Nanak Shah Fakeer ne naya chalaya panth
Idhar udhar se jor kar likh mara ek Granth
Pehlay chelay kar liye, peecchey badla bhes
Sar pe safa bandh kar, rakh leeny sab kes.¹⁰*

Nanak (*the Faqir*) launched a new faith
And wrote a scripture by joining fragments (of different religions).

First he made disciples and latter changed his guise
And wound a turban and sported a beard.]

This agitated the Sikhs but what alerted them was the increasing activities of the Samajists in the conversion of the Sikhs to Hinduism. Besides, the method and the manner of reconversion adopted by the Arya Samaj leaders, produced tension between the Hindus and Sikhs. The Samajists arranged public ceremonies where in the Sikhs willing to join Hinduism had to cut hair and to discard their five symbols of being a Sikh.¹¹

Sikh organisations retaliated with anger. A movement called Singh-Sabha was launched to de-Hinduise Sikhism, counteract the Arya Samaj propaganda and to assert separate identity of the Sikhs. They had the blessings of the British government and in return the Singh Sabha associations expressed their loyalty towards the British and its rules required that no discussion of an anti-government nature should take place at Sabha's meetings.¹²

Religious groups ostensibly promoted literacy so that their co-religionist could read a common script. Schools, colleges and clubs were set up with this purpose. Dayanand-Anglo-Vedic College was opened in Lahore in 1887 and later in Jullundur by Hindus. In 1892, the Sikhs set up Khalsa College in Amritsar and later in Gujranwala. Similarly, in 1892 Islamia Arts College was set up by the Muslims.¹³ These institutions instilled an awareness of their religion and heritage among the members of their respective communities and also contributed in strengthening the hold of communal leaders on the general ignorant masses. The press also played an important role in injecting the communal feelings in the minds of the people. Newspapers served as mouthpieces of their communities Rafiq-i-Hind of Lahore (1884), Paisa Akhbar of Lahore (1888) and the Zamindar championed the cause of the Muslims. The Tribune and Partap represented Hindu sentiments, and the Khalsa Samachar and Khalsa Advocate served the interests of the Sikhs.¹⁴ Keeping in mind the protection and promotion of their communal interest, the papers provided communal interpretation to issues and incidents which strained the relations among the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. With the establishment of separate educational institutions and papers, language also got related with the religion. This is how Urdu which was the common language of the people of Punjab came to be identified with the Muslims, Punjabi in Gurmukhi script with Sikhs and Hindi with Hindus. In 1889, the Hindus in Punjab led by Arya Samaj sent a number of memorials to the Hunter Educational Commission demanding Hindi instead of Urdu as the official vernacular language.¹⁵ This agitated the Muslims particularly the educated Muslims. They formed an *Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Urdu* (Society in Defence of Urdu) and petitioned the government against its replacement.¹⁶

Besides language, the issue of cow-killing also widened the gulf between the two communities and took away heavy toll of human lives. A Gaurakshani Sabha (A Society for the protection of cow) was founded in 1882 by Dayanand and in the following year, there were anti-cow killing riots in Lahore, Ambala, Ferozpur and Delhi. During

1883-91 fifteen riots took place in Punjab.¹⁷ These riots divided the people on communal lines yet leaders like Sir Syed Ahmad were willing to abandon the cow-killing if it could promote unity between the Hindus and Muslims. But cow-killing was not the only issue.¹⁸

Literature, accusing, attacking and blaming other religious communities for all problems poisoned the social atmosphere and aggravated the communal problem. The publication of *Anand-Math* by Bankim Chand Chatterjee created resentment among the Muslims all over the country including Punjab. Bankim had charged the Muslims for all the Indian problems and categorically stated that there was no room for non-Hindu participation in his nationalistic scheme:

I am a Hindu, you are a Hindu, Ram is a Hindu, Jadu is a Hindu, and there are many lakhs of such Hindus. Whatever is good for them is good for me I must do what is good for all the Hindus and abstain from doing what is bad for any Hindu. Ram, Jadu, indeed every Hindu must act like wise. If it be so, it is the duty of the Hindus to take counsel together, and agree upon a definite policy and chalk out a common line of action. This conception is the first half of nationalism.¹⁹

This kind of nationalism on political plane found powerful proponents in the extremist group of the Congress. This group was represented by Lal Bal Pal (Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal). These leaders identified the national awakening with the revival of Hinduism. For them, their religion was their politics and was identical with patriotism. Muslims were called *malechhas* unclean persons or foreigners and the Mughal rule was projected as foreign domination.²⁰ Hindu rulers who fought against the Mughal kings were characterized as national heroes. This propaganda not only cut off the Muslim masses from the nationalist movement but also pushed even the anti-British inclined Muslims away from joining the Congress and led them to organise separately and to look at the British for privileges and protection.

The British strengthened these feelings. They took some steps which projected them as the friends and well-wishers of the Muslims. In 1901, the Punjab government had decided to reserve 30 per cent of the civil service appointments for the Muslims.²¹ In the same year it also emerged as the defender of the interests of the peasantry, particularly

the Muslim peasantry. Under the colonial rule, the land had become a commodity and could be sold and purchased. The heavy land revenue, water charges and other rates and the brutal way of its collection led the peasantry to borrow money by mortgaging their lands. The high rate of interest charged by the money-lender made it difficult for the peasants to clean their slate. Hence the lands passed from the hands of the peasantry to that of the money-lenders. This caused discontent and agitated the peasantry from which the British drew more than half of the total British Indian Army.²² They provided a communal twist to this issue and saved themselves. Though the indebtedness was prevalent among all the three communities yet the Muslim peasantry which formed more than half of the peasantry of the province was more indebted than the Hindu and Sikh and the *Bania* or the moneylender was Hindu. The Government passed a Land Alienation Act in 1901 by which the moneylender could not expropriate the lands of the peasantry in lieu of debt. The Act was characterized by them as anti-Hindu and pro-Muslim. The Act had serious implication for the Indian National Congress too. The leadership of the Congress in the province was provided by the moneylenders. It opposed the legislation which sought to provide some benefits to the peasantry and thereby it lost the sympathy and support of the Punjab peasantry and came to be identified as *Bania* Party. Besides, the prominent Arya Samajists of the province were not only members but were also the leaders of the Congress. This further dissuaded the Muslims from joining the Congress and they kept themselves away from it.²³

Thus by the beginning of the 20th century the British policies had disturbed the harmony in the province and successfully divided the people on every issue. This not only weakened the nationalist movement but also restricted the growth of secular politics in Punjab. These divisions strengthened the position of the colonial rulers and they along with the Hindu and Muslim communal leaders kept the fire of communalism, burning.

In this communally surcharged atmosphere, a voice emerged from Lahore preaching patriotism, love, unity, end of friction and of foreign domination. This voice was that of Muhammad Iqbal.

Iqbal poured the volcanic fervour of a patriotic heart into the fascinating moulds of his poetry and appealed the Hindu, Muslim and Sikh to unite together to liberate their motherland which was a "paradise on earth." He condemned parochialism and communalism and regarded them responsible for discord, disunity and disharmony in the country. He wrote:

*Huwaida aaj apne zakhm-i pinhan karke chhorunga !
Lahoo ro roke mehfil ko gulistan kar ke chhorunga !
Pirona ek hi tasbeeh main in bikhre dano ko
Jo mushkil hai, to is mushkil ko aasan karke chhorunga.²⁴*

This day I shall expose my hidden wounds,
I shall weep blood till I have turned my assembly into a garden,
The scattered beads will be strung together in the same rosary no
matter how arduous, this task I will accomplish.

In the same poem, *Tasvir-i-Dard* (Portrait of Sorrow) he further
said:

*Shajar hai firqa aarai tassub hai thammar iska
Yeh woh phal hai keh jannat se nikalwata hai Adam ko!
Ujara hai tameez-i-Millat-o-aayin ne quomun, ko,
Mere ahle watan ke dil mein kuchh fikr-i-watan bhi hai!²⁵*

(The tree of dissension bears the fruit of prejudice,
This deadly combination drove Adam from paradise
Generations have been ravaged by discrimination and prejudice
Why don't you care for your country my countrymen.)

Iqbal lamented over the lack of cordial relations between the two
major communities and accused both the Brahmin and Mulla for this.
He asked the Indians to erect a *Naya Shivala* (New Temple). He said:

*Sach keh doon aye Brahman! gar tu bura na mane
Tere sanam-kadon ke but ho gaye purane!
Apnon se bair rakhna tune buton se seekha,
Jang-o-jadal sikhaya waiz ko bhi kkhuda ne!
Tang ake maine akhir dair-o-haram ko chhora!
Waiz ka waaz chhora, chore tere fasane!
Pathar ki moorton main samjha hai tu khuda hai,
Khak-i-watan ka mujhko har zarra devta hai!²⁶*

(Begging your pardon, Oh Brahmin I will speak the truth.
The idols in your temples are old and decrepit.
They have taught you to hate your fellow man;
as if God taught his creatures annihilation and war, Therefore,
I left the mosque and temple,
left the preacher's sermon and your endless tales
You saw God in these stone idols
I see God in every particle of my homeland.)

He created an inspiring image of Hindu Muslim unity by saying: "We shall erase the boundry of blind hostility in order that we may again walk along the same path."²⁷ Because of his patriotic and secular ideas, Iqbal was loved and respected by all kinds of nationalists including the revolutionaries. In 1904 Lala Hardayal, a well-known revolutionary of Punjab, was an M.A. student at Government College Lahore where Iqbal was teaching as a lecturer. Hardayal founded a Young Men's Indian Association with the help of other students and invited Iqbal to preside over its inaugural function. Iqbal instead of delivering Presidential Address recited his poem, "Sare Jahan Se Achchha Hindustan Hamara."²⁸ Which became a national song and was immediately banned by the British government.²⁹ Though, Iqbal did not join the Congress yet he could not escape its influence. At that time in Punjab the reins of Muslim politics were in the hands of aristocratic and landed classes who owed their wealth and status to the British government and thus were loyal towards the foreign rulers. The emergence of middle class and the educated Muslim posed a threat to the established bonds of Muslim loyalty and this divided the Punjab Muslims into two groups. One group was called the moderate or the loyal group and the other the 'young Muslims' or the Young English educated Mohammadans. The young party included Iqbal Fazl-i-Hussain, Zafar Ali Khan etc.³⁰ They were pro-Congress and stood for the unity, peace and progress of the country.

Iqbal supported the moderate section of the Indian national Congress and highly praised the liberal leaders. He attended their meetings, listened their speeches, and even composed poems eulogising their spirit of patriotism and sacrifice. One much personality was Gokhale, the leader of the moderate Congressmen. When Gokhale visited Lahore in 1904 Iqbal enthusiastically joined his procession-march and also recited a poem, in his honour when the procession reached the residence of Lala Lajpat Rai. The poem was:

*Aaye hain Mr. Gokhale,
Hum pe rehmat ke dar khule.*³¹

(The visit of Mr. Gokhale had opened
the doors of divine blessings on us.)

During 1905 a revolutionary wave was blowing all over Punjab. Under the leadership of Ajit Singh, the Hindu-Sikh-Muslim peasantry had united together against the Colonisation Bill which sought to make the land property of the government. Though there is no evidence of Iqbal's participation in this movement but his poetry with an emphasis

over unity played an important role. A large number of Muslims participated in this anti-British agitation and it also included the students of Government College Lahore where Iqbal was a lecturer.³²

In the same year, Iqbal under the advise of Arnold, left for Europe for higher studies for three years. Meanwhile, the Government had devised new methods to combat the spirit of unity. They partitioned Bengal (1905), encouraged the establishment of communal organisations like the Muslim League (1906) and the Hindu Mahasabha (1907) and introduced separate electorate which provided them more years of rule and ultimately led to the division of the sub-continent.

The partition of Bengal was calculated "to foster in Eastern Bengal, the growth of Mohammadan power," which it was hoped would "have the effect of keeping in check the rapidly growing strength of the Hindus."³³ The Muslim upper class which was going to be benefited by this move sided with the British and countered the slogans of Swaraj (Self-rule) and Swadeshi (indigenous) with Swajati (own community) urging purely Muslim commerce, purely Muslim industry, Muslim schools and Muslim business associations.³⁴

But Iqbal supported the Swadeshi Movement. In a letter written from the Cambridge University in response to a questionnaire by the Editor of *Zamana* of Kanpur, Iqbal wrote:

Swadeshi Movement is not only in the interest of India but in the interest of every country placed under similar economic and political circumstances. No country can achieve political independence unless, first of all, its economic conditions improve. While our leaders cry hoarse over the demand for political freedom, none of them, pays any heed to this subtle point that progress in the economic field is a condition precedent to political freedom. . . The second important condition for attaining political rights is the unity in aspirations of the individuals constituting a nation. If they are not united in their aspirations, then the spirit of nationalism will not be engendered; and if the individuals constituting a nation do not unite together, then the inexorable law of nature would obliterate such a nation from the face of the earth.

Nature pays no heed to any individual or a group of individuals! But the tragedy is that while the people raise the slogan of unity, in practical life, they do not adopt it. If they do so, they will manifest their inner unifying tendencies. What we need today is not slogan but action. For heaven's sake, my countrymen, do devote yourself to action! The purpose of the religion in the world is to create harmony and not to create discord . . . In my views the Muslims stand to gain from the success of this movement. One gentleman has published a letter in a newspaper saying that the Muslims would not benefit from this movement, because they are, by and large, agriculturists. His remarks may be true of the conditions prevailing in Punjab. Even then to say that the Muslims are agriculturist is not an argument in support of the contention that the Muslims would not get any advantage from their support for Swadeshi Movement. Pursued with determination and courage, this movement is bound to succeed. We have to take a solemn vow that we will not use, at any cost, the goods manufactured in other countries. If this movement can bring about and strengthen the unity of aspiration between the Hindus and Muslims, it would have served its objectives. India would then awaken from its long slumber and will take a place of pride in the comity of nations.³⁵

This clearly shows Iqbal's nationalist feelings and his aspiration for national independence and economic self-dependence of India. He criticised and opposed the Muslim leadership which opposed the Swadeshi Movement and regarded the unity of Hindu and Muslim essential for the progress of the country. In a letter written to his friend Moulvi Inshaullah Khan from Eden on 12 September 1905 Iqbal, while referring about the awakening in China said:

We (Indians) cannot work together. There is

no love and affection in our country. We think that a staunch Muslim is one who wants to suck the blood of Hindus and staunch Hindu is one who is the killer of Muslims. We are book worms. Our diet are Western books.³⁶

In Punjab the Muslim responded and attended the Swaraj meetings in large number. They also joined *Punjab Swadeshi Association* which was founded in Lahore on 17 October 1905.³⁷ This wave of unity even affected Aligarh which was regarded as the stronghold of Pro-British and anti-Congress Muslims. The young Muslims of Aligarh saw little benefit from moderation and alliance with government, and more mileage in the politics of protest. Some even talked of joining Congress and in May 1906, the Aligarh College Students Union advocated joint action with Hindus for Swaraj.³⁸

This reflection of unity disturbed the sleep of not only the Britishers but also the Muslim landed aristocracy as their interests were related with the existence of the former in India. They acted swiftly in drafting a memorandum to Minto and travelling to Dacca to help found and capture the new All India Muslim Association. To keep off the young, the membership was restricted to people over 25 who were literate and had a substantial income and thus debarred the young to join the association and consequently its leadership remained in the hands of the landed aristocracy.³⁹

Situation helped the Muslim landed aristocracy to project itself as the defender of the Muslim interest in the country. The Swadeshi Movement took a communal turn at the hands of the Hindu revivalists. It became as much anti-Muslims as it was anti-British. This swiftly deteriorated the Hindu-Muslim relations all over the country. The Muslims had supported Swaraj but they were not against the partition of Bengal. But when the Hindu leaders in Punjab expressed sympathy with the Bengali agitators and held meetings and demonstrations in their support, the Muslims dissociated themselves from the movement. In a Swadeshi meeting held at Rawalpindi on 7 May 1906, Hindu leaders called on all the patriots to greet one another with 'Bande-Matram' instead of 'Salam'. This further alienated the Muslims from the movement.⁴⁰

This rift suited the British design and in order to prevent the two communities to join hands against the British rulers, the British Indian Government in August 1907 suggested separate electorate for the

Muslims. The issue of separate electorate successfully kept the Hindu and the Muslim divided and dominated the Indian political scene before 40s.

It was in this background that Provincial Muslim League of Punjab was set up on 1 December 1907. The Hindu bitterly opposed the proposal of separate electorate and formed the Punjab provincial Hindu Mahasabha to protect the interests of Hindus. Among its leaders were influential Congressmen and at the 1909 session in Lahore, its President Madan Mohan Malaviya recongnized the Sabha as a Congress forum.⁴¹

When Iqbal came back from Europe in 1909, the whole province was enveloped in the communal tension and in his home-town the majority of the Hindu students of all colleges and other educated section of the community had swelled the ranks of the Arya Samaj.⁴² The Samaj along with Hindu Sabha had launched a vigorous propaganda against the proposal and had intensified its activities in assailing the doctrine of other faith and performing shuddhi. In a meeting held on 1 March 1909 at Hoshiarpur, the Hindu leaders resolved that as they were superior to Muslims in point of wealth, they should be more numerically represented and there should be four representatives for Hindus to one for Muslims.⁴³ They openly declare that they were Hindus first and Indian afterwards.⁴⁴

Muslims condemned this and called the Hindus as '*Lalas*' and cowards. All this greatly affected a sensitive person like Iqbal. In a letter to Atiya Begum (Iqbal's friend) on 20 March 1909, he wrote:

I have myself been of the view that religious differences should disappear from this country (India) and even now I act upon this principle in my private life. But now I think that the preservation of their separate national entity is desirable both for the Hindus and the Muslims. The vision of a common nationhood for India is a beautiful ideal and has poetic appeal, but looking to the present conditions and the conscious trends of the two communities, it appears incapable of fulfilment.⁴⁵

Muhammad Iqbal, the erstwhile preacher of unity between the Hindus and Muslims, instead of making efforts to bring the two communities closer by unmasking the British rulers and the communal

leaders of the country also jumped in the fray to consolidate his co-religionists. As the British were the rulers and the final decision-makers in the fight between the two, Iqbal avoided the path of confrontation with the British and also kept himself away and aloof from the anti-British movements.

Iqbal joined the Punjab Provincial League in 1909, and was elected one of its two assistant secretaries. In the same year he was appointed Secretary of a Committee which was formed in the defence of Urdu language.⁴⁶ He also associated himself with the *Anjuman-i-Itihad-o-Tarraqi-i-Mussalaman-i-Panjab* (Association of Unity and Progress of Muslims of Punjab) which had come into existence in Lahore in 1909 to promote trade among the Muslims.⁴⁷ The society was formed by the middle class young Muslims to improve the economic conditions of the community by patronizing Muslim shops. A public meeting of the Anjuman was held at Lahore on 8 April 1911 and was presided over by Iqbal. In this meeting, participated by more than one thousand Muslims, Iqbal in his presidential address asked his co-religionists to buy goods only from the Muslim shopkeepers and to help the Muslim traders.⁴⁸ Because of his increasing interests and activities for the Muslim cause he, by 1911, had become a "force among the Muslims of the Punjab."⁴⁹

The formations of Muslim organisations led to the formation of their rival organisations by Hindus. In 1911 Lala Lajpat Rai formed *Hindu Elementary Education League* with his exclusively pro-Hindi and pro-Hindu policy.⁵⁰ He called on Hindus to boycott Urdu language, to refrain from using Persian verses of Muslim poets from the wedding cards and other ceremonial occasions and to hate anything, be speaking intellectual, economic, social or religious superiority on the part of Muslims.

Ironically, the Hindu and Muslim communal organisations not only fought against each other, but they also competed with each other in the demonstration of their loyalty towards the British Raj.

The *Hakam* (Qadian paper) of the 21 March 1910 urged the Muslims to consider loyalty to the crown as their religious duty. The *Zindadil* also stated that the Muslims should be obedient and loyal towards their rulers.⁵¹ *Anjuman-i-Islamia* of Lahore and *Arya Samaj* also expressed loyalty towards the Punjab government.⁵² On 1 April 1911, a 48 Muslim members delegation of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League (PPML) presented a memorandum to the Viceroy expressing the loyalty of the Muslims of Punjab. Iqbal was one of the signatories.

He also wrote a poem entitled *Hamara Tajdar* (Our Ruler) eulogising the British monarch.⁵³

The game of the government to put one community against other continued. In 1909 the introduction of separate electorate for Muslims was aimed at winning over the Muslims and putting them as a counter-force against the Hindus. In 1911, to pacify the Hindu agitators, they annulled the partition of Bengal. This was resented by the Muslims all over the country, including Iqbal. But the shifting of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi, thereby minimising the importance of Bengal gave solace to him. In a letter to Atiya Begum he wrote a couplet venting out his feelings:

*Mundamil zakhm-i-dil-i-Bengal aakhir hogaya
Taj-e-Shahi aaj Calcutta se Delhi agaya
Woh jo thee pahley tameez-i-Kafir-o-Momin gayee
Mil gayee babu ko juti aur pagri chhingayee.*⁵⁴

The wound in the heart of Bengal is healed at last, The crown has been shifted from Calcutta to Delhi

The distinction between believer and non-believer is gone

The Bengalis have got their shoes but lost their honours.

For politically consolidating the Muslim community Iqbal wrote verses which aroused the Islamic brotherhood feelings and the pride in being Muslims. *Tarana-i-Milli* clearly shows this mental change in Iqbal. He also discarded his early nationalist view. In a poem entitled *Wataniyat*, he wrote:

*In taza khudaon mein sub se bada watan hai,
Jo perahan iska hai wo mazhab ka kafan hai.*

Country is supreme among all the contemporary gods,
Its cloak is the shroud of religion.

But the annulment of the division of Bengal had taken off the mask from the British face. The Muslims had realized that the British were not their friends and were serving their own interests by dividing the Indian people. Meanwhile, the happenings in the Muslims countries and the British role in them aroused the Indian Muslims against the British. When Italy attacked Turkey in the Tripoli war of 1911, the Muslims sympathised with Turks. The Lahore Muslims gathered in the Shahi Mosque on 6 October 1911 to protest against it. Iqbal also joined them and recited a poem *Khun-i-Shuhada Ki Nazar* (Dedicated to Martyrs.) In this poem Iqbal expressed his anguish and grief so

emotionally that the audience tore off their shirts, threw their caps in the air and started rolling on the ground in pain and tears. This meeting was attended by fifteen thousand Muslims. But Iqbal did not criticise the British, instead asked the audience to beg justice from God.⁵⁵ This makes it evident that he did not want his community to confront with the British.

However, the resentment against the British policies in India and in the Muslim countries continued. *Al-Hilal*, a weekly, in Urdu started by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in 1912 and the *Comrade* by Mohd. Ali played an important role in making the Muslims aware of the selfish motives of the imperialists and aroused them to join their Hindu brothers against the common enemy. Very soon, the preaching of unity caught up the Muslim mind. It seems that Iqbal also supported these ideas as he helped Azad in enrolling the subscribers for the paper and wrote a poem for *Al-Hilal* which was published on the front page of *Al-Bilagh* after the former was banned by the government.⁵⁶ Iqbal also wrote a poem, *Tulaba-i-Aligarh College Ke Nam* (To the students of Aligarh). In this he roused the Muslims to wage a relentless war against the foreign domination and criticised those who were still siding and supporting the alien power, particularly the administrators and professors of Aligarh College.

*Auron ka hai pyam aur, mera pyam aur hai
Ishq ke dardmand ka tarz-i-kalam aur hai!
Tair-i-zair-i-dam ke nale to sun chuke ho tum
Yeh bhi suno keh nala-i-Tair-i-bam aur hai!
Baada hai nam ras abhi shoq hai na rasa abhi
Rehne do khum ke sar tum khashtay-kalisa abhi!⁵⁷*

People are delivering various messages;
Mine is different from them all.

The style of the heart smitten with love is always different.

Up to now you heard the impotent murmur of fluttering birds in snares,

Listen now to a bird who is free-his is different wail, For the moment let the brick of tradition lie on the neck of the pitcher. Out of the fermentation of wine A new consciousness will arise!

Iqbal along with Nawab Zulfiqar Ali and Justice Shah Din was present when Gokhale came to address a meeting in Bradlaugh Hall at Lahore on 14 November 1913. The meeting condemned the Immigration Act passed by the South African Government which was discriminatory for Indians living in South Africa. There were more such

meetings in which the Muslim masses and Muslim leaders like Shafi also participated.⁵⁸

It is in this background that the Muslim League also declared 'self-government' as its goal. This brought it closer to the Congress and both signed a pact, famous as Lucknow Pact. It conceded increased weightage with separate electorates to the Muslims, where they were in minority in population or in voting strength. But Iqbal was not in favour of this pact as in his opinion, it had not given effective control to the Muslim majority provinces and Punjab, his hometown was one such province.⁵⁹

The outbreak of the First World War and the declaration of India as belligerent country, put the Indian Muslims in dilemma. The victory of the allied powers led by Britain meant the destruction of Turkey, the seat of *Khalifa*, as Turkey had joined the war against the Allied powers in November 1914. The British-Indian government was aware of this dilemma and issued statements and made declarations that the holy places of the Muslims would not be touched. It also assured the Muslims about the safety of Caliphate.⁶⁰ Iqbal during the war-period kept himself aloof from the practical politics and avoided being involved in any kind of controversy. He stopped attending even the non-political meetings.⁶¹

Iqbal did not react on the war by issuing any statement in favour or against it. He kept himself busy writings his works. But he adopted Persian language and both his works *Asrar-i-khudi* and *Rumuz-e-Bekhudi* were written in Persian. The reason of diverting from Urdu to Persian language was not to get wider-readership as has been stated by many writers on Iqbal. He himself answered this when he was questioned by an Englishman about this change of language. He revealed that the reason was to keep away the Muslim masses from his philosophy which preached different point of view than his practical politics.⁶² About this duality in his political actions and thought he himself explained in a letter to Atiya that "I am a combination of two personalities—outer personality which appreciates the practical and useful things which should be appreciated, the other internal which is of dreamer, philosopher and a sophist."⁶³ Thus Iqbal's politics and philosophy which was the blend of the two was often contradictory.

The Muslims of Lahore in a public meeting passed a resolution not to participate in victory celebrations. Iqbal also attended this meeting. But ironically Iqbal attended the war conference called by the Viceroy and also participated in the victory celebrations organised by

the Governor of Punjab in Lahore on 15 December 1918 and on both the occasions Iqbal recited poems expressing happiness over the victory of the British but requested the authorities not to publish them. But the poems were published in an official journal *Haq*.⁶⁴ Again he wrote a poem on Jallianwala Bagh incident but did not let it publish even in *Bang-i-Dara* which appeared in 1924.⁶⁵

In May 1920 appeared the Hunter Committee report on Jallianwala Bagh, a laboured whitewash of Dyer's brutality. An angry Mohd. Ali demanded that Aligarh College should cut off its link with the Raj in protest. When the College refused, pro-khilafat students walked out, leading eventually to the founding of Jamia Millia Delhi. Gandhiji selected Iqbal for appointment as its first Vice-Chancellor and sent him a telegram in November 1920. Iqbal refused to accept the offer by saying.

While I am a strong supporter of National Education, I do not think I possess all the necessary qualifications for the guidance of a University which requires a man who would steer the infant institution through all the struggle and rivalry likely to arise in the earlier stages of its life. And I am, by nature, a peace time worker.⁶⁶

Iqbal's letter clearly indicates that he did not want to be dragged in any political 'struggle' or 'rivalry' hence he avoided any direct involvement in politics. In 1919, the Punjab Muslim League Committee elected him as a Chairman of the Public Relation Committee for its annual session at Amritsar. But Iqbal did not accept it.⁶⁷ In 1920, he was elected a member of the Punjab Khilafat Committee but differing with the political philosophy of the exponents of khilafat movement and their method of political protest, he resigned.⁶⁸ Iqbal did not participate in the non-co-operation movement launched under the leadership of Gandhi but wrote a poem on him which was published in *Zamindar*, a daily newspaper of Punjab, on 21 November 1921. When Mohd. Ali came to Lahore to start his non-co-operation campaign and invited the trustees and teachers of Islamia College, Iqbal who was the Secretary refused the invitation on the ground that first *Fatwa* (religious verdict) of the *Ulemas* (Doctors of religious laws) be sought. But when after few months 500 *Ulemas* gave *Fatwa* Iqbal ignored it.⁶⁹ In May 1924, a session of the All-India Muslim League was held at the Globe Theatre Lahore himself to an irrevocable course. Strangely, the same Iqbal, who sought

the *Fatwa* of *Ulemas* wrote to his friend Akbar Shah Mujibabadi:

You are right. The influence of the professional Maulvis has greatly decreased owing to Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's Movement. But the Khilafat Committee, for the sake of political *Fatwa*, had restored their influence among Indian Muslims. This was a big mistake (the effect of) which was, probably, not yet been realized by anyone. I have had an experience of this recently. I had written an English essay on *Ijtihad* which was read in a meeting here and, God willing, will be published, but some people called me Kafir. We shall talk at length about this affair, when you come to Lahore. In these days, particularly in India, one must move with very great circumspection.⁷¹

The last line of this letter, "in these days, particularly in India one must move with great circumspection" truly speaks of Iqbal's actions. In theory, or in the realm of thought or philosophy he was bold, but in the realm of actions he was extremely cautious. One more incident proves this duality. Professor Ghulam Hussain of Lahore had founded a communist group in Lahore in 1922. He along with Shamsuddin had also started paper, *Inquliab* to preach Communist ideology. But the government acted swiftly and struck at the communists all over the country including Punjab. Ghulam Hussain was one among them.⁷² On 23 June 1923 a pro-Bolshevism article appeared in *Zamindar* of Lahore. The writer while appreciating it stated that an intellectual like Mohd. Iqbal also believed in Bolshevik ideas. The article quoted poem from *Khizr-e-Rah* and *Payam-i-Mashriq* of Iqbal in support of communism. On that very day, a friend of Iqbal went to his house and informed him about this article. This perturbed Iqbal greatly and without reading the article, he immediately wrote to the editor of the paper refuting the argument that he was a preacher of communism.⁷³ This further proves that Iqbal did not want to be involved in any controversy and distanced himself from any move or action which could annoy the government. His acceptance of knighthood on 1 January 1923 provides one more instance of duality in Iqbal's personality. When the Government of Punjab called Iqbal to his office and informed him that he was recommending his name for the title Iqbal said, "Islam doesn't encourage social distinction but if my refusal amounts to hurt the feelings of the

government then I will accept it."⁷⁴

The acceptance of knighthood was in contrast to Rabindranath Tagore, a great poet of Bengal who had surrendered the title in protest against the massacre of innocents in Jallianwala Bagh. But Iqbal, at whose province this genocide took place, along with other innumerable inhuman atrocities inflicted upon the people of Punjab afterwards, accepted it as its non-acceptance would have hurt the feelings of the imperialists. For this, he was bitterly criticised. Poems were also published in papers characterizing him as loyalist to the British government. Some wrote satirical verses and called him "late Iqbal" One such poem was :

*Lo madras-i-ilm hua quasar-i-hakoomat
Afsos keh Allama se Sir hogaye Iqbal.*⁷⁵

See, the place of learning is turned into a government's palace.
Alas! Iqbal the Scholar is now a Sir.

Contrary to his action, Iqbal wrote to Abdul Majid Daryabadi in January 1923, in response of congratulatory letter on his knighthood, "no one can stop Iqbal from speaking the truth, but open war is against my nature."⁷⁶ This duality in actions and thought continued in Iqbal throughout the third decade of the present century.

Aftermath of Non-Cooperation Movement

Meanwhile, the withdrawal of the Non-Cooperation Movement and the introduction of self-government in the provinces under dyarchy had provided a fertile ground to the communal organisations to spread the virus of communalism. Commenting on the communal situation in Punjab, Iqbal in a letter written to Maharaja Kishan Prasad Stated:

It is so sad that the rivalry or rather, the hostility between the Hindus and Muslims is on the increase. If this remains the situation then, in the next thirty years, life for both the communities would become difficult.⁷⁷

During the Non-Cooperation Movement Gandhiji had imparted a new religious terminology in the political struggle. India was not to fight for mere political liberty. It also aimed to instal *Ram Rajya* and this occasion proved "a veritable signal for orthodox medieval Maulan's, Maulvis and Ulemas on the one hand, and for orthodox Sadhus, Saints and Sanyasis on the other to rush to the new platform. Consequently,

religious arguments and sacred text easily usurped the place of political expediencies and rational arguments. The authority of Rama and Krishna, Allah and Quran, was invoked in every second sentence in political speeches, large masses were addressed henceforth as Hindus and Mohammadans instead of Indians.⁷⁸

Gandhiji's political methods and his weapons of non-violence and truth were steeped in Hindu religious traditions, besides his utterances about cow-protection issue which he considered "not smaller than the question of Swaraj but bigger than the question of Swaraj."⁷⁹ This intermingling of politics with religion proved disastrous for the unity of the country as India was the land of not one but many religions. The Muslims and the Sikhs also started dreaming for Allah Raj or Khalsa Raj. Iqbal came out with his own view about *Swaraj* and said. "I give priority to religion over Swaraj personally, I have no interest in Swaraj which is indifferent to religion."⁸⁰

Thus the issue of *Swaraj* went in the background and a battle based on religion emerged on the forefront. In 1924 Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, one of the most influential leader of the Hindu Mahasabha wrote *Hindutva* and coined a slogan "Hinduise all politics and militarise Hindudom."⁸¹ In 1925, the Hindu Mahasabha announced its programme which aimed at promoting communal interests of the Hindus in all political controversies, reconversion of Hindus who had joined Islam, to organise gymnasium for Hindus and to popularise Hindi.⁸² This prepared the pre-condition for the emergence of a more militant organisation than Mahasabha-a-communal Hindu organisation the *Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh* which signified the beginning of more bloodshed and communal violence.

The Muslim retaliated by *Tabligh* and *Tanzim*. Thus the rival communal organisations stimulated each other and competed with each other. In this tension ridden atmosphere, the two communities in Punjab started arming themselves against the other. *Ali Gol* and *Mahabir Dal*.⁸³ were formed to protect the people of their respective communities in case of riots which occurred frequently after the Non Cooperation movement.

There was a serious riot at Multan during Muharram in 1922, a further riot in April 1923 and another at the same festival in 1927. The city of Amritsar witnessed two riots in 1923, Panipat two riots in July 1923 and August 1925, Rawalpindi witnessed a major communal riot in June 1926 and Lahore in May 1927.⁸⁴

Shuddhi Movement in Punjab was regarded as contributory factor in these communal riots.⁸⁵ Lala Lajpat Rai in his article entitled the "Hindu-Muslim Problem" in the *Tribune* on 13 December 1924 frankly admitted that, "the present movement is a reaction of the Hindu-Muslim situation. There is nothing in its aims and objects or its constitution that made it anti-Muslim, but to be frank, the fact is that anti-Muslim is the only thing that keeps it alive."⁸⁶ Muslims were perturbed by the *Shuddhi* and *Sangthan* Movement and countered it by *Tabligh* and *Tanzim*. But in Iqbal's opinion more dangerous than *Shuddhi* was the then polity of India which was harmful for Muslims and Islam.⁸⁷ Regarding language controversy Iqbal's view was rational. He opined in a letter written to Abdul Rabkhan Nashtar on 19 August 1923

I do not consider language an idol to be worshipped. It is a means of exchange of ideas. Living language changes with the revolutionary changes in the human ideas and when its capability of revoution is no more, it dies.⁸⁸

But papers, pamphlets and posters issued by the communal leders of both the communities throwing mud upon each other, maligning even religious leaders aroused communal passions in which rationality had no place. The Kohat tragedy took place on 9 September 1924 in this background. A Hindu youngster composed a poem and recited it in a Sanatan Dharma Anniversary at Kohat, the last couplet of it ran as follows:

*Banainge kaba mein Vishnu ka Mandir;
Namazi ki hasti mitani paregee.*

(A Vishnu temple will be built in Kaba
and the Namazi (Muslim) is to be finished).

This provoked the Muslims and they composed a counter poem

*Tujhe tegh-i-Muslim uthani paregee,
Krishna teri Gita jalani paregee.*⁸⁹

(O Muslim hold the Islamic sword tightly
and burn the Gita of Krishna.)

But it was *Rangila Rasul* (merry Prophet) which proved to be highly provocative for Muslims.⁹⁰ It was published by Raj-Pal the proprietor of Lahore Book Store. The publications attracted wider

publicity in certain sections of the Hindu and Muslim press. All its copies were sold within a week and a second edition was ordered immediately.⁹¹ The Muslims took the matter to the court where the High Court Justice Dalip Singh acquitted Raj Pal. This led to a flood of protest meetings and demonstrations by the Muslims. But the Punjab Hindu Mahasabha organised meetings to celebrate Raj Pal's acquittal and praising Dalip Singh's verdict. This further fanned the fire of communal passions. Muslims started disobedience movement. Leaders like Hasrat Mohani, Mohd Ali and Zafarullah Khan addressed the protest meetings, where a few *Naats* (religious poems) of Iqbal were also read. Many courted arrests but Iqbal remained silent and was not seen in any meeting.⁹² He came out in support of this agitation only when *Partap*, a leading Hindu paper commented that Iqbal was against the Civil Disobedience Movement. As Iqbal did not favour confrontation with the authorities he promptly called a meeting of the prominent Muslims of Punjab. In this meeting Iqbal said that he was "unable to fall in with the view that Civil Disobedience would do the Muslims any good." He advised the Muslims to give up agitation and to give time to authorities to tackle the issue. Consequently, the agitation was called off.⁹³ Thus Iqbal who stood for peace and harmony in the province checked the escalating communal violence by making the leaders to call off the agitation.

The communal polarisation of the people on religious lines helped the Punjab authorities. Both the Hindus and Muslims distrusted each other and desired the presence of European officers to maintain law and order as Indian officers belonging to a particular community were seen by the other as partial towards his own co-religionists. After the Lahore riots, both Hindu and Muslims took separate delegations to Deputy Commissioner of Lahore and urged him that investigation of Lahore riots should be done by the European officer. The Muslim delegation was led by Muhammad Iqbal.⁹⁴

Thus during the third decade of the twentieth century, Punjab had become the vortex of religious passions. In this atmosphere, the legislations passed by the ruling non-communal organisation of big landlords (Hindu, Muslim and Sikh), the Unionists were also seen helping only the community of the leader of the ruling party.⁹⁵ This further helped the communal leaders to convince the members of their respective communities that their interests could be protected and promoted only by their communal organisations. This propaganda not only kept the bulk of the masses of Punjab away from joining hands with the left and secular forces on the basis of their socio-economic

interests but also foiled the attempts made to restore the atmosphere of peace and amity.

In Lahore, some Hindus and Muslims with this intention jointly organised a body called the National Liberal League. Muhammad Iqbal also joined this *league*. Later when C.Y. Chintamani convened a National Conference at Bombay, Iqbal offered himself to be enlisted among those who were responsible for its sponsorship.⁹⁶ Explaining his association with this organisation Iqbal stated:

In Punjab because of the bitterness between the Hindus and the Muslims shameful conditions have emerged which no sincere and honest human being can tolerate. It is my genuine opinion that Hindu and Muslims by eliminating their differences can live in peace as brothers. It was with this view that I joined an organisation in Lahore, which was sponsored by the leading members of the various communities to create conciliatory atmosphere in communal relations. Later I resigned from this body because here too, the atmosphere was that of pugnacity. I have so far remained aloof from all political parties but it is my considered opinion and hope that all political parties should work with harmony and cordiality. The present feelings of extreme hostility are utterly ruinous for the moral and social life of the various communities. I disown contact with political parties but it is my heartiest wish that the people of the subcontinent should live in peace and mutual goodwill.⁹⁷

This shows that Iqbal desired peaceful solution of the communal problem and wanted all the political parties to work for harmony and reconciliation. But the then political system was bound to keep them divided and hostile towards each others. Both the communities wanted to get more loaves and fishes. As the concept of majority rule was advantageous for Hindus, they termed it democratic and ideal form of government whereas the Muslims who were in minority and were to be in permanent minority wanted safeguards as preconditions before coming to any political agreement with the Hindus,

The 18th session of the All India Muslim League (AIML) was held in Delhi on 29 December 1926. In this session, the League urged the government to undertake a revision of the Government of India Act 1919. It appointed a Central and Provincial Committee to prepare a scheme of future reforms to be submitted to the Central Committee. In Punjab, the Provincial Committee included leaders like Muhammad Iqbal, Mohd Shafi and others.⁹⁸ Meanwhile, a dominant group in the AIML under the leadership of Jinnah wanted to arrive at some agreeable solution with the Congress. The happenings within the country and outside were responsible for this change. The abolition of *Khilafat* in Turkey, and Islam as the state religion proved a stunning blow for the Indian Muslims who had struggled for *Khilafat*. The attitude of the Turkey Government regarding the Indian Muslims also disappointed them. A Turkey Government official stated its views about the Indian Muslims as follows:

We in Turkey do not recognise india in terms of Hindu and Muslim. We have great respect for Indians and we sympathise with them as they sympathised with us. But I refuse to admit that the Moslems of India have any special claims on our sympathies and support.... You must remember that the Turkish government has abolished theocracy and the religious rule of Mullas and Maulvis long time ago.⁹⁹

In 1927, Turkey leader Kamal Pasha opined that, "there can be no peace in this country (India) so long as the Mussalmans in India pay so much attention to and demand so much honour for their religion."¹⁰⁰ Such utterances proved a setback to those who looked upon the Muslims in other countries merely as Muslims in disregard to other differences. In India, attack on secular leaders like Pandit Motilal Nehru by the Hindu communal leaders of Mahasabha during the election in 1926, when Motilal was publically denounced by the Malaviya-Lala-gang aided by Birla, as beef-eater, pro-Muslim and anti-Hindu, led the League leaders to review their policy regarding Congress.¹⁰¹

On 20 March 1927, a Unity Conference was held at Delhi at which Jinnah as the President of the league and Srinivasa Iyengar, as the President of the Congress concluded an agreement which is known as Delhi Proposals. The two agreed:

- (i) to accept a system of joint electorates, provided that Sind was separated from the Bombay Province and Reforms introduced in the North-West Frontier Province and Bluchistan;
- (ii) to reserve seats for all communities in all provinces;
- (iii) that in Bengal and Punjab, the allocation of seats would be in proportion to population;
- (iv) that in the Central legislature Muslim seats were to be not less than 1/3rd of the total.¹⁰²

In December 1927, sub-committees were appointed both by the Congress and the League to prepare an agreed draft based on Delhi proposals. But Punjab Muslim League under the leadership of Mohd. Shafi and Iqbal opposed these proposals. On 1 May 1927, a public meeting of Muslims was held in Lahore, presided over by Shafi and in this meeting Iqbal presented a resolution against the Delhi Proposals. From this began a series of anti-Delhi proposals meetings and demonstrations.¹⁰³

Iqbal and Nehru Report

The acceptance of Nehru Report by the Congress which did not concede the demand incorporated in Delhi proposals confirmed the suspicions of a section of Muslim leaders that Congress was a Hindu-body and cared only for Hindu interest. Whereas Jinnah group still stood for conditional acceptance,¹⁰⁴ Muhammad Iqbal, Mohd. Shafi and their followers stood for the rejection of the Nehru Report. It was on the question of the Nehru Report that the dissenting group of the Muslims League left the organisation and under the leadership of Mohd. Shafi, formed a parallel league called the Shafi League. The thinking element of the League was Muhammed Iqbal who also became its Secretary.¹⁰⁵

To counter the Report, Iqbal sent a deputation to England signed by the Muslim members of the Punjab Legislative Council stating that joint electorate was unacceptable to the Muslims of Punjab. In the deputation, the signatories¹⁰⁶ also made it clear that the Muslims of Punjab "did not wish to abandon their separate electorate in favour of joint electorate whether with or without earmarked seats for Muslims." The reason for retention of separate electorate was stated that:

The idea of joint electorates with a specified

number of seats being unacceptable to Indian Muslims, on the ground of its being a fruitful source of discord and disunion and also being wholly inadequate to achieve the object of effective representation of various communal groups, the representation of the latter shall continue to be by means of separate electorates as at present, provided that it shall be open to any community at any time to abandon its separate electorate in favour of joint electorate.¹⁰⁷

They further declared:

We are definitely opposed to the movement which some Muslims have set afoot of bringing round Muslims to agree to joint-electorate with earmarked seats for Muslims, in as much as we firmly believe that in view of:

- (i) cast-ridden prejudices of our Hindu brothers;
- (ii) attempts at Hindu revivalism resulting in accentuating differences in culture;
- (iii) tendency for economic differences to develop, and for other reasons it would not be in the interest of India's future development and the establishment of a stable Swarajist government to abolish Separate Electorate and have Joint Electorate as these will tend to strengthen the tendency for the Muslim people to grow ignorant and impoverished.¹⁰⁸

Besides, Mohd. Shafi, Iqbal and Fazl-i-Hussain and all other who were opposed to the Nehru Report convened All parties Muslim Conference. The Conference, held in the last week of December 1928 in Delhi was presided over by Sir Agha Khan. The Conference made the following demands:

1. The Government should be federal.
2. Residuary power to vest in the provinces and states.
3. Any Bill opposed by 3/4 members of any community present shall not be proceeded with.
4. Right of separate electorates of Muslims to remain intact till they themselves give it up.
5. One-third representation of Muslim members in the Central

Legislature.

6. Retention of the present basis of representation in the provinces where the Muslims are in minority.
7. No majority to be converted into minority or equality.
8. Reforms be introduced in Baluchistan and in the NWFP.
9. Separation of Sindh.
10. Reservations of Muslims in the services.
11. Protection of Muslim culture, language, religion, education and personal law.
12. Proper representation to Muslims in Education Department of Government.
13. No change in the Constitution of India to be brought about without the willing consent of the Indian states and provinces.¹⁰⁹

Iqbal's opposition to Delhi proposals and Nehru Report and his active participation in the All Parties Muslim Conference, makes it evident that though he desired the solution of the communal problem yet he was not prepared to compromise with the socio-economic-political interests of his community which in turn made it difficult to arrive at any acceptable solution as the communal element in the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha were equally firm and were not prepared to budge from Hindu interest.

Iqbal and Simon Commission:

Taking advantage of the differences between the Congress and the League, the British government announced the appointment of the Simon Commission which did not include any Indian. They urged the Indians, particularly the Muslims to co-operate with the Commission. In London Times, Lord Sydenham argued that the Royal Commission must aim at "giving protection to the powerful Muslim minority which is profoundly perturbed by the operation of reforms."¹¹⁰

The Congress and the Muslim League decided to boycott the Commission. Mohd. Ali asked the Indians to Darwaza Band (close the door) to Commission and appealed all the Indian political parties to frame a constitution for India which should be adopted by the British Parliament.¹¹¹ But both the Shafi League and the Hindu Mahasabha

decided to co-operate with the Commission, to convince it about the rightness of their viewpoint about the Indian constitutional problem.

Though Muhammad Iqbal considered non-inclusion of Indians in the Commission as "disappointing and distressing" yet he wanted the Muslims to co-operate with it. The Punjab Provincial Muslim league of which Iqbal was the Secretary held its meeting at Lahore on 13 November 1927 to formulate its policy towards the Commission, said:

What is our Policy? It is this that the Government as well as the Hindus must value our co-operation. We do not exist as the tool of either or of any other party. We are, what we—Mussalmans of mother India, that is Mussalmans as well as Indians. We want freedom and independence for ourselves and for our country. We want peace and progress, justice and equality. We do not want slavery or repression; we do not want monopolism and an oligarchy. If the Hindus cannot help to unite India we are prepared to do so; and if the Government will co-operate with us we can produce a united nation inspired with a common citizenship and ready and willing to govern India as an integral part of the British Empire How are we to do this unless we appear before the Royal commission with a definite and determined demand of these reforms? The first item of our policy today is that there shall be 'no boycott of this Commission' second 'no boycott of any future Commission' ...¹¹²

Iqbal pointed out during the meeting,

It has been the Hindu aim, by means of propaganda in India and England, to foist Hindu representation on this country as Indian representation. Three Hindus and one Muslim on the present Commission (as suggested by some Hindus) could hardly be Indian representation. And, therefore, if the Hindus really mean that they want India to be represented on the Commission, they must

today admit that Mussalmans must have communal representation.¹¹³

It was decided by 22 votes to 4 not to boycott the Commission.

The Punjab Hindu Mahasabha also decided to co-operate with the commission. Its Working Committee meeting held on 19 February 1928 at Lahore, condemned the Muslim demand of communal representation and also passed a resolution urging the government for the withdrawal of the Reforms from Punjab unless the principle of communal representation was abolished.¹¹⁴

But the Simon Commission failed to solve the constitutional problem. Iqbal rejected it as it did not visualize a genuine federal solution of the communal problem. Commenting on this report Iqbal observed:

Thus it is clear that, in so far as real federation is concerned the Simon Report virtually negates the principle of federation in its true significance. The Nehru Report realising Hindu majority in the Central Assembly, reaches a unitary form of government, because such an institution secures Hindu dominance throughout India; the Simon Report retains the present British dominance behind the thin veneer of an unreal federation ... To my mind a unitary form of government is simply unthinkable in a self governing India.¹¹⁵

Thus within the panorama of Indian politics Iqbal stood for the protection of the rights of his community, asserted for some constitutional safeguards and desired solution of the communal problem. But he always stood for, and supported the cause of the common people. Even in the Punjab Legislative Council, he openly criticised the policies of British authorities and the Unionists landlord's government and spoke for the redressal of the plight of the people of Punjab.

Iqbal in the Legislative Council

Iqbal contested for the Provincial Legislative Council of Punjab in 1926. He was opposed by Khan Bahadur Malik Mohd. Din. Numerous meetings were held in Lahore in his favour. As Iqbal had, by then, become a known figure all over the province not only because of his

literary achievements but also as a defender of the interest of his community, he won the election with comfortable majority of votes.

The Council, elected in 1926, was dominated by the Unionist party led by Fazl-i-Hussain, a classmate of Iqbal in M.A. in the Government College Lahore. The Unionist Party was a party of big landlords of all the three communities and as their interests were safe with the existence of British Raj, they remained loyal towards it and did not raise demand for political independence till forties of the twentieth century. In the Council, they co-operated with the British officials and did not embarrass the authorities. The Muslim League existed only on the paper,¹¹⁶ and the Congress Party had earned the reputation of *Bania Party* (Trader's Party) and lacked mass following even among the Hindus of the province.

Thus the Council was captured by the loyalists and the communalists. Lala Lajpat Rai, a leading Swarajist and a well-known Sabhaite was successful as nine of his candidates won against only two of Nehru's, (Motilal) nominees of Dr. Satyapal group based on cross-communal alliance of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs.¹¹⁷ Iqbal during his term of office as legislator (November 1926-30) attacked the anti-people policies of the Unionist Government. He supported the cause of the peasantry vis-a-vis the landlords. While speaking on the Budget for 1927-28 Iqbal criticised the view that all land belonged to the Crown. He pointed out during the debate that:

Neither in ancient India nor even in the days of the Mughals, the sovereign ever claimed universal ownership....We are told that Mughals claimed such rights; but the people of Punjab owned and possessed the land of this country long before the race of Babar entered into history—the unmistakable lesson of which is that Crown come and go; the people alone are immortal.¹¹⁸

He further emphasised this view that land belonged to the people on 23 February 1928. Debating on the resolution regarding Application of the Principles of Assessment of income-tax to the Assessment of land Revenue, Iqbal suggested that holding not exceeding five bighas, and situated in non-irrigated areas where the produce was practically fixed, should not be liable to the payment of land revenue. He also argued for providing relief to small proprietor the produce of whose land was insufficient to maintain his family.¹¹⁹ In

Nilibar, a vast tract of the area was bought by the capitalists. In this connection Iqbal proposed that half of the area should be reserved for the peasants who had to undergo manual labour to do farming.¹²⁰ He also suggested taxing the inherited property above the value of Rs. 20,000 or Rs. 30,000. Iqbal also advocated change in the system which had produced economic hardships for the millions and had given rise to communal antagonism. He opined:

There are to my mind only three alternatives open to the people of this province-either have the present system with all its ugly daughters, such as deficit budgets, communal bickerings, starving millions, debt and unemployment, or do away with the present systems root and branch or retain the form of the present system and secure the power to pay less for it. There is no other alternative. This system must come to an end if you want to live a comfortable life.¹²¹

Iqbal not only attacked the landlords interests but also the bureaucracy and the then system of administration which was highly expensive. The bureaucratic elites, constituted mainly from the Englishmen, were drawing huge salaries. For instance, the salary of the Secretary of State for India was Rs. 32,000 per month; the Governor of Punjab got Rs. 8,000, a Commissioner was drawing Rs. 4,000 and the Inspector General of Police was getting Rs. 2,250 per month along with other allowances and facilities.¹²² Criticising such expensive administrative set up, Iqbal remarked that, "We spend more than any other country in the world on the present system of administration... We pay much more than our revenues justify."¹²³ The statement drew a strong opposition from the British officials and Iqbal's suggestions for the cut in the salaries of the bureaucrats were dismissed. He also expressed his concern over the rapidly growing unemployment both among the literate and illiterate in the province and emphasised over the industrial development of Punjab to check the problem.¹²⁴

He also charged the British Government for keeping the people ignorant and uneducated and castigated it "a foreign government, a kind of Roman Catholic Church trying to suppress all the agencies that tended to enlighten the laity."¹²⁵

He stated that mass education was essential in the interest of the

people but lamented over the mass illiteracy which was 97 per cent by 1920.¹²⁶ Fazal's government had introduced compulsory primary education but Iqbal stressed the need that the government should make the students reach the higher classes by compulsion.¹²⁷ He also accused the government of adopting discriminatory policies in the allocation of grants-in-aid to the schools. In his speech on 7 March 1930 he pointed out that during 1928-29 the government provided aid to 21 school. Out of these there were 13 Hindu, 6 Sikh and 2 Muslim School and the total grant which went to Hindu school was Rs. 116,973 to Sikh institutions Rs. 8,908 and to Muslims institutions Rs. 2,220.¹²⁸

Iqbal also castigated the government on the fast deteriorating communal situation in the province. While speaking on an adjournment motion regarding communal riots in Multan, Iqbal criticised all those who attributed one cause or the other for the occurrences of riots and gave suggestions to end bickerings. To curb the communal violence he moved a resolution to prevent the mischievous and insulting attack on the religious leaders. The resolution was accepted and came in force in 1927.¹²⁹

Iqbal lamented over the then existing communal antagonism and the lack of will on the part of the leaders of the province to solve the communal problem. He said:

Just after the occurrence of the Lahore riots, a joint committee representing all shades of opinion and thought was constituted at Lahore, and a meeting of the same was held at the house of R.B. Moti Sagar. But I regret very much to say that this meeting was the first and the last meeting of this joint committee. In this meeting I suggested that in order to eradicate the spirit of mutual hatred it behoved the Committee to appoint a number of small sub-committees whose business it should be to go about the different parts of the city and impress upon the people the futality of mutual warfare. But my suggestion met the usual fate of all such proposals. We indulged in much pious talk and everything ended in fiasco.¹³⁰

In the same speech he warned the nationalist forces that:

Procrastination will not mend matters. If you want to do anything, do it without further loss of time. I wonder if the members have realised the fact that we are actually living in a state of civil war. If stringent measures are not taken to put this down, the atmosphere of the whole province will be poisoned.¹³¹

In the Council, Iqbal also supported the idea of Ch. Zafarullah Khan that a round table conference should be held at the earliest in which government should also participate, to suggest ways to suppress the existing communal tension.

He also expressed anguish over the communalisation of the atmosphere of the Punjab University. Speaking on the resolution regarding filling posts by Open Competitive Examination on 19 July 1929, Iqbal pointed out:

I suppose many honourable members of this House know that such a non-communal institution as the Punjab University has had to adopt the system of fictitious roll numbers in the various University examinations. The examiner according to this system, does not know as to the caste or creed or colour of the candidate whose paper he is examining or the College from which he comes. This system was adopted because it was feared that Hindu examiners might fail Muhammadan candidates and Muhammadan examiners might fail Hindu candidates (voice: shame). Yes, it is a shameful thing; but it does exist with all, that both Hindu and Muhammadan candidates leave certain marks in their examination papers to indicate to the examiner the candidate's caste or creed. Only the other day, I was reading the L.L.B. examination papers. I found the number '786' which is the numerical value of an Arabic formula and on others, I found 'Om' marks meant to reveal to the examiner the community of the candidate.¹³²

Iqbal also said that it was a pity that all the three major communities (Hindu, Muslim and Sikh) distrusted one another so much that they all desired British Police Officers than their own.¹³³

Thus Iqbal's political activities within and outside the Legislative Assembly show his concern for the protection and promotion of his community's interests, his desire for unity between Hindus and Muslims and his aspiration to see his country free from the foreign shackles. The minority position of his community vis-a-vis the Hindu in the political set up made him a staunch supporter of Muslim's demand for some constitutional safeguards. Hindus unwilling to accept those demands, categorised them as communal demands hardened his attitude. The provocative speeches of the Mahasabhites of the province made him suspicious of the motives even of Congress as many of the Sabhaites were prominent members of the Congress and were occupying important position in the organisation. Iqbal's consistent insistence on the retention of separate electorate and other rights speaks of his fear of Hindu dominance. Both Iqbal and some important Hindu leaders including Gandhi intermingled politics with religion which proved fatal for the unity of country and its people. The interpretation of the majority and minority in terms of religion and not on the basis of class interest not only helped the rich classes to maintain their economic position also helped the British position in the country. Their policy of 'Divide and Rule' proved fruitful and they succeeded drifting away a Muslim nationalist element from the national mainstream. Partition of Bengal, Shuddhi, Sangthan and the consequent communal riots, formation of Muslim League and the separate electorate weaned away Iqbal from his earlier nationalist path. His main aim became the protection and promotion of his community's interests and this led him to look at the Britishers as they were the final decision making power in the country.

His desire to achieve communal unity continued even after he abandoned nationalist phase and he was quite optimistic to achieve it. During his journey to Madras, a journalist of *Swarajya* paper (Madras) put a question to Iqbal on the unity of Indian people. Iqbal opined that:

It is my belief that the people of India shall be able to solve this problem, because their religious traditions, the sharpness of their perception and strength of their sentiments prove their ability to do so. That is why I am

always desirous of a Hindu-Muslim understanding, and I hold it at the utmost importance. Only the people of India have a peculiar capacity to build a new world for a 'new Adam on the ruins of the old world.'¹³⁴

Iqbal aspired for freedom but he wanted first the solution of the communal problem. When Congress under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru passed a resolution of complete independence in Lahore near the bank of Ravi in December 1929 Iqbal in a letter written to Abdul Majid Daryabadi in January 1930 stated that the Muslims also desired independence but first the differences between the two communities be solved.¹³⁵

Thus Iqbal's politics speaks of his concern for his community and his desire for the unity of the Indian people which could help them to achieve independence of the country.

3

REFERENCES AND NOTES

POLITICS OF IQBAL

- ¹ Abdulla Anwar Beg, *Poet of the East*, Lahore: Qaumi Kutub Khana, 1939, preface, p. xi.
- ² The Legislative Council which was established in other provinces in 1863, was introduced in Punjab in 1897.
- ³ Ven Den Dungen, *The Punjab Tradition: Influence and Authority in the Nineteenth Century*, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1972, p.171.
- ⁴ P. Hardy, *The Muslims of British India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1972, p. 93.
- ⁵ G.S. Chhabra, *Social and Economic History of the Punjab*, Delhi: S. Nagin and Company, 1962, p. 374.
- ⁶ "Divide et Impera" was the cornerstone of the British policy in India including Punjab. They successfully put one community against the other and exploited them all. This policy had been initiated before the First War of independence in 1857, and had greatly helped the British in capturing power and defeating the nationalist forces. Whilst Henry Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner of Lahore was inciting the Muslim sepoys of Oudh against the Sikhs, his brother Sir John Lawrence was inciting the Sikhs in Punjab against the Muslims by saying that the

Mughal Emperor of India was hostile to Sikhs and that their Guru was beheaded by the Mughals and that the British wanted to help the Sikhs to take revenge. The propaganda did not stop there. Copies of forged proclamation stated to have been issued by Bahadur Shah were found pasted on the walls in every important town of Punjab. In the proclamation, it was stated that Emperor had ordered that the first step to be taken was the massacre of Sikhs everywhere. But the fact is stated by Metcalf himself that about the same time Bahadur Shah was in fact going round in Delhi and personally proclaiming that the war was against the Firangis and that no Indian should be touched. Sunder Lal, *British Rule in India*, Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1972, p. 318

7* Judith M. Brown, *Modern India*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984, p. 157.

8 *The Tribune*, 5 May 1911.

9 J.N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, New York: Macmillan and Company Ltd., 1918, p. 110.

10 Khushwant Singh, "Genesis of the Hindu-Sikh Divide" in *The Punjab Story*, New Delhi: Roli Books International, 1985, p. 5.

11 *Ibid.*

12 Teja Singh, *Essays in Sikhism*, Lahore: Sikh University Press, 1944, pp. 119, 132.

13 Chhabra, n. 5, p. 148.

14 Hardy, n. 4, p. 126. Also see Emmett Davis, *Press and Politics in British Western Punjab*, Delhi: Academic Publication, 1983 p. 90

15 Hardy, n. 4. 142.

16 Ian Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj 1849-1947*, New Delhi: Manohar, 1988, p. 68.

17 Hardy, n. 4, p. 140.

18 Sir Syed in an article published in Aligarh Institute Gazett on 12 June 1897 said, "If by abandoning cowslaughter more Hindu and Muslim co-operation is achieved, it is a thousand time better than sticking to it." See Shan Muhammad, *Sir Syed Ahmad Khan-A Political Biography*, Lahore: Universal Publisher 1976, p. 72.

19 Cited from Abu Saeed Zahural Haque, *Folklore and Nationalism in Rabindernath Tagore*, Dacca: Bangla Academy, 1981, p. 25.

- ²⁰ Edward Thompson and G.T. Garratt, *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India*, Allahabad: Central Book Depot, 1969, p. 545.
- ²¹ Hardy, n. 4, p. 152.
- ²² See for details, M.L. Darling, *The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt*, London: Oxford University Press, 1925, pp. 14-19.
- ²³ Brown, n. 7, p. 179.
- ²⁴ *Bang-i-Dara—Kulliyat-i-Iqbal* (Urdu), Hyderabad: Commercial Book Depot, 1972, pp.71-72.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 74-76
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 88.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*
- ²⁸ S.M.H. Burney, *Iqbal—Poet Patriot of India*, Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1988, pp. 8-9
- ²⁹ See Banned Urdu literature in National Archives of India, New Delhi.
- ³⁰ Home Department Poll (A) March 1913, Nos. 44, 45.
- ³¹ Lala Dhanpat Rai, *Life Story of Lala Lajpat Rai*, New Delhi: Metropolitan Book Company, 1976, p. 28
- ³² Ganda Singh, *Deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai and Sardar Ajit Singh*, Patiala: Punjabi University, 1978, pp. 48-51
- ³³ Rajendra Prasad, *India Divided*, Bombay: Hind Kitabs Ltd., 1947, p. 111.
- ³⁴ Y.V. Gankovsky, *A History of Pakistan*, Moscow: L.R. Gordon-Polonskaya, 1964, p. 27.
- ³⁵ Abdulghaffar Shakeel, *Iqbal Ke Nasari Afkar* (Urdu), Delhi: Anjuman Taraqqi, 1977, pp. 76-77.
- ³⁶ Abdul Lateef Azmi, *Iqbal Dana-i-Raz* (Urdu), Delhi: Maktaba Jamia, 1978, p. 79. See also *Khatoot-i-Iqbal* (comp.) by Rafi-u-din Hashmi, Delhi: Iqbal Sadi Publication, 1977, p. 8.
- ³⁷ *Paisa Akhbar*, 21 November 1905.
- ³⁸ Brown, n. 7 p. 185.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁰ *Paisa Akhbar*, 6 December 1907.

- 41 M.J. Akbar, *Nehru-The Making of India*, London: Viking, 1988, p. 176.
- 42 *Punjab Census Report*, Vol. XIV, 1911 part I, p. 135.
- 43 Home Political Reports (B), 1909, Nos. 103-110.
- 44 Lal Chand, *Self Abnegations in Politics*, Lahore, 1938, p. 70
- 45 Safdar Mahmood, Javaid Zafar, *Founders of Pakistan*, New Delhi: Uppal Publishing House, 1988, p. 172.
- 46 Malik Ikram Ali, *A Book of Readings on the History of Punjab*, Lahore, 1970, p. 282.
- 47 *Zamindar*, 8 May 1911, SNNP, Vol. I, 1911, p. 497. Also see Home Department Political (B) October 1911, No. 173.
- 48 *Ibid.*
- 49 *Punjab Census Report*, Vol. XIV, 1911, Part I, p. 162.
- 50 Home Political (B) June-September 1911, F. No. 3 to 7 and October 1912, F. No. 2-3. Also see *Zamindar*, 24 August 1911, SNNP, Vol. II, 1911, p. 330
- 51 Home Political (B) May 1910, F. No. 44.
- 52 *Ibid.*, March 1908. Also see Goldberg and Reisner, *Tilak and the Struggle for Indian freedom*, New Delhi: PPH, 1966 pp. 436-37.
- 53 Attique Siddiqui, *Iqbal-Jadugar-i-Hindi Nathrad* (Urdu), New Delhi: Maktaba Jamia, 1980, p. 59
- 54 Rais Ahmad Jafari (Nadwi), *Iqbal Aur Siyast-i-Milli*, Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1981, p. 147.
- 55 Anwar Beg, n. 1, p. 345.
- 56 Attique Siddiqui, n. 53, p. 68.
- 57 Riaz Hussain, *The Politics of Iqbal*, Lahore: Islamic Book Service, 1977, pp. 34-35.
- 58 B.R. Nanda, Gokhale, London: Oxford University Press, 1977, p. 429.
- 59 Attique Siddiqui, n. 53, p. 75.
- 60 S.C. Sharma, *Punjab: The Crucial Decade*, New Delhi: Nirmal Publishers, 1987, p. 192.
- 61 Attique Siddiqui, n. 53, p. 74.
- 62 *Ibid.*, p. 104.

- ⁶³ Abdul Lateef Azmi, *Iqbal Dana-i-Raz* (Urdu), Delhi: Maktaba Jamia, 1978, p. 79.
- ⁶⁴ Attique Siddiqui, n. 53, pp. 76-77. See also, Anwar Beg, n.1, p. 50.
- ⁶⁵ V.N. Datta, *Jallianwala Bagh*, Ludhiana: Lyall Book Depot, 1969, p. 171.
- ⁶⁶ Latif Ahmed Sherwani (comp.), *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1977, p. 203. Also see M.J. Akbar, n. 41, p. 135.
- ⁶⁷ Sheikh Attaullah (comp.), *Iqbal Nama*, Vol. II, Lahore: Sheikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1951, p. 200.
- ⁶⁸ S.A. Vahid, *Studies in Iqbal*, Lahore, n.d., pp. 267-68.
- ⁶⁹ *Hamdard* (Urdu), 12 August 1927, pp. 3-4.
- ⁷⁰ Ashiq Hussain Batalavi, *Iqbal Ke Akhiri Do Sal* (Urdu), Srinagar: Shaheen Publishers, 1978, p. 308.
- ⁷¹ Muhammad Sadiq, *History of the Urdu Literature*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984, p. 460.
- ⁷² Others were Dange, Nalini Gupta, M.N. Roy, Muzaffar Ahmad and Singaravellu Chattier. See Home Poll 1923, F. No. 103/IV
- ⁷³ Attique Siddiqui, n. 53, p. 102.
- ⁷⁴ Abdul lateef Azmi, n. 63, p. 79.
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 77, *Hamdard*, 12 August 1927.
- ⁷⁶ Attique Siddiqui, n. 53, p. 83.
- ⁷⁷ *Iqbal Nama*, Vol. II, n. 67, p. 204.
- ⁷⁸ Indulal Yajnik, *Gandhi As I knew Him*, Delhi: Danish Mahal, 1943, p. 117.
- ⁷⁹ Muhammad Munawwar, *Dimensions of Pakistan Movement*, Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1987, p. 150.
- ⁸⁰ Abdulgaffar Shakeel, *Iqbal Ke Nasari Afkar*, Delhi: Anjuman Taraqi, 1977, p. 143.
- ⁸¹ Michael Edward, *British India 1772-1947*, London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1967, pp. 292-93
- ⁸² *Ibid.*

- 83 Home Poll. 25/1923.
- 84 David Page, *Prelude to Partition*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1982, p. 85.
- 85 *Ibid.*
- 86 *The Tribune*, 13 December 1924.
- 87 Farman Fatehpuri, *Iqbal Sab Ke Liye*, Delhi: Educational Publishing House, 1981, p. 140.
- 88 Abdulla Quraishi, *Ruh-i-Makateeb-i-Iqbal* (Urdu), Lahore: Iqbal Academy Publication, 1977, p. 320.
- 89 Indra Prakash, *Hindu Mahasabha: Its Contribution to Indian Politics*, New Delhi: Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, 1966, p. 21.
- 90 Many pamphlets and books written during this period were *Sita-ka-Chinalas*, written by a Muslim, *Sair-i-Dozakh*, *Risala-i-Vartman*, *Balidan Chaturvedi* and *Padma-Puran* were written by Hindus attacking Islam.
- 91 *Punjab Legislative Council Debates*, Vol. III, 3 March 1925, pp. 913-14.
- 92 *Muslim Outlook*, 27 July 1927.
- 93 *Ibid.*, 13 July and 9 July 1927.
- 94 *Hamdard*, 16 August 1927.
- 95 Moneylenders Registration Bill, Compulsory Education, etc. were termed pro-Muslim Legislations, see for detail *Punjab Legislative Council Debates*, Vol. VII, 4 August 1924, p. 34; and Vol. VII, No. 7, 18 November 1924, p. 470.
- 96 Abdul Majid Salik, *Zikr-i-Iqbal*, Lahore, 1955, p. 131.
- 97 *Ibid.*, pp. 132-33.
- 98 Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol. II, 1924-47, New Delhi: Metropolitan Book Company, 1982, pp. 102-07.
- 99 *Modern Review*, July 1939, p.6 Mustafa Kamal Pasha banned veil to the Turkish women and wearing Turkish Topi (cap) which had become fashion in India during Khilafat Movement, was also declared a crime. See, *Muslim Outlook*, 27 October 1927.
- 100 *Ibid.*
- 101 Page, n, 84, p. 139.

- 102 M.H. Saiyid, *Mohammad Ali Jinnah*, Lahore: Sheikh Mohd Ashraf, 1953, pp. 238-39.
- 103 Syed Nur Ahmad, *From Martial Law to Martial Law: Politics in the Punjab 1919-1958*, London: Westview Press, 1985, pp. 64-65.
- 104 The three conditions set by Jinnah were: i) that the Muslims should be given 1/3 representation in the Central Legislature, ii) that the Punjab and Bengal should have representation according to their population; iii) that the residuary powers in the Indian federation should be vested in the Provinces and not in the Centre.
- 105 Hafeez Malik (ed.), *Iqbal-Poet Philosopher of Pakistan*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1971, p. 89.
- 106 Signatories of the deputation were: Muhammad Iqbal, Ahmad Yar Khan, Din Mohd. Habibullah, Mohd. Abudullah Khan, Mohd. Hayat Qureshi, Sir Mohd. Shafi, Sikandar Hayat Khan, Ch. Zafarullah Khan Ali Ahmad, Faiz Ahmad Khan Mohd. Khan, Mohd. Abdur Rahman Khan, Ferozkhan Noon, Pir Akbar Ali, M.K. Ghani, Mubarak Ali Shah, Mohd. Amir Khan, Mohd. Hussain, Mohd. Raza Shah, Rahim Baksh, Sadaullah Khan, Umar Hayat Yasin Khan, etc.
- 107 *The Muslim Outlook*, 27 July 1927.
- 108 *Ibid.*
- 109 Ch. Khaliquzzaman, *Pathway to Pakistan*, Karachi: Longman Green and Co. Ltd., 1962, p. 100.
- 110 Quoted from *Muslim Outlook*, 8 August 1927.
- 111 *Ibid.*, 15 November 1927.
- 112 *Ibid.*
- 113 *Ibid.*
- 114 Home Poll. February 1928, F. No. 1/1928.
- 115 Sherwani, n. 66, p. 13.
- 116 Hafeez Malik, n. 105. p. 82.
- 117 Page, n. 84, p. 130
- 118 Sherwani, n. 66, p. 45.
- 119 *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59.
- 120 Anwar Beg, n. 1, p. 58.

- 121 Sherwani, n. 66, p. 64.
- 122 *Punjab Legislative Council Debates*, Vol. XXVIII, February 1936, pp. 140-41; Vol. XXVII, October 1936, pp. 336-38.
- 123 Sherwani, n. 66, p. 64.
- 124 *Ibid.*
- 125 *Ibid.*, p. 46.
- 126 Punjab Census Report, 1931, p. 59.
- 127 Sherwani, n. 66, p. 47.
- 128 *Ibid.*, p. 65.
- 129 Anwar Beg, n. 1, p. 38.
- 130 Sherwani, n. 66, pp. 49-50.
- 131 *Ibid.*
- 132 *Ibid.*, p. 51
- 133 *Ibid.*
- 134 Anwar Beg, n. 1, 393.
- 135 Rais Ahmad Jafari (Nadwi), n. 54., p. 122.

IQBAL AND THE IDEA OF PAKISTAN

By the thirties of the twentieth century, communalism had deeply entrenched itself on the Indian political scene. With the proper care and nourishment by the British imperialists and the Indian communal leaders, the seed of communalism had rapidly grown into a mighty tree which polluted the total Indian environment. Communal tension rooted in the socio-economic and political structure gave it a mass dimension. Communal violence and communal riots became a routine phenomena which successfully shook the heritage of harmony. The press, not only the communal press but also the secular press played an important role in fanning the fire of communal passions in the name of freedom of expression. The news of communal incident at a place sparked communal violence at other places, taking the lives of innocents and thus further aggravating the communal situation. Communal propaganda and communal violence consolidated the communal ideology and its logical culmination was the formation of various communal organisations and strengthening the communal element within the Indian National Congress. It also coloured the thinking of the many of the highly respected leaders of the Indian society which produced disastrous results for the country in the coming years. In the communally surcharged atmosphere, the leaders came to be identified with their communities. Many of them started thinking and formulating plans for the protection and promotion of the interests of their respective communities vis-a-vis other. One of these plans was formu-

lated by Iqbal who has been conferred with the parentage of Pakistan.

This kind of thinking provided a fertile ground to the separatist ideas to grow and grip over the minds of the people. This also gave a serious jolt to the forces which wanted to unite the masses on socio-economic and anti-imperialist lines on the one hand and on the other it helped the imperialists to continue their rule in India at a time when it had shifted the burden of its acute economic crisis on the poor masses. Its officials continued drawing the huge salaries and Punjab was obliged to increase taxation on stamp duties, occupiers rates in canal colonies and court fees, all measures which tended to affect the rural population.¹ Even the salaries of the government employees (Indians) were reduced by ten per cent.² Fall in the prices also led to the closer of many factories and in Amritsar alone, 1,000 workers were thrown out from work.³ The economic depression had entailed a steep fall in the prices of agricultural commodities and had badly affected the peasantry particularly the small peasants. In Punjab, the average whole-sale price of wheat which stood at Rs. 7,10 annas a maund in 1921 had fallen to Rs. 3,10 annas and 8 pies in 1930.⁴ This ruined the peasantry and increased their miseries. The problem of rural indebtedness became acute. In 1921, the total agricultural debt in Punjab amounted to Rs. 90 crore rose to Rs. 135 crore by 1929.⁵ Economic hardships produced discontentment, frustration and restlessness among the people of Punjab. At this time, the diversion of their discontent and energies into communal channel by the communal leaders tremendously helped the British Raj and weakened the nationalist forces.

Through *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan*, *Tibligh* and *Tanzim* the communal leaders of both the communities kept the fire of communalism burning. The activities of the Hindu Mahasabha with the finances of G.D. Birla increased rapidly by the mid thirties.⁶ B.S. Moonje, Bhai Parmanand, M.R. Jayakar, Lajpat Rai, N.C. Kelkar, Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, Shayama Prasad Mukerji and Nirmal Chandra Chatterjee made no secret that they wanted Hindu Raj in the land of Hindustan.⁷

Moonje regarded the fight of Swaraj not only against the British but also against the Muslims. He appealed the Hindu zamindars to recruit their tenants from the Hindus and to throw away the Muslims.⁸ Malaviya urged the Hindus to maintain Akharas (gymnasium) against the Muslims. Bhai Parmanand, another important Sabhaite declared, "Hindustan is the land of the Hindus alone, and Mussalmans and Christians and other nations living in

India are only our guests."⁹

The Mahasabhites attacked the Urdu language and called it the language of "Malechhas" (impure), a foreign language, "a living monument of our slavery. It must be eradicated from the page of existence." They further stated that Urdu "has done great harm to our national ends by attaining popularity in India."¹⁰ "For the orthodox Hindus," in the words of M.N. Roy, "the Mussalman, even of noble birth, or of high education and admirable cultural attainments is a malechha - impure barbarian - who does not deserve social treatment any better than accorded to the lowest of Hindus."¹¹ The R.S.S., a militant, political communal organisation and an ally of the British in the Indian politics also sought nothing else but a "Hindu nation."¹² Madhav Rao Sadashiv Golwalkar, an important R.S.S. leader declared:

The non-Hindu people in Hindustan must either adopt the Hindu culture and language, must learn to respect and hold in reverence Hindu religion, must entertain no ideas but those of glorification of the Hindu race and culture....in a word they must cease to be foreigners, or may stay in this country wholly subordinated to the Hindu Nation, claiming nothing, deserving no privileges, far less any preferential treatment not even citizen's rights.¹³

The attitude of the Congress as well as the Swarajists to the threat of communalism remained largely at a theoretical level.¹⁴ Besides, the communal element's presence in the Congress and in its important posts, made the Muslims masses suspicious of its secular character. Several leaders of Hindu Mahasabha and the RSS were simultaneously members and leaders of the Congress. Prominent Congress leaders like Babu Rajendra Prasad, K.M. Munshi and Lala Lajpat Rai maintained their close associations with the communal organisations and actively participated in their important meetings.¹⁵ Gandhi's spiritualisation of politics, his concept of Swaraj to be Ram Raj and his techniques to achieve it were steeped deeply in Hindu religion, made the Muslims suspicious of the Congress's motives. Gandhi's characterization of Malaviya a communal leader as Bharat Ratna (Indian jewel) and Dharmatma (saint) and his visit of RSS camp and appreciation of its work as an excellent work,¹⁶ served as an excellent

propaganda for the Muslim communalists who constantly described such utterances and ambitions as the true will of Hindus which would become a reality in an independent India.

With the encouragement of the colonial government and the non-assertion of the secular forces, the communal elements in both the communities got an opportunity to spread their tentacles in every field of social life. Muslims called Hindus Kafir and Hindus called the Muslims as Malechha. They also started propagating and arousing a feeling of superiority of their respective religions.¹⁷ The Arya Vir of 25 June 1924 in its editorial comment stated that the first duty of Hindus should be to drown Islam in Ganges for ever. In the same month Professor Ram Deo announced that the Hindu Flag "should be hoisted on each and every mosque in India."¹⁸ And that in comparison to Veda, Quran was inferior and its teachings should be abolished from the nations of the world.¹⁹

Punjab became the vortex of communal propaganda. In July, the Milap of Lahore wrote that, "for the safety of India it is essential to conquer Afghanistan." It also warned King Amanullah that, "Hindu does not want any religious government in Afghanistan, nor can it allow a religious or Islamic kingdom. Why should it put itself in a danger by having a fanatic government in its neighbourhood?"²⁰

Lala Hardayal, a revolutionary turned pro-imperialist and communalist stated in May 1924 that:

Hindu Sangathan should*make it their principle to give their national jewels (Hindu literature, civilization, gods etc.) to every Indian child, whether Muhammadan or Christian, if the followers of the other religion's refuse to follow them and spread disaffection in the country, they should be opposed by law, or sent back to the Arabian desert to eat dates. What right have they to eat mangoes or oranges of our India.²¹

He wrote a pamphlet which was widely publicised through out the country by the Hindu Press:

If there is any possibility of the Hindu and Muslims working together, it is only possible as we see in Hindu states or as was the usage at the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. It

is, that the state should belong to Hindus and Mohamadans may live there. But the state cannot be a Muslim state, nor can it be a jointly Hindu, Muslim administered state.....A joint Hindu-Muslim state is a sheer non-sense which under no circumstances can exist. We, therefore, desire after the fashion of Baroda and Kashmir. To create states like those of Bahawalpur and Hyderabad we are not prepared to offer sacrifices.²²

A provoking editorial, openly preaching violence appeared in *Hindu of Lahore* on 21 October 1929. It stated:

Oh, young Hindu brethren of India, alas, where is the brave Partap who was a terror to emperor Akbar, where is that lion-hearted Shivaji who paralyzed Aurangzeb; where is that Banda Bairagi whose sword cut the Mohamadans to pieces? Alas! Alas! Where have they all gone, where are they hidden?²³

The Muslim communal leaders, by citing such statements of Hindu communalists to their co-religionists, aroused in them anti-Hindu feelings and consolidated their own hold upon them. Khwaja Hasan Nizami wrote a book *Dae-e-Islam*. In this, he asked the Muslims, "of every walk of life and profession, whether they may be prostitutes, bangle-sellers, tonga (carriage) drivers, lawyers, doctors and zamindars (landlords) to use their influence over Hindu paramours clients and tenants so that a crore (ten millions) of Hindu would be converted to Islam."²⁴

Songs and poems maligning the religion and religious leaders of other communities were written and recited in public meetings provoking violence. One such poem composed by a Hindu was :

*Gar Musalman hai to fauran chhor Hindustan ko,
Bhag Makke ki taraf rakh deen ko iman ko.*

(If you are a Muslim go back to Mecca, Leave this country and keep your faith intact.)

Muslims countered it by:

*Ham hasti-i-kafir ko duniya se mita denge
Jab josh mein wahdat ke ayenge dikha denge.*²⁵

(We will wipe out the very existence of Hindus
We will do it with religious fervour.)

This kind of inflammatory communal preachings led to communal violence. Swami Shardanand was murdered in December 1926 and Rajpal²⁶ was murdered in September 1927 by Muslims. Temples and mosques became the target of attack by the rival communities and the virus of communalism spread in villages also.²⁷ And in the years that followed since 1928, the gulf that had been widening since 1922 became unbridgeable.²⁸ It is in this background that Iqbal came out with a scheme to solve the communal tangle. However, he was not the first one. Such ideas had been already floated not less than by the British themselves. The British had learnt a bitter lesson during the Non-Co operation Movement. The Hindu-Muslim unity during the movement had panicked the British-Indian government and hence they took all steps to prevent it in the future. They floated such ideas which gave a new direction to the communalists in India.

In 1925, William Archbold, one time principal of the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, foresaw a "powerful Mohammadan combination in the north-west in alliance with Afghanistan." Again in 1928, the Times correspondent in India reported a vision of effective Muslim rule in the north India and prophesied a division of Punjab and the creation of solid Muslim bloc from Peshawar to the north of Indus.²⁹ Such views had caught up the minds of some of the well-known Indian leaders. Lala Lajpat Rai had suggested the partition of India as early as 1924. Lala Hardayal had also stated in the same year that in the Punjab and Hindustan two communities could not live together.

Iqbal, however, did not share separatist ideas and had not lost hope and continued his efforts for some acceptable solution of the communal problem. In April 1926 he said that, "I want it from my heart that Hindus and Muslims should remove their differences and live in the country like brothers."³⁰ In January 1927, he said in a public meeting in Lahore that,

The concept of a united nationhood is good for us. Though there will be difficulties in achieving this high goal, yet once we reach this high objective we will be very happy,

and will not consider the efforts as having been a waste, Therefore, O Hindus and Musalmans, you should cultivate each other in such a way that we can tolerate the existing differences.³¹

In May 1927, while speaking before a Punjab Provincial Muslim League meeting at Lahore, he said: "I have the right to say that I was the first Indian to realize the importance and need of Hindu-Muslim unity, and it has ever been my wish to see this unity take a permanent form."³² In November, he entertained the hope that some practicable solution might be found if the spokesmen of the various Indian nations could make another attempt to bring them together at one place. In January 1929, in Madras he emphasized the great need for the unity and expressed his hopes for some solution of the problem.³³

These statements of Iqbal makes it crystal clear that he advocated unity between Hindus and Muslims and never sought separation between the two. However, the passage of complete independence resolution by the Congress in Lahore in December 1929 without solving the communal problem first, as desired by the Muslims convinced him that the socio-economic-political interests of the Muslims in independent India would be at the mercy of the majority community. Besides, the assertion of the Hindu communal leaders against Islam, Muslim culture, language and everything that was related with the Muslims and their aggressive zeal for converting the Muslims to Hinduism and teaching Hindutava, made Iqbal to formulate a scheme which could protect the interests and identity of Muslims and at the same time could solve the communal problem and secure a peaceful united India. He specified this scheme in his presidential address delivered before the annual session of All India Muslim League at Allahabad on 29 December 1930.

The Allahabad Address

Iqbal by this time had earned the reputation of an eminent academician, a distinguished philosopher, a poet of the East and a well known politician. But distancing himself from politics yet presiding over a political organisation and presenting principles which should determine the general character of the political decisions of the Muslim community Iqbal said, "I lead no party; I follow no leader,"³⁴ and it was in the light of the spirit of Islam, which he had acquired by his careful study of the religion that he pondered over the problems of

the community and chalked out main principles to be observed by the Muslims.

While emphasising over the role of Islam in the life history of the Muslims of India, Iqbal pointed out, "Indeed it is no exaggeration to say that India is perhaps the only country in the world where Islam, as a people-building force, has worked at its best."³⁵ But he lamented over the continuing strife among the various caste units and religious units who in the course of history had shown no inclination to sink their respective individualities in a larger whole. He opined that if the teaching of Kabir and the Divine Faith of Akbar had seized the imagination of the masses of the country, this problem would not have emerged. Then he stated his own opinion about the solution of problem by saying:

The unity of Indian nation, therefore, must be sought not in negation, but in the mutual harmony and co-operation of the many.....And it is on the discovery of Indian unity in this direction that the fate of India as well as of Asia really depends. India is Asia in miniature. Part of her people have cultural affinities with nations in the east and part with nations in the middle and West of Asia. If an effective principle of co-operation is discovered in India, it will bring peace and mutual goodwill to this ancient land.³⁶

Explaining the cause for failure of earlier attempts to achieve harmony, Iqbal pointed out:

Perhaps we suspect each other's intentions and inwardly aim at dominating each other. Perhaps in the higher interest of mutual co-operation, we cannot afford to part with the monopolies which circumstances have placed in our hands, and conceal our egoism under the cloak of a nationalism, outwardly stimulating a large-hearted patriotism, but inwardly as narrow-minded as a caste or tribe. Perhaps we are willing to recognise that each groups has a right to free development according to its own cultural

traditions.³⁷

He expressed his hope for achieving unity and harmony in the following words:

I still feel hopeful. Events seem to be tending in the direction of some sort of internal harmony. And so far as I have been able to read the Muslim mind, I have no hesitation in declaring that, if the principle that the Indian Muslim is entitled to full and free development on the lines of his own culture and tradition in his own Indian home-lands is recognised as the basis of a permanent communal settlement, he will be ready to stake his all for the freedom of India.³⁸

Iqbal clarified further that, the principle that each group should be entitled to free development on its own lines was not inspired by any feeling of narrow communalism. To him:

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.³⁹

He viewed communalism in its higher aspect "as indispensable to the formation of a harmonious whole in a country like India. He opined that "principle of European democracy cannot be applied to India without recognising the fact of communal groups. The Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India within India is, therefore, perfectly justified.⁴⁰ Elaborating this demand he said:

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

Muslims, at least of North-West India.⁴¹

This scheme of Iqbal nowhere stands for separation from India or for the division of the country yet it is on the basis of this scheme, Iqbal is called as the creator of Pakistan. The careful study of Iqbal's address makes it clear that he did not advocate partition and desired redistribution of the country not only on the basis of religion but also on the basis of unity of language, race, history and identity of economic interest to secure a stable constitutional structure in India. He opined that with the proper redistribution the question of joint and separate electorate would automatically disappear. He explained about the retention of separate electorate for the Muslim as:

The Hindu thinks that separate electorates are contrary to the spirit of true nationalism, because he understands the word nation to mean a kind of universal amalgamation in which no communal entity ought to retain its private individuality. Such a State of things, however, does not exist. Nor is it desirable that it should exist. India is a land of racial and religious variety. Add to this the general economic inferiority of the Muslims, their enormous debt, especially in the Punjab, and their insufficient majorities in some of the provinces as at present constituted, and you will begin to see clearly the meaning of our anxiety to retain separate electorates.⁴²

He remarked that, "The Muslim of India can have no objection to purely territorial electorates if provinces are demarcated so as to secure comparatively homogenous communities possessing linguistic, racial, cultural and religious unity."⁴³ He justified the Muslim's demand of federation as it was, "pre-eminently a solution of India's most difficult problem, i.e. the communal problem."⁴⁴ All this makes it clear that Iqbal wanted to solve the communal problem and desired harmony, peace and co-operation on the principle that each group should be given opportunities of free development on modern lines without abruptly breaking with their past.⁴⁵

He did not advocate a separate state from India becomes further clear when he clarified to his Hindu friend Mr. Srinivasa Sastri that the

Muslims demand for the creation of autonomous Muslim states was not actuated by the desire "to acquire means of exerting pressure in emergencies on the Government of India."⁴⁶ "I may," he said:

frankly tell him that the Muslim demand is not actuated by the kind of motive he imputes to us; it is actuated by the genuine desire for free development which is practically impossible under the type of unitary government contemplated by the nationalist Hindu politicians with a view to secure permanent communal dominance in the whole of India.⁴⁷

He pointed out that "the idea need not alarm the Hindus or the British. India is the greatest Muslim country in the world."⁴⁸ He assured the Hindus that the creation of autonomous Muslim states will not mean the introduction of a kind of religious rule in such states. The character of a Muslim state in Iqbal's opinion would be as mentioned in the *Times of India* by a leader on the Banking Inquiry Committee. "In Ancient India" quoted Iqbal from the paper, "the state framed laws regulating the rates of interest; but in Muslim times, although Islam clearly forbids the realisation of interest on money loaned, Indian Muslim states imposed no restrictions on such rates."⁴⁹

Writers who regarded Iqbal as the propounder of partition quote him as saying "the life of Islam as cultural force in the country very largely depends on its centralization in a specified territory" consciously omits the continuing lines in which he said:

this centralization of the most living portion of the Muslims of India, whose military and police service has, notwithstanding unfair treatment from the British, made the British rule possible in this country, will eventually solve the problem of India as well as of Asia. It will intensify their sense of responsibility and deepen their patriotic feeling. Thus, possessing full opportunity of development within the body politic of India, the North-West Indian Muslims will prove the best defenders of India against a foreign invasion, be that invasion the one of ideas or

bayonets.⁵⁰

He argued that,

I have no doubt that if a Federal Government is established, Muslim federal states will willingly agree, for purposes of India's defence, to the creation of neutral Indian military and naval forces. Such a neutral military force for the defence of India was a reality in the days of Mughal rule. Indeed in the time of Akbar Indian frontier was, on the whole, defended by armies officered by Hindu generals. I am perfectly sure that the scheme for a neutral Indian army, based on a federated India, will intensify Muslim patriotic feeling, and finally set at rest the suspicion, if any, of Indian Muslims joining Muslims from beyond the frontier in the event of an invasion.⁵¹

He declared,

I, therefore, demand the formation of a consolidated Muslim state in the best interests of India and Islam. For India it means security and peace resulting from an internal balance of power; for Islam an opportunity to rid itself of the stamp that Arabian imperialism was forced to give it, to mobilise its law, its education, its culture, and to bring them into closer contact with its own original spirit and with the spirit of modern times.⁵²

Even while concluding his address he stated, we have duty towards India where we are destined to live and die. We have a duty towards Asia, especially Muslim Asia. And since 70 millions of Muslims in a single country constitute a far more valuable asset to Islam than all the countries of Muslim Asia put together, we must look at the problem not only from the Muslim point of view but also from the stand point of the Indian Muslim as such.⁵³

Hence it will be injustice to call Iqbal as the advocate of the division of the country. He wanted federation by redistribution of the

territory of the country. He did not consider religion alone, as the basis of the formation of states. He regarded language, race, history and identity of economic interests equally important basis. He specifically stated that he desired federation for securing peace and permanent solution of the communal problem.

However, there are some contradictions in his views which have led many writers to believe that he stood for the formation of Muslim state outside India. He believed that, "religion is a power of the utmost importance in the life of individuals as well as states, and finally who believes that Islam is itself destiny and will not suffer a destiny."⁵⁴ His remarks that, "the religious ideal of Islam, therefore, is organically related to the social order which it has created. The rejection of one will eventually involve the rejection of the other. Therefore, the construction of a polity on national lines, if it means a displacement of the Islamic principle of solidarity is simply unthinkable to a Muslim."⁵⁵ These views left an ample scope to interpret his address differently. Besides, his warning that "If these demands are not agreed to, then a question of a very great and far reaching importance will arise for the community. Then will arrive the moment for an independent and concerted political action by the Muslims of India."⁵⁶ What was to be the concerted political action, he never himself, explained but in the light of these views Iqbal became controversial, some opined that Iqbal preached partition but some viewed his address as a bargaining counter for Muslims.

Different Interpretations of Iqbal's Allahabad Address

To Tara Chand, an eminent historian of India:

It was certainly not a scheme for partition of India into two independent sovereign states. It was only a plan for the re-distribution of territories—the portions of India in which the Muslims were in a majority from the rest. He hoped that if this plan of amalgamating Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan in one autonomous region was adopted, it would solve the problem of India. There is no reference to the two-nation theory and to the incompatibility of Hindu and Muslim cultures.⁵⁷

Demands put forth by Iqbal in his address did not amount to

divide the country but "the demarcation of spheres of influence." According to Iqbal Singh, Iqbal's scheme was for clear demarcation of "spheres of influence", of "spheres of exploitation" for the Hindu and Muslim bourgeoisie of India. In one part, the Muslim could have profitable monopolies; in the other Hindu could enjoy their economic supremacy."⁵⁸ It was to be a sharing of the spoils within the Indian territory and not outside it.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, a leading Congressman and historian also states that Iqbal did not dream for a separate state outside India. He wrote:

In the scheme adumbrated by Sir Muhammad Iqbal there is no independent Muslim state without a central Indian authority of any kind contemplated. He evidently wants a federation in which the units will be autonomous and suggests a new demarcation of boundaries of the provinces in the North-West so as to create a unit in which the proportion of Muslims will be greater and the area more manageable.⁵⁹

Iqbal stood for a united India and not divided India, is also supported by K.K. Aziz, a renowned historian of Pakistan. He says:

It is grossly misleading to call him (Iqbal) the originator of the idea of Pakistan or the poet who dreamt of partition. He never talked of partition and his ideal was that of getting together Muslim Provinces in the North West so as to bargain more advantageously with the projected Hindu centre. It is one of the myths of Pakistan nationalism to saddle Iqbal with the parentage of Pakistan.⁶⁰

Sir Reginald Coupland also upheld the same view.⁶¹

But some held the view that Iqbal had advocated Pakistan but later recanted it. In 1931, the Chairman of the Punjab Nationalist Muslim Conference, Malik Barkat Ali in an address in Lahore declared;

The conception of divided India, which Sir Muhammad Iqbal put forward recently in the course of his presidential utterance

from the platform of the League, at a time when that body had virtually become extinct and ceased to represent free-Islam, I am glad to be able to say that Sir Muhammad Iqbal had since recanted it must not therefore delude anybody into thinking that it has Islam's conception of the India to be. ⁶²

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru also held the same view. To him,

Iqbal was one of the early advocates of Pakistan, and yet, he appears to have realised its inherent danger and absurdity..... Probably he had changed his mind or he had not given much thought to the question previously, as it had assumed no importance then. His whole outlook on life does not fit in with the subsequent developments of the idea of Pakistan or division of India ⁶³

Edward Thompson⁶⁴ also supports this view that Muhammad Iqbal was the advocate of Pakistan but later he recanted this scheme. Thompson write:

In the Observer I once said that he (Iqbal) supported the Pakistan plan. Iqbal was a friend and he set my conception right. After speaking of his own despondency at the chaos he saw coming on my vast undisciplined and starving landhe went on to say that he thought the Pakistan plan would be disastrous to the British government, disastrous to the Hindu community, disastrous to the Muslim Community. But I am the President of the Muslim League and therefore it is my duty to support it. ⁶⁵

But such view, that Iqbal in his Allahabad address had propounded a scheme for the partition of the country was repudiated not less than by Iqbal himself. In a letter written to The Times on 12 October 1931. Iqbal corrected Thompson view of his Allahabad address. He wrote:

Although I would oppose the creation of

another cockpit of communal strife in the Central Punjab, as suggested by some enthusiast I am all for a redistribution of India into provinces with effective majorities of one community or another on lines advocated both by the Nehru and the Simon Reports. Indeed, my suggestion regarding Muslim provinces merely carries forward this idea. A series of contended and well organized Muslim provinces on the North West frontier of India would be the bulwork of India and of British Empire against the hungry generations of the Asiatic homelands.⁶⁶

This letter of Iqbal makes it crystal clear that he had not suggested the creation of sovereign state for the Muslims. He had not given up the hope of two communities living together in peace and amity. In a letter written to Sir Francis Younghusband, which was published in the Civil and Military Gazette on 30 July 1931, Iqbal wrote;

India's internal strife and division have been a great disturbing factor in the peace of the world. Grave as the situation may seem at present moment, I have not lost faith in the possibility of achieving communal agreement in India.⁶⁷

In the same letter Iqbal warned the British authorities that any attempt on the part of Great Britain at the next Round Table Conference to take an undue advantage of communal split will ultimately prove disastrous to both countries.⁶⁸ What concerned him was the protection of the culture and historical tradition of the Muslim community who were in minority and it is for finding an amicable agreement between the two communities that Iqbal left for England to participate in the Second Round Table Conference. On the eve of his departure, he gave an interview to Bombay Chronicle in which he expressed his wish to see Indians living in peace.

He said:

I have no prejudice against any community or nation in the world. All I want is to see Islam return to its pristine simplicity. I wish

to see Indians living in peace and I am convinced that such a thing is possible even while every community retains its culture and individuality.⁶⁹

Iqbal and the Second Round Table Conference

Not only Iqbal, but all the prominent Muslim leaders of India were keen to arrive at some sort of permanent solution of the communal problem. Jinnah who was at that time in London said in 1931, "I am an Indian first and a Muslim afterwards."⁷⁰ Throughout the RTC Jinnah took a bold nationalist stand and stood for the unity and integrity of India.⁷¹ Pressure was brought on Jinnah by the Conservative party of Britain but he strongly supported Indian cause. "Ramsay Macdonald sent for Jinnah and told him that in the new order of things that would come in India, the British Prime Minister would have to look for prominent Indians to take up the Governorships of provinces obviously implying that Jinnah would have an excellent chance if he proved to be a good boy."⁷² But Jinnah firmly rejected the offer calling it as an "attempt to bribe him" and continued trying to come to settlement with Sapru, Shastri and Seetalvad on the Hindu-Muslim question.⁷³ Mohd Ali, another important Indian Muslim leader had stated at the fourth plenary session of the RTC in 1930:

But where India is concerned, where India's freedom is concerned, where the welfare of India is concerned, I am an Indian first an Indian second an Indian last and nothing but an Indian.....⁷⁴

Mohd Ali was suffering from heart trouble which ultimately took his life in London on 4 January 1931 said to an interviewer four days before his death:

I am still alive, you see, and I can continue working to bring Hindu-Muslim together.⁷⁵

He also prepared a formula for solving the problem. It was:

Full power to every Hindu majority in any province, however, large, and protection to every Muslim minority; and the same power to every Muslim majority, however, small, in any province and the same protection to Hindu minority, however large.⁷⁶

Mohd. Ali had worked till midnight of the last day of his life, revising his last appeal to the Hindus and Muslims to bury all differences and to work for Indian nationalism.⁷⁷

Thus the Indian Muslim leaders did not desire separation but stood for united India and wanted the solution of communal problem within the country. The idea of the division of the country was the product of the British-Indian officials brain. By projecting themselves as the well-wishers and supporters of the interest of the Muslims in India, they made all efforts to keep the Muslim delegates not only away from coming to any amicable settlement with the Congress but also put forward the plans and proposals pertaining to the partition of the country.

On 28 September 1927 Sir Theodore Morrison a former principal of MAO college, wrote in the Morning Post:

Within the frontiers of India live two nations, the Muslim and the Hindu, which entertain for each other the same feelings as do, for instance French and Germans, and who differ from one another more profoundly than any two nations in Europe.⁷⁸

This view of Morrison was reported in many newspapers in Punjab including the Muslim papers like *The Muslim Outlook*, a widely read paper among the Muslims. But the Muslims in India and Punjab did not give importance to such views and their leaders went to London to participate in the Round Table Conference. At this time once again Morrison declared in 1931 that Hindus and Muslim were not two communities but two nationalities and envisaged a Muslim national state in the north of India.⁷⁹

In 1932 Sir Reginald Crakkock, a retired British official from India, published a book in which he challenged the concept of an Indian state on the basis of Indian nationalism and suggested for the division of India on the ground of racial and other diversities between the major communities. He argued:

If Norway and Sweden could not keep together, if Ulster and Irish Free State could not be got to unite, how can it be expected that infinitely greater diversities and divergent racial elements to be found in India

could be welded into self-governing and democratic whole.⁸⁰

J. Coatman, too, writing in 1932 at the time of Third Round Table Conference stated about the possibility of creation of a powerful Mohamman state in the north and the north-west, with its eyes definitely turned away from India.⁸¹ In the same year, Sir Walter Lawrence acknowledged the existence of many great and well defined nationalities in India.⁸² Another British Indian official like Sir Michael O' Dwyer who ruled Punjab during the Jallianwala Bagh massacre and its martial law aftermath, tried to keep away the Muslim delegates from joining the Congress leaders for finding an amicable solution of the Indian problem. He argued:

If the Federal government, with a Hindu majority endeavours to force its will on provinces with a Muslim majority, what is to prevent a breakaway of the Punjab, Sind Baluchistan and the NWF as already foreshadowed and their possibly forming a Muslim Federation of their own.⁸³

But the Indian delegates ignored such proposals and they all made efforts to arrive at some agreement. Muhammad Iqbal did not raise his Allahabad proposal and stressed for unity between the two communities. He disliked and resented the manouvering attempts of certain English politicians, persuading the Muslim delegates to reject the immediate introduction of responsible government in the provinces of British India.⁸⁴

Iqbal returned to Lahore on 30 December 1931 after attending the IIInd RTC, hopeful of some settlement. On 21 March 1932 he presided at the All India Muslim Conference held at Lahore. During his presidential address he stated:

In view of the visible and invisible points of contact between the various communities of India, I do believe in the possibility of constructing a harmonious whole whose unity cannot be disturbed by the rich diversity which it must carry within its bosom. The problem of ancient Indian thought was how the one became many without sacrificing its oneness. Today, this problem has

come down from its etherial heights to the grosser plane of our political life and we have to solve it in its reversed form, i.e. how the many can become one without sacrificing its plural character. In so far as the fundamentals of our policy are concerned I have got nothing fresh to offer. Regarding these I have already expressed my views in my address to the All India-Muslim League.⁸⁵

Iqbal did not stand for separation is further confirmed when he categorically stated in his address:

As far the promised provisional settlement, it is obvious that no communal settlement, provisional or permanent, can satisfy the Muslim community, which does not recognise as its basic principle, the right of the community to enjoy majority rights in provinces where it happens to be in actual majority. The continuance of separate electorates and the status of the Frontier province are no doubt assured, but complete provincial autonomy transfer of power from Parliament to Indian provinces, equality of federal units classification of subjects, not into federal central, and provincial, but into federal and provincial only, majority rights in the Punjab and Bengal, unconditional separation of Sind and one-third share in the centre constitute no less essential elements of our demand.⁸⁶

For the continuous rift between the two communities, he blamed British by saying that they were indirectly, "driving the Indian communities, which are mainly Hindus and Muslims, to a kind of civil war" and their policy was "calculated only to facilitate their own position in India."⁸⁷ Iqbal wanted both the Hindus and Muslims to solve their problem themselves without the third party, the British.

Iqbal's keenness to come to understanding with the Hindu leaders reflects in his letter to Muhammad Irfan Khan in which he said:

Maulana Shawkat Ali must be busy in preparing his legal case. Will you find out from

him how things stand and write to me? Some days ago I had written to him that I had received a letter from a Hindu gentleman, Mr. Lalit, saying that Dr. Moonje accepts the scheme that I had put forward in my Muslim League presidential address and that he (Lalit) was going to consult pandit Malaviya who, too, will accept it for the sake of Hindu-Muslim amity, and that at present it was not prudent to accept the scheme publicly. This letter was confidential. It also said that he (Lalit) had talked to Maulana Shawkat Ali and found him willing to come to an agreement. You must have understood to which scheme I am referring—consolidation (ek ho jana) of the Muslim provinces of northern India.⁸⁸

This letter further proves that Iqbal had not advocated the division of the country but the formation of the Muslim majority provinces within the Indian homeland. In July 1932 he explained the Muslim view that:

The Muslims of India are as anxious to protect their communal interests as to secure the constitutional advance of the country. The safeguards they demand are essential for their protection as an all India minority. They accept the principle of majority rule in the centre and in those provinces where they happen to be in a hopeless minority.....⁸⁹

Although the Congress flatly rejected the Communal Award, Iqbal opined for its acceptance. He stated that:

The communal issues which have been settled should not be reopened. The separation of Sind from Bombay, the introduction of constitutional reforms in the Frontier province and the Separate Electorates for the Muslims are now finally determined. The securing of majority for the Muslims in the Punjab and Bengal is the only unresolved problem requiring solution.⁹⁰

Again in a meeting of the Muslim Conference which was held in Delhi on 23 August 1932 under the Chairmanship of Iqbal, to consider the Communal Award announced by the British Prime Minister, Iqbal remarked:

that the mere allotment of seats to various communities is in itself of no great consequence. What is vital is the amount of power which may be transferred to the provinces of India. If real power comes to the provinces there is no doubt that the minorities of India, Muslims and non-Muslims, will have an opportunity of improving their political position in the country and that in working out the coming constitution, Muslim in their majority provinces will, in view of their past history and traditions, prove themselves free from all pettiness of mind and narrowness of outlook.⁹¹

He pleaded that the separate electorates were not contrary to nationalist ideas. In an interview given to the *Roznama-e-Khilafat*, on 21 October 1932. Iqbal said:

Inter-communal unity is necessary, no doubt, but to say that it cannot be attained as long as separate electorates are there, is wrong. Unity can be achieved in spite of it. In my opinion, economic questions can unite the different communities of India.⁹²

These views speak of Iqbal's Marxist orientation. Now he sought to achieve unity on the economic basis. And it is for achieving this objective that Iqbal participated in the IIIrd RTC held in London on 17 November 1932 to 24 December 1932. Before leaving Lahore he said to pressmen:

I want to assure the Muslim and non Muslim countrymen that the Muslims delegation will spend all its energies in the service of Islam and India.⁹³

It makes it evident that India was as dear to him as Islam and India was the only country, in his opinion, where Islam as a people-building force, had worked its best. In England on 24 November 1932,

the National League, London⁹⁴ held a reception in Iqbal's honour. Here Iqbal reiterated his view as:

We have gathered to form a constitution for India in close touch with the British Empire; we must work out a durable constitution without a chance of collapse. India is a vast country of various creeds and speech and the people had lived side by side for thousand of years.⁹⁵

On 15 December 1932 the National League held a meeting in Committee Room No. 19 where foreign diplomats, members of the British Parliament were invited to meet Iqbal and other members of the Muslim delegation. Iqbal again emphasised for safeguards for Muslim interests in India.⁹⁶ Thus Iqbal did not preach partition. This idea germinated in the minds of the British-Indian officials. Their utterances in this regard failed to win over the minds of the Muslim delegates during the first and second RTC. In the third RTC one Ch. Rahmat Ali, who was not pursuing any specific course of studies and had no ostensible means of support, but at the same time had ample funds of his somewhat luxurious entertainment of celebrities and propaganda activities, derived his inspiration and funds from the India Office,⁹⁷ propounded the idea of a separate state for the Muslims, he titled it as Pakistan. Leaflets advocating Pakistan were distributed by Rahmat Ali to the members of British Parliament and of RTC. Muslim delegates opposed Rahmat's plan and Iqbal himself repudiated it.⁹⁸

On seeing the Pakistan pamphlet in the very first session of the Assembly, Jinnah had a heartier laugh over it and said: "I might tell you that for myself I have only Hindu friends."⁹⁹ Yusuf Ali said, "As far as I know it is only a student scheme, no responsible people have put it forward."¹⁰⁰ Ch. Zafarullah Khan reacted: "So far as we have considered it, we have considered it chimerical and impracticable."¹⁰¹ Dr. Khalifa-Shuja-Ud-Din also expressed the same views.

Thus the Indian delegates were uninterested in Rahmat Ali's scheme but it is significant that the British not only took the initiative but also pressed their questions on Pakistan. Diehard Press and Churchill—the Lloyd groups of the Conservative party saw in it "a suggestion of the gravest import." With the result that questions were asked in the Parliament on several occasions.¹⁰² Even as late as 1935, Jinnah decried Rahmat Ali, dubbed him an irresponsible person,

characterized his plan as a crazy scheme. But in return Rahmat Ali characterized the Muslim Leaguers including Jinnah, "as a crowd of meaty mouthed careerists" and its council as "a clique of manipulators."¹⁰³ Iqbal was denounced not less than by Rahmat Ali himself. He characterized Iqbal as "a poor politician, he betrayed by action what he blessed in word."¹⁰⁴

To him Iqbal never was in favour of Pakistan and he opposed it secretly.¹⁰⁵ Rahmat Ali opined that Iqbal was "specifically for Indian federation, comprising all the provinces of India" and was also using the word 'state' not in the sense of a separate, sovereign state, but in that of a big province within and as part of the proposed Indian Federation to solve the communal problem.¹⁰⁶ Rahmat Ali also stated that Iqbal was not the architect of a sovereign Muslim state but "Muslim India within India" and throughout his address, he spoke of India as a country, of Indians as a nation, and of Muslims as one of the communities of that nation.¹⁰⁷ Rahmat Ali further argued that Iqbal wanted concessions for Indian Muslims within the Indian Federal structure, a thing against which they had been (Rahmat and his colleagues) fighting since 1933 could complicate problems and aggravate perils.¹⁰⁸

This criticism of Iqbal at the hands of Rahmat Ali, the propounder of Pakistan, proves that Iqbal's objective was national unity and not disintegration of the country. Even the *Star of India*, a paper of Calcutta and the most powerful English mouth-piece of the Indian Muslim's opinion and of the Muslim League, carried an editorial on 14 April 1933 in which probably, referring to Iqbal, the editor stated that there was already a school of Muslim politicians who favoured the idea of amalgamating these provinces into a single province within the proposed all India federation.¹⁰⁹

The word Pakistan did not exist in India before 1933. But the British-Indian papers carried articles on Pakistan scheme. Through *Civil and Military Gazette* and other English owned dailies floated these ideas and made an effort to popularise them among the Muslims. In Lahore, the Government in one of its daily newspapers started in its correspondence columns a great debate on Pakistan from early 1933 to April 1935. But Iqbal did not speak or write on Pakistan.¹¹⁰ This further shows that till then the Indian Muslim masses and their leaders were not in favour of the division of the country. On the other hand this also shows the keenness of the British to use the Pakistan card in widening the rift between the two communities and by this to prevent them to come to an understanding.

Iqbal, in fact, corrected those who viewed him as the theoretician or the architect of the Pakistan theory. In a letter written to Professor Edward John Thompson on 20 June 1933 Iqbal expressed his happiness that the British had recognised the Muslims of India as distinct people who must have an opportunity of full development on their own lines. But this he wanted within India.¹¹¹

Yet in another letter written to Thompson on 4 March 1934 Iqbal categorically specified:

You call me protagonist of the scheme called 'Pakistan'. Now Pakistan is not my scheme. The one suggested in my address is the creation of a Muslim Province - i.e. a province having an overwhelming population of Muslims—in the north west of India. This new province will be according to my scheme, a part of the proposed Indian Federation. Pakistan scheme proposes a separate Federation of Muslim Provinces directly related to England, as separate Dominion. This scheme originated in Cambridge. The authors of this scheme believe that we Muslim Round Tablers have sacrificed the Muslim Nation on the altar of the Hindi or so-called Indian nationalism.¹¹²

Edward Thompson later wrote in *The Observer*, confirming that Iqbal had promptly corrected his views that he (Iqbal) did not want India to be divided into two separate countries.¹¹³

In 1934, change came in Iqbal's views even in regard to Pan-Islamism. He explained:

This doctrine (Pan-Islamism) was formulated by a French Statesman, whose name I cannot recall, with a view to inflaming the feelings of European nations against Muslim countries and by frightening them of Muslim aggression to give them an excuse for interference in their countries. English statesmen themselves gave currency to it in India in order that Muslim should not attend to internal political questions, and should

dissipate their power of action by lip-sympathy with the Muslim world. They wished that Indian Muslims should not be practical but theoretical.¹¹⁴

It seems that his belief that the British were the well-wisher of a particular community had evaporated by the end of the third decade of the present century. He had realised that the British in order to keep themselves a ruling power in India, were exploiting the Indians irrespective of race, religion, caste or creed. Iqbal now emphasised unity of the Indian people on economic basis. His urge to secure freedom increased during this period. He openly denounced the British imperialists in the strongest possible terms. This greatly displeased the imperialists and they rejected Sir Fazl-e-Hussain's recommendation that Iqbal be given the sine cure post of membership of the Public Service Commission. They also turned down Fazl's requests for the consideration of Iqbal as Indian agent to Africa.¹¹⁵

Iqbal not only openly criticised the British-Government but also wrote patriotic poetry to arouse the people against foreign domination, shed tears over the dissensions among the Indians in his poem *Pas Chi Bayad Kard Ay Aqwam-i-Sharq* in 1936 (what should be done O people of the East), yet expressed his hope for the unity. In *Zarb-i-Kalim* (1936) he expressed his hope by putting the following patriotic lines in the mouth of *Shoa-i-Umeed* (The Ray of Hope):

*Chhourungi na main Hind ki tarik Fiza ko
Jab tak na uthen khawab se mardan-e-giran khwab!
Khawar ki umidon ka yehi khak hai markaz,
Iqbal ke ashkon se yehi khak hai sairab!
Is khak se uthen hain woh ghawas-i-maani,
Jin ke liye har Behar-i-pur aashob hai payab!*

(The dark surroundings of Hind it would not forsake
Till native sunk in slumber do not wake.
The hopes of orient on this region hinge,
The tears that Iqbal sheds on its impinge.
It has produced men who hid sense can see,
With utmost ease can cross the swollen sea.)

Such a burning patriotic fervour of Iqbal leaves no doubt that he was not the founder of the idea of a separate state. In September 1937, a delegation of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation met Iqbal to

seek his guidance on its aims and objects. The Federation did not want to own the Muslim League objective, because it was fixed as dominion status and the students wanted complete independence. During the meeting it was decided for "the establishment of a Muslim national state in the North-West India composed of the Punjab, NWFP, (Sind), and Baluchistan, the goal of Federation. We (students) liked this proposal and we were already acquainted with Ch. Rahmat Ali's Pakistan movement. But Iqbal did not use word 'Pakistan'"¹¹⁶ Had Iqbal coined the word, or even favoured or supported it, he would have at least used this word on this occasion.¹¹⁷

Aftermath of the Assembly Election of 1937

The division of the country was not acceptable to the Muslims in India. It was criticised, condemned and denounced by the prominent Muslims. Even the Muslim League opposed partition of the country. Its leaders called Pakistan scheme as "not only anti-national, and anti-rational but also utterly un-Islamic."¹¹⁸ The League participated in the elections held under the Act of 1935. On 18 October 1937 at Lucknow, the League passed a resolution for complete independence, M. Muz-zafar, Publicity Officer of the Kanpur Muslim League said:

When we say that we want full independence we honestly mean it. We want India to be free and want that freedom enjoyed by every community. Our quarrel with the Congress has been with regard to the correct use of political power which is coming into Indian hands. We want power to be used impartially and not to the detriment of Mussalman. But although that quarrel has been serious enough, it might not be interpreted to mean, as is sometimes done, that we can even oppose political progress. Muslim public opinion is solidly in favour of full freedom as will be apparent when the time comes. Their quarrel with the Congress is a domestic matter and must not be used as an argument by British imperialists to block political advance.¹¹⁹

But the communal Hindu became more assertive after the poor performance of the Muslim League in the Assembly elections. It was

said, "Hindi is to be the national language of all India and the Bande-Matram is to be the national song, and is to be forced upon all. Congress flag is to be obeyed and revered by all the sundry."¹²⁰ The communal leaders in the Congress endeavoured to impose Bande-Matram in the Legislature of United Provinces. The Muslim League in its Lucknow Session strongly condemned the attitude of the Congress leaders in imposing the Bande-Matram as the National Anthem upon the country and stated it to be "definitely subversive growth of genuine nationalism in India."¹²¹ In November 1937 Jinnah appealed the Congress to settle with the Muslim League as both had the same aim but the Congress refused to accept the League as the 'sole authoritative organisation of Muslims' the claim it had accepted in 1916 under the Lucknow Pact.¹²²

Thus the communal Hindus also helped the making of Pakistan. Their inflammatory utterances drifted the poor ignorant Muslim masses towards the separatists who were giving the dream of a happy and contented life in a separate country. Ironically their utterances were not condemned by the Congress leaders. Even Congress leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru were unable to win over the Muslims to Congress fold. In 1936 Jawaharlal Nehru in his address to the Hindi Sahitya Parishad (Hindi Literary Association), open session stated that "Hindi instead of Urdu should be the national language of India."¹²³ This created suspicions even among the secular Muslim leaders in the Congress.

In Punjab the Unionist Party won the elections and formed the government. The Muslim League could secure only one seat. Iqbal after the election devoted himself to reorganise the Muslim League. But he was perturbed by the increasing communal violence in the country. He wrote a letter to Jinnah on 21 June 1937. In this he lamented:

During the last few months there has been a series of Hindu-Muslim riots in India. In North-West India alone there have been at least three riots during the last three months and at least four cases of villification of the prophet by Hindus and Sikhs. The other Hindu political body, i.e., the Mahasabha, whom I regard as the real representative of the masses of Hindu, has declared more than once that a united Hindu Muslim nation is impossible in India. In these circum-

stances it is obvious that the only way to a peaceful India is a re-distribution of the country on the lines of racial, religious and linguistic affinities.¹²⁴

But with the redistribution of the country he did not mean division of the country as in the same letter he stated:

I remember Lord Lothian told me before I left England that my scheme (Allahabad Address of 1930) was the only possible solution of the troubles of India, but that it would take 25 years to come.¹²⁵

He further remarked;

Why should not the Muslim of North-West India and Bengal be considered as nations entitled to self-determination just as other nations in India and outside India are?¹²⁶

But Iqbal used the word nation synonymous with provinces and did not mention the word Pakistan. He specifically stated about the scheme he had put forward in his Allahabad Address as the only scheme which could save the Muslims from the domination of non-Muslims and to secure peaceful India.

Iqbal died in April 1938. But three months before leaving this world i.e. on 1 January 1938 in New Year Message, which was broadcasted from the Lahore Station of All India Radio, Iqbal condemned imperialism and stated that 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.....After subjugating and establishing their (imperialists) dominion over weaker peoples, they have robbed them of their religions, their morals, of their cultural traditions and their literatures. Then they sowed division among them that they should shed one another's blood.....It is as if they day of doom had come upon earth, in which each looks after the safety of his own, skin, and in which no voice

of human sympathy or fellowship is audible.¹²⁷

In the address he appealed the educational forces of the world,

to inculcate in man respect for mankind. Do you not see that the people of Spain, though they have the same common bond of one race, one nationality, one language, and one religion, are cutting one-another's throats and destroying their culture and civilization by their own hands owing to difference in their economic creed. This one event shows clearly that 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.....¹²⁸

This last address of Iqbal to the people of India clearly speaks of Iqbal's ideas. He rejected the argument that one religion based state could provide peace, progress and unity and after nine years of his death the state Pakistan was created on the basis of religion. How could then Iqbal be the architect of this state. In fact the parentage of Pakistan was conferred on him as he was the well-known philosopher and a believer.

4

REFERENCES AND NOTES

IQBAL AND THE IDEA OF PAKISTAN

- ¹ P. Hardy, *The Muslims of British India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972, p. 207.
- ² *Punjab Legislative Council Debates*, Vol. XVI, 16 July 1930, p. 100.?
- ³ Home Poll. 18/IV/1931.
- ⁴ *Punjab Legislative Council Debates*, Vol. XVI, 16 July 1930, p. 100.?
- ⁵ M.L. Darling, *The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt*, London: Oxford University Press, 1925, p. 16.
- ⁶ Indra Prakash, *Hindu Mahasabha: Its Contribution to Indian Politics*, New Delhi: Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, 1966, p. 257.
- ⁷ Radha Kumud Mookerji, *Akhand Bharat*, Bombay: Hind Kitab, 1945, pp. 5-7.
- ⁸ *Moonje Diaries*, 18 July 1926.
- ⁹ M.J. Akbar, *Nehru - The Making of India*, London: Viking, 1988 p. 178.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹ Muhammad Munnawar, *Dimensions of Pakistan Movement*, Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1987, p. 55.

- 12 Sabhadra Joshi (ed.), *R.S.S. - A Danger to Democracy*, New Delhi: Sampradayikta Virodhi Committee, 1967, p. 27.
- 13 Akbar, n. 9, 253.
- 14 N.G. Barrier (ed.), *Roots of Communal Politics*, New Delhi: Arnold Heinemann, 1976, p. 222.
- 15 Congress leaders like K.M. Munshi presided over the annual gatherings of the RSS. See for detail, N.S. Bapat, *Nationalism Vs. Communalism*, Poona: G.S. Bapat, 1943, p. 48.
- 16 K.R. Malkani, "There is a Motive in Misunderstanding Hedge-war", *The Times of India*, 22 August 1989.
- 17 Cyril Modak, *India's Destiny*, Allahabad: Kitab Mahal, 1944, p. 85.
- 18 Cited from K.K. Aziz, *History of the Partition of India*, Vol. I, New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, 1988, p. 140.
- 19 *Ibid.*, p. 107
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 140
- 21 *Ibid.*, p. 106-07...
- 22 F.K. Durrani, *The Meaning of Pakistan*, Lahore: Sheikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1944, pp. 98-99.
- 23 Aziz, n. 18, p. 142.
- 24 Home Poll, 787/1924.
- 25 Barrier, n. 14, p. 239
- 26 Author of *Rangila Rasool*.
- 27 Ishwari Prasad and S.K. Subedar, *Hindu Muslim Problems*, Allahabad: Chugh Publication, 1974, pp. 88-89.
- 28 *Ibid.*
- 29 K.K. Aziz, *The Making of Pakistan*, London: Chatto and Windus, 1967, p. 56.
- 30 Aziz, n. 18, pp. 242-43.
- 31 *Zamindar*, 2 February 1927, cited from *Ibid.*, p. 243.
- 32 *Ibid.*
- 33 *Ibid.*

- ³⁴ Muhammad Iqbal, *Presidential Address*, delivered at the Annual Session of the AIML, 29 December 1930, cited in Latif Ahmed Sherwani (comp.), *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1977, p. 3.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 4.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 8.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.* p. 10
- ⁴² *Ibid.* p. 12.
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.* p. 13.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.* p. 22.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p. 11.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p. 10.
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.* p. 11.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.* p. 10.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.* pp. 18-19.
- ⁵² *Ibid.* p. 11.
- ⁵³ *Ibid.* p. 25.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.* p. 6.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.* p. 7.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.* p. 24.
- ⁵⁷ Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. III, New Delhi: Publication Division, 1972, p.p. 252-53.
- ⁵⁸ Iqbal Singh, *The Ardent Pilgrim*, Bombay: Orient Longman Ltd., 1951, p. 58.

- ⁵⁹ Rajendra Prasad, *India Divided*, Bombay: Hind Kitab, 1947, p. 206.
- ⁶⁰ Aziz, n. 29, p. 54.
- ⁶¹ Reginald Coupland, *Indian Politics*, London: Oxford University Press, 1943, p. 198.
- ⁶² Robert Aura Smith, *Divided India*, New York, 1946, pp. 152-53.
- ⁶³ Jawaharlal Nehru, *Discovery of India*, London: Meridian Book Ltd., 1951, pp. 354-55.
- ⁶⁴ A British historian on India. He had also taught at Bankura College in Bengal from 1910 to 1922.
- ⁶⁵ Edward Thompson, *Enlist India for Freedom*, London: Victory Gollancz Ltd., 1940, p. 58.
- ⁶⁶ Iqbal's letter to *The Times* (London), 10 October 1931, cited in B.A. Dar, *Letters and Writings of Iqbal*, Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1981, p. 120.
- ⁶⁷ Iqbal's Letter to Sir Francis Younghusband, cited in Sherwani, n. 34, pp. 206-207.
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁹ Dar, n. 66, p. 55.
- ⁷⁰ M.H. Saiyid, *Mohd. Ali Jinnah: A Political Biography*, Lahore: Sh. Mohd. Ashraf, 1953, p. 156.
- ⁷¹ At the first RTC he took Shiva Rao, one of the Indian delegates, aside while a plenary session was in progress and said, "Burma is not on today's agenda but Ramsay Macdonald is going to spring a surprise on us towards the end of the day's proceedings by rushing a proposal through for Burma's separation without discussion. Some leading Indian delegates have already agreed to such procedures." He asked Shiva Rao to raise this. B. Shiva Rao, *India's Freedom Movement*, Delhi: Orient Longman, 1972, p. 127.
- ⁷² Kanji Dwarkadas, *India Fight for Freedom 1913-37 : A Short Eyewitness Story*, Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1966, p. 385.
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁴ Hardy, n. 1, p. 218.
- ⁷⁵ *Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, January 1931.
- ⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

77 *Ibid.*, 7 January 1931.

78 Quoted from *The Muslim Outlook*, 25 October 1927.

79 Aziz, n. 29, p. 58.

80 *Ibid.*

81 G.C. Sondhi, *To The Gates of Liberty*, Calcutta: G.C. Sondhi, 1948, p. 312, See also Hardy, n. 1, p. 221.

82 Aziz, n. 29, p. 58.

83 Stanley Wolport, *Jinnah of Pakistan*, Oxford, 1984, p. 132.

84 Muhammad Iqbal's Presidential Address at the All India Muslim Conference, on 21 March 1932, cited in Sherwani, n. 34, p. 30.

85 *Ibid.*, p. 28.

86 *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

87 *Ibid.*, p. 34.

88 Aziz, n. 18, p. 288.

89 Iqbal's statement on the Sikh Demands on 25 July 1932, cited in Sherwani, n. 34, p. 215.

90 Hafeez Malik (ed.), *Iqbal-Poet Philosopher of Pakistan*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1971, pp. 92-93.

91 Iqbal's statement on *Communal Award* on 24 August 1932, cited in Shewani, n. 34, p. 221.

92 *Ibid.*, p. 223.

93 *Inquilab of Lahore*, 17 October 1932.

94 It was founded by Miss Margaret Farquharson in London in 1914 to help the British in the war efforts, later it strived to promote Muslim's friendship with Britian.

95 Dar, n. 66, pp. 69-70.

96 *Ibid.*, pp. 70-76.

97 Sondhi, n. 81, p. 312.

98 Aziz, n. 29, p. 54,

99 Sri Prakasha, *Pakistan - Birth and Early Days*, Delhi : Meenakshi Prakashan, 1965, p. 2.

- 100 Sondhi, n. 81, p. 312.
- 101 *Ibid.*
- 102 M.S. Vairanapillai, *Are We Two Nations?* Lahore : Herbert Milton William, 1946, p. 220.
- 103 *Ibid.*
- 104 *Ibid.*
- 105 *Ibid.*
- 106 Ch. Rahmat Ali, *Pakistan - The Fatherland of the Pak-Nation*, Cambridge: Foister and Jagg, 1947, p. 219.,
- 107 *Ibid.*, p. 220.
- 108 *Ibid.*
- 109 Aziz, n. 29, p. 55.
- 110 *Ibid.*
- 111 Iqbal's letter to Thompson, 20 June 1933, cited from S. Hasan Ahmad, *Iqbal - His Political Ideas - At Crossroads*, Aligarh, 1979, p. 3.
- 112 Iqbal's letter to Thompson, 4 March 1934, cited from *Ibid.*
- 113 Edward Thompson, *Enlist India for Freedom*, London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1940, p. 58.
- 114 Muhammad Sadiq, *A History of Urdu Literature*, Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1984, p. 464. See also, Dar, n. n. 66, pp. 55-56.
- 115 Iqbal Singh, n. 58, p. 133.
- 116 Quoted from Aziz, n. 29, p. 354.
- 117 *Ibid.*
- 118 Vairanapillai, n. 102, p. 220.
- 119 Edward Thompson, n. 113, p. 100.
- 120 Syed Sharif-Ud-Din Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol. II, New Delhi: Metropolitan Boom Company, 1982, p. 288.
- 121 *Ibid.*
- 122 C.M. Naim, *Iqbal Jinnah and Pakistan*, Delhi: Jinnah Publishing House, 1982, p. 21.

- ¹²³ Rais Ahmad Jafari (Nadwi), *Iqbal Aur Siyast-i-Milli*, Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1981, pp. 130-31.
- ¹²⁴ Iqbal's letter to Jinnah on 21 June 1937, cited from *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah*, Lahore: Sheikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1943, pp. 18-23.
- ¹²⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹²⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹²⁷ Iqbal's New Year Message, Broadcasted from Lahore Station of All India Radio on 1 January 1938, cited in Sherwani, n. 34, pp. 250-51.
- ¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

POLITICAL IDEAS OF IQBAL

Although, Iqbal was a philosopher yet he never wrote any political testament explaining his political ideas. But his speeches, statements, addresses, private letters written to his friends both in India and abroad, his writings and his **Reconstruction of Religious thought in Islam** aired his views on various political concepts. Besides, his poetry which he himself considered as a vehicle for the propagation of his thoughts also throws considerable light on his political ideas such as nationalism democracy, communism and ego.

Iqbal on Democracy

With the advent of British rule and the introduction of English education, democratic ideas and democratic political institutions caught up the minds of the English educated Indians. They were exposed to the great political theorists of the West like Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Hegal and J.S. Mill. Their concept of liberty, equality, responsible and representative government had great appeal for Indians and they also began demanding Indian's association with the administration which gradually changed from representative government to self-rule within the British Empire and ultimately to complete independence. But from the very beginning, the British consistently insisted on the view that India was unfit for responsible government but seeing the political awakening and the mounting pressure of the masses, they had to concede reforms under the Act of 1861 and 1892 without any surrender of imperial interests.

The introduction of representative government based on the concept of majority rule brought friction, feuds and fighting among the Indians and successfully torn the fabric of harmonious relationship particularly between the Hindus and Muslims, the two major communities of India. In the then feudal structure of Indian society the interpretation of the term 'majority' and 'minority' was made on religious basis with the result, the Muslims who were in minority in terms of population but were the ex-rulers of India did not support it. They were reluctant to accept it as they had been lagging behind the Hindus in every walk of life. Democratic set-up with the limited franchise based on the qualification of property and education was considered detrimental to the socio-economic-political interests of the Muslims in the country. It is in this background that modern Muslims like Sir Syed Ahmad vehemently opposed it but Muhammad Iqbal, who was the blend of tradition and modernity, though critical of the Western concept of democracy, was ready to accept it with some safeguards for the protection of the interests of minorities.

Iqbal was basically a democrat. He actively participated in the then polity as a member of the Punjab Legislative Council from 1926 to 1930. As a member of the All India Muslim League, he tried to rebuild the League's organization on democratic principles so as to provide opportunities to all the Muslims irrespective of their economic status to the higher posts in the party. He was also associated with various conferences formed to solve the communal problem. He stood and strongly supported the constitutional advance of the country and helped the Simon Commission, participated in the II and III Round Table Conferences to prepare a constitution for the country. As a philosopher, he supported the abolition of Khilafat in Turkey, welcomed the formation of the democratic National Assembly and declared that not only was a republican form of government thoroughly consistent with the spirit of Islam but had also become a necessity in the changing world.¹ He was opposed to monarchy and in his own country was against the continuance of princely order. He supported democracy as there was no other substitute.² In *Bal-i-Jibril*, Iqbal ushered in the democratic era in the following verse:

*Sultani-ay Jamhoor ka aata hai zamana
Jo Naqsh-i-kohan tum ko nazar aay mita do.*³

(The era of sovereignty of the people has dawned,
All the signs of old should be destroyed.)

Thus he wanted the sovereign power to be vested among the people who should be the master of their own destiny. Yet Iqbal was a staunch critic of democracy. Apparently it is a contradiction but the deep study of Iqbal's ideas makes it clear that his criticism of democracy was based partly on the Western practise and partly on this understanding that Western democratic polity would be disadvantageous for the Muslims in India and the latter would have to take back seat in every matter of the country. Besides, Iqbal was a believer and was fascinated by the teachings of Quran. He attacked Western democracy and propounded his own theory of democracy based on Islam.

He had been to Europe for three years in 1905-08 and there he had closely seen and experienced the functioning of the democratic governments. His experience in India too convinced him that democracy was a mask to cover the exploitative system. He wrote:

Colossal oppression
 Masquerades in the robes Of Demo, and
 with iron.
 Feet it tramples down the Weak without
 remorse.⁴

Though Iqbal supported the rule by consent yet he was opposed to the Western concept of democracy as it counts heads but not the reason, merit, ability and mental calibre. Democracy, to Iqbal was a cover for many injustices and a weapon or instrument in the hands of the imperialists and capitalists to continue with the exploitative structure. He wrote in *Bang-i-Dara*:

*Hai wohi saz-i-kohan maghrib ka jamhoori nizam,
 Jis ke pardon mein nahin ghair az nawa-i-qaisari!
 Dev-i-istabdad jamhoori qaba mein paay kob,
 To samajhta hai ye azadi ki hai neelam pari!
 Majlis-i-aain-o-islam-o-riyayat-o-haqooq,
 Tib-i-maghrib mein maze meethe asar khawab aawari!
 Garmi ay guftar-i-aza ay majalis alaman,
 Yeh bhi ik sarmaydaron ki hai jang-i-zargari!
 Is sarab-i-rang-o-boo ko gulistan samjha hai too,
 Ah, ay nadan qafas ko aashian samjha hai too!⁵*

(In the West the people rule, they say:
 And what is this new reign?
 The same harp still, the same strings play.
 The despots' old refrain;

In demos-dress let tyranny's
 Old demon dance be seen,
 Your fancy calls up liberty's
 Blue-mantled fairy queen!
 Those parliaments and their reforms,
 Charters and Bills of Rights—
 The Western pharmacopoeia swarms
 With opiate delights;
 The rheotric of the Senator,
 Flowing in fiery stream —
 God save the mark! the brokers war
 Of Gold is its true theme.
 This paint and perfume, this mirage
 A Garden's bloom in face
 You thought, simpleton, and your cage
 A dowry nesting place.

These verses of Iqbal clearly speak of his viewpoints. He unmasked the democracy of the Europe and put forth its deceptive nature and said:

*Farang aain-i-jamhoori nahadast
 Rasan az gardan-i-deve kushaad ast
 Zbaghash kasht-i-veranay nakotar
 Zay shehr-i-o bia bane nakotar
 Zaman deh ahal-i-maghrib ra piame
 Keh jamhoor ast tegh-i-be niame.⁶*

(Europe evloving democratic principles has unchanged a monster. A barren land is better than the garden of West. And wilderness he preferred to the Western cities. Impart this messege from me to the Westerners that government of the people is like a sword out of its scabbard, killing ruthlessly.)

Again, in his very famous poem "Devil's Advisory Council", written hardly one-year before his death, Iqbal expressed his utter disgust with the Western democracy in the following words:

*Tu ne kya dekha nahin maghrib ka jamhoori nizam
 Cherha roshan andron Changiz se tareek tar.⁷*

(Have you not observed the Western democratic system? The face of this democracy is bright but the soul is darker than that of Changis Khan.)

Iqbal opposed democracy because its ideal was not the development of man but to kill man. In *Gulshan-i-Raz-i-Jadid* (New Gardens of Mystery) Iqbal explained as follows:

*Zaman deh ahal-i-maghrib ra pyame
Keh jamhoor ast tegh-i-be-niame
Cheh shamsere ke jan ha me satanad
Tameez-i-Muslim-o-Kafir nadanad
Na manad dar ghilafe-i-khud zamane
Barad jan-i-khud wa jan-i-jahane.*⁸

(That the ideal of democracy is a sword out of its sheath:
What a sword that it kills men?
And does not make distinction between a
believer and a non-believer!
If it does not remain in the sheath for a little more time,
It will kill itself as well as the world.)

In one more poem, "Jumhuriat" (democracy) Iqbal wrote:

*Mata-i-mana-i-begana az doon fitratan joi?
Zamooran shokhi-ay Taba-i-sulemane nami aayad
Gurez az tarz-i-jamhoori, ghulam-i-pukhta kare sho
Keh az maghaz-i-do sad khar fikir-i-insane nami aayad.*⁹

(You seek the treasure of an alian philosophy
From common, low grade people, themselves
Poor of Mind. Ants crawling on the ground cannot attain
The heights of wisdom of a Solomon.
Avoid the method of democracy
Become the bondman of some one of ripe intelligence.
For a few hundred donkeys cannot have combined.
The brains of one man, of one *homo sapien*.)

Thus Iqbal could not reconcile with the Western democracy and his opposition to it was consistent. As early as 1908 he had opined: "The democracy has a tendency to foster the spirit of legality. This is not in itself bad; but unfortunately it tends to displace the purely moral standpoint and to make the illegal and wrong identical in meaning."¹⁰

With the passing of time he became more and more staunch critic of Western democracy. In one of his lectures delivered in Madras on

Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam Iqbal declared:

The idealism of Europe never became a living factor in her life, and the result is a perverted ego seeking itself through mutually intolerant democracies whose sole function is to exploit the poor in the interest of the rich.¹¹

In 1931 Iqbal wrote a letter to Sir Francis Younghusband in which he stated that democracy was not an ideal polity and there was no difference between democracy and autocratic rule. He explained:

Democracy means rows. If anybody thinks that approach to democracy means sailing into a kind of lotus land, he cannot have read a word of history. The truth is exactly the opposite. Democracy lets loose all sorts of aspirations and grievances which were suppressed or unrealised under autocracy; it arouses hopes and ambitions often quite unpractical and it relies not on authority but on argument or controversy from the platform, in the press, in Parliament, gradually to educate people to the acceptance of a solution which may not be ideal but which is the only practical one in the circumstances of the time.¹²

He also opined that parliamentary democracies of the West and Fascism were not different to each other as both had a common aim i.e. expansion of their territorial boundaries and exploitation of the people of their colonies. He regarded Mussolini better than other colonial rulers as he did not conceal his motives under the guise of democratic phrases. Commenting on the character of the political leaders Iqbal pointed out:

*Umeed kya hai siyasat ke peshwaon se
Yeh khak baz hain rakhte hain khak se paywand!
Hamesha mor-o-magas par nigah hai inki
Jahan main hai siffat-i-ank bot inki kamand!*¹³

(On political leaders what hopes can we fix?
They are wedded to dust, in the dust play their tricks.
Their gaze always fastened on maggots and flies,
A web like the spider's their ladder to raise.)

He also viewed the formation of the League of Nations by the democratic countries, as another means for domination over the weak countries of the world. In the following verse he said:

*Man az ien besh nadanam keh kafan duzde chand
Behr-i-taqseem-Qaboor anjumanay sakhta and.*¹⁴

(I know nothing besides this, that a few shroud-stealers
Have formed an Association for the distribution of graves—
their exploit.)

Iqbal also stated that the pretentious cry for disarmament by the democratic countries, for peaceful solution of disputes with a view to eliminate the chances of war in Europe was a fraud. He remarked:

*Batay mi guft behar azad gardid
Chuneen farman zay dewan-i-khizar raft
Nahangay guft ro harja keh khwahi
Walay az man bayad bakhair raft.*¹⁵

(The duck said, "The sea has become free;
Such a firman has been issued from the Chamber of Khizar."
The crocodile said, "Go wherever thou likest,
But thou should'st not go regardless of us.)

Iqbal criticised British domination over Syria, Iraq, Palestine and Arabia under the Treaty of Serves and also strongly objected to the creation of Israel. He opined that the creation of Jewish state was to divide the Arabs. British parliamentary democracy was the focal point of Iqbal's criticism. In 1932 Gazi Raof Bey, the first President of National Assembly and the Captain of the Hamidia during the Balkan and the Great War, visited India to deliver a series of six lectures on the history of Turks. Iqbal was selected to preside over the fourth lecture meeting. In his speech Iqbal revealed the true character of the British democracy in the following story:

During the war some disciples of Satan presented themselves before him and saw him lying in an easy chair, smoking a cigar. The disciples asked him, 'How is it that you are free nowadays, Sir? Is there nothing for you to do? Satan replied, 'I am idle nowadays and I have nothing to do, for I have given charge of my work to the British cabinet.'¹⁶

Iqbal also blamed the British Indian polity for creating a rift between the Hindu-Muslim communities and causing bloodshed of the innocent people. In a letter written to Miss Farquhasson on 22 May 1932 Iqbal said:

Personally I am disappointed about the future of India. The riots in Bombay which are not yet over, have disturbed me greatly. I fear that the introduction of democracy in India would lead to bloodshed. The lawlessness would produce results which would be extremely unpleasant.¹⁷

He opined that undiluted Western democracy could not be a success in India, and he tolerated democracy because there was no other substitute.¹⁸ These views explain his participation in the then Indian politics. As there was no other substitute, hence Iqbal sought to protect the interests of the minorities by some constitutional safeguards and it is for this purpose that he co-operated with Simon Commission and participated in the deliberations at the RTC for solving the constitutional tangle. He was not opposed either to self-rule or the constitutional advance of the country. Reacting over the introduction of democracy in India in a letter to Sir Francis Younghusband in 1931, Iqbal said:

Therefore, when I look over the tempestuous history of the last ten years in India I feel inclined not to groan or despair but to congratulate both India and England on making a very good start Democratic government has attendant difficulties but these are difficulties which human experience elsewhere shows to be surmountable.¹⁹

This makes it clear that Iqbal was not opposed to democracy but was worried for the Muslim's interest who formed minority against the Hindu majority. He explained Muslim's attitude towards democracy:

Pandit Jawaharlal . . . seems to think that Muslims, while believing in democracy as a religious institution, are afraid of democracy in practice. He overlooks the fact that the communal electorates and other safeguards on which the Muslims insist are merely intended to prevent 80 million members of a

comparatively poor and backward community from being ousted from all real advantages of democracy. The Muslim wants safeguards not because he is afraid of democracy but because he is afraid of communal oligarchy in the garb of democracy in India. He wants to ensure the substance of democracy even at the expense of its conventional form.²⁰

He viewed democracy as a cover on the face of imperialism which was trampling the spirit of freedom and the dignity of man in all the democratic countries of the world. In his New Year Message, Broadcast from the Lahore Station of All India Radio on 1 January 1938, Iqbal said:

The modern age prides itself on its progress in knowledge and its matchless scientific developments. No doubt, the pride is justified. To-day space and time are being annihilated and man is achieving amazing successes in unveiling the secrets of nature and harmonising its forces to his own service. But in spite of all these developments, the tyranny of imperialism struts abroad, covering its face in the mask of Democracy, 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 and leadership of men was entrusted have proved demons of bloodshed tyranny and oppression

So long as this so-called democracy, this accursed nationalism and this degraded imperialism are not shattered, so long as men do not demonstrate by their actions that they believe that the whole world is the family of God, so long as the distinctions of race, colour and geographical nationalities are not wiped out completely, they will never be

able to lead a happy and contented life and the beautiful ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity will never materialise.²¹

Thus Iqbal viewed democracy of the West as based on exploitation, tyranny and oppression of the weak. Besides, it was devoid of spiritual content. Though as a practical politician, he pleaded for the modification of the democratic institutions in the country to meet the actual conditions of life in India yet as a philosopher he opined for Islamic democracy as an ideal form of government. Iqbal was a believer and Western democracy devoid of religious content, thus could not be acceptable to him. He advocated in its place spiritual democracy based on the teachings of Quran. He argued:

Let the Muslims of today appreciate his position, reconstruct his social life in the light of ultimate principle and evolve, out of the hitherto partially revealed purpose of Islam, that spiritual democracy which is the ultimate aim of Islam.²²

Distinguishing between the Western democracy and the Islamic concept of democracy Iqbal pointed out in an article written for *New Era*, Lucknow on 28 July 1917 as follows:

The Democracy of Europe—overshadowed by socialistic agitation and anarchical fear—originated mainly in the economic regeneration of European societies. Nietzsche, however, abhors this “rule of the herd” and, hopeless of the plebeian, he bases all higher culture on the cultivation and growth of an Aristocracy of Superman. But is the Plebeian so absolutely hopeless? The Democracy of Islam did not grow out of the extension of economic opportunity, it is a spiritual principle based on the assumption that every human being is a centre of latent power, the possibilities of which can be developed by cultivating a certain type of character. Out of the plebeian material Islam has formed men of the noblest type of life and power. Is not, then the democracy of early Islam an experimental refutation of the ideas of Nietzsche?²³ It is only in the Islamic polity that rich and poor, master and slave stand in the same rank. Iqbal explained this aspect of Islamic democracy as:

Islam imbibes constituents of the best possible democracy and . . . they need to be embedded in specific institutions. It was Islam that gave the lesson of equality of rights and practised it, including the concept

of a republic among its basic teachings, taught that government should be run by a Council or Mushawarat. An ordinary subject could summon the Amir al-Muminin to the court as a respondent. Islam declared the freedom of conscience, gave the concept of a welfare state, the duty whereof was not only to run administration, but also to provide for the basic needs of the people; dispelled the colour and race differences²⁴

Iqbal thought that a government based on the concept of one God (Tawheed) would be more stable and better than the democracy of Western type as "It demands loyalty to God and not to thrones."²⁵ The cardinal principle of Islamic democracy would be obedience of laws, tolerance and universalism. In a letter written to R.A. Nicholson, Iqbal stated: "The kingdom of God on earth means the democracy of more or less unique individuals, presided over by the most unique individual possible on this earth."²⁶ The establishment of such a democracy necessitates enforcement of the Islamic law, through Ijtihad (that is reorientation of law) While supporting the Turkish experience Iqbal opined that the National Legislative Assembly was a competent body to exercise Ijtihad in matters of religion and politics in a Muslim society. He pointed out:

Let us now see how the Grand National Assembly has exercised this power of Ijtihad in regard to the institution of Khilafat 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. The religious doctors of Islam in Egypt and India so far as I know, have not yet expressed themselves on this point. Personally, I believe that Turkish view is perfectly sound.²⁷

Thus Iqbal opposed the principle of khilafat and stated that in its abolition in Turkey the spirit of Islam had worked out through the Ataturk.²⁸ Iqbal also attacked Mulla-craft and Sufi-craft which deliberately mystify the people with a view to exploit their ignorance and credulity.²⁹ Iqbal justified exclusion of Mulla from the religious life of the Turks by the Turkey's government and remarked:

If it (Islam) is freed from this narrow minded and obscurant approach of the Mulla, if the Muslims take to developing their spiritual potentialities rather than paying heed to the superficial form, they can offer the world such a kind of democracy that the political systems of England and America will feel shy and small.³⁰

Iqbal was of the view that such Islamic democracy had existed in the early period of Islam for a very short period of thirty years in Islamic history. The subsequent history of Islam was one of absolute and un-Islamic rule. In modern times also, Iqbal opined that no Muslim country was making any conscious effort to realise the ideal of Islamic democracy. Iqbal though approved the growth of republican spirit and adoption of democratic institutions but he wanted them to be in confirmity with the principles of Islam.

Thus Iqbal gave emphasis to morality in politics. He believed that Islamic system was democratic in nature and was based on spiritualism. To him, "the true ideal is to link politics with morality. If political activity is divorced from moral consideration, the result will be anarchy as is noticeable in modern age."³¹

Iqbal was of the view that monarchy possessed certain merits, therefore, he stressed more on obedience to a 'Perfect Man'. But at the same time he opposed the notion of eternal monarchy. Monarchy should follow the spirit of religion. His Islamic democracy was, thus a combination of virtues of monarchy and democracy. His emphasis on government by 'Perfect Man' shows his preference for monarchy whereas his emphasis on equality as a preference towards democracy. Iqbal's view that democracy is possible only in a Islamic community is debatable. The concept of Ijma (consensus) in Islam excludes common man. Iqbal himself noted, "In theory all Muslims, men and women possess the right of election. There is no property qualification. In practice, however, women and slave did not exercise this right."³² Thus, the Islamic democracy is not a democracy of the common man but of a select group which will be presided by the most unique person. It will be based on the aristocracy of talent and not on the consent of the common man.

Iqbal on Nationalism

With the rise of capitalism, the concept of nation-state emerged

and nationalism became an ideology, a cult synonymous with God. It became "the religion of the modern world"³³ which dominated over the thinking of the philosophers and the politics of the nation. The nation-state was regarded "as a march of God on the earth" an ultimate unit in the human organisation and, therefore, the ultimate unit of human allegiance.³⁴ Its proponents like Fichte, a German philosopher and Mazzini an Italian patriot equated it with the Creator. Mazzini declared: "Your country should be your Temple. God at the Summit, a people of equals at the base. Do not accept any other formula, any other moral law, if you do not want to dishonour your country and yourselves."³⁵ These newly emerged nation-states, enslaved the people of Asia and Africa and subordinated their economy to serve the interest of their own industrial economy. The people of these subjugated countries when exposed to the political concept of 'nation-state', and nationalism also develop nationalist feelings and started dreaming and making efforts to liberate their motherland from the shackles of slavery. Iqbal was one of them.

Nationalism as a political principle fascinated the young Iqbal. Though he didn't join the Congress which represented the nationalist spirit yet he preached the cult of nationalism, powerfully through his poetry, a vehicle of his thought. He began as an ardent nationalist burning with the zeal for political liberation and progress of the whole Indian nation. In the poem *Himala*, Iqbal eulogized the glory of India's ancient civilization and the beauty of this majestic mountain range as:

*Aye Himala! Aye fasil-i-kishwar-i-Hindustan!
Choomta hai teri peshani ko jhuk kar asman!*³⁶

(O Himalaya! O! fortress of land of Hindustan!
Sky stoops down to kiss your forehead.)

In his another poem *Tarana-i-Hindi* (National Song of India) which is considered as a masterpiece and a watermark of his patriotism and nationalism, he expressed his burning love for his country in the following words:

*Sare jahan se achha Hindustan hamara,
Ham bulbulien hain iski yeh gulsitan hamara!
Mazhab nahin sikhata apas mein bair rakhna,
Hindi hain ham watan hai Hindustan hamara!*³⁷

(Our Hindustan is best in the world.
It's like a garden, and we are its nightingales.
Religion does not teach us to be each other's enemy.)

All of us are Indians, and India is our country.)

In another poem *Hindustani Bachchon Ka Qaumi Geet* (National Song for Indian Children) Iqbal called his native land as a 'paradise on earth' and its 'dust as gold'. In *Tasvir-i-Dard* (Portrait of Sorrow) he lamented over the dissension and disunity among the Indians and asked them to unite and fight for freedom. He appealed his countrymen to build a *Naya Shivala* (New Temple).

*Zannar ho gale mein tasbeeh hath mein ho
Yanee sanam kade main shan-i-haram dikha dain
Hindustan likh dain mathe peh is sanam ke
Bhoole huay trane dunia ko phir suna dain
Mandir mein ho bulana jis dam pujarion ko
Awaza-i-azan ko naqoos mein chupa dain.*³⁸

(The glory of the courtyard from Mecca shall inhabit that temple, the image on its shrine shall be gold, inscribed Hindustan, and it shall wear both the Brahmin thread and the Muslim rosary and the Muezzin shall call worshippers to pray upon a horn.)

Thus nationalism was a creed and country was God to Iqbal. However, he was soon disillusioned with this cult. He recanted it and vehemently opposed this concept. This change in his attitude occurred after his return from Europe in 1908. During his stay in Europe he had observed that how rivalry between the nation-states had resulted in a mad-race for supremacy and for the acquisition of newer and larger colonies which resulted in wars and shedding the blood of the innocents. The European aggression against the Muslim states in Europe, Asia and Africa, and the growth of small Muslim nation-states which were being used as puppets by the European imperialists also contributed in the change of Iqbal's views regarding nationalism. He wrote about this aspect of imperialism in the following words:

Very early from the writings of European scholars I had come to know that the basic scheme of Western imperialism was to dismember the unity of the Muslim world by popularizing territorial nationalism among its various components.³⁹

In his own country the leadership of the national movement had passed into the hands of the militant section after the split of the Congress in 1907. These extremists had identified Indian nationalism

with Hinduism thus leaving the Muslims away from the mainstream of the freedom struggle. This further pushed him to discard and denounce his early views about nationalism. He became a strong opponent of this concept and characterized it as narrow, dangerous, destructive and fatal to the well-being of humanity. He accused it for all the evils of injustice wrought upon one people by another and for the wars which inflicted miseries upon the weak. He now regarded nationalism, the concept of nation-state as the enemy of religion. He emphasized the doctrine of the indivisibility of the Muslim world. He also viewed the Muslim community as a community of believers in the truth and such believers could not be limited to any one country. The threatening extinction of the Muslim world by the imperialists led Iqbal to unite the Muslims of the world on the basis of Islam. In order to spread his philosophy beyond the borders of India he also began to write in Persian which was read and understood in several Muslim countries. Both his prose and poetry written after 1908 reflect change in his thinking. His poem *Tarana-i-Milli* (The Song of the Community) clearly depicts this change. In this Iqbal wrote:

*Cheen-o-Arab hamara Hindustan hamara
Muslim hein hum watan hai sara jahan hamara.*

(China and Arabia are ours, so is India ours.
We are Muslims and the whole world is our country.)

Thus from nationalism Iqbal became a preacher of Muslim universalism. Through his passionate poetry "he exhorted the Muslims to override their racial, geographical barriers to forget that they were Arabs, Indians, Turks or Persians with the Kaba as their centre, become the citizens of the international organisation called Islam."⁴⁰ In his poem "Sicily" he emphasised over the unity of the Muslims and sang the glories of Islam. The same spirit reflected in his poems like *Shikwa* (complaint), *Jawab-i-Shikwa* (reply to the complaint), *Shama aur Shair* (The poet and the candle), *Khizr-i-Rah* (The guide), *Talu-e-Islam* (The rise of Islam) and a poem entitled *Mazhab* (Religion). In the last poem Iqbal pointed out the difference between Western concept of nationalism and Muslim universalism as:

*Apni millat par qyas aqwam-e-maghrab se na kar
Khas hai tarkeeb me quam-i-Rasool-e-Hashmi
In ki jamiyat ka hai mulk-o-nasb par inhissar
Qowatt-i-mazhab se mustehkam hai jameiyat teri.⁴¹*

[You should not equate your community with the Western

nations.

The nation of the prophet is unique in its composition.
Their unity (Western nations) depends on country and race,
(but) your unity derives stability from power of religion.]

Yet in another poem Iqbal stated:

*Hawas ne kar diya hai tukre tukre nau-i-insan ko
Ukhwat ka bayan hoja mohabbat ki zaban hoja
Yeh Hindi, woh Khurasani, yeh Afghani, woh Turani
Tu ay Sharminda-i-Sahil Uchhal Kar be Karan hoja.*⁴²

(Greed has split mankind into warring camps;
so speak the language of love and teach the
lesson of brotherhood. Forget the distinction
between Khurasani, Afghani and Turani.)

While explaining Islamic outlook on nationalism Iqbal pointed out:

Islamic outlook on nationalism is different from other nations. Our nationalism is not based on the unity of languages, oneness of territory, or economic affinities. We belong to one family which was founded by the Holy Prophet, and our membership of it rests on common belief about the manifestations of universe and the historical traditions which we all share together.⁴³

Iqbal's article on Islam as Moral and political Ideal which was published in Hindustan Times and was reproduced in the Punjab Census Report 1911, further throws light on his changed views. He wrote:

Islam abhors all material limitations, and bases its nationality on a purely abstract idea objectified in a potentially expansive group of concrete personalities. It is not dependent for its life principle on the character and genius of a particular people. In its essence it is non-temporal and non-spatial.⁴⁴

Iqbal bitterly criticised and condemned the doctrine vigorously preached by the Nazis and the Fascists referring all values and loyalties to the interests of a particular race or nation.⁴⁵ In the same spirit Iqbal

also denounced the League of Nations as a League of thieves as each of its member desired material advantages only for his country. In a poem Mecca and Geneva he compared and contrasted Islamic theory of universal unity with League of Nations. Iqbal said:

*Is daur mein Iqwan-ki-sohbat bhii hui aam
Posheeda nigahon se rahi wahdat-i-Adam
Tafriq-i-Millal hikmat-i-Afrang ka maqsood
Islam ka maqsood faqat millat-i-Adam
Makkay ne diya khak-i-Geneva ko ye paigham
Jamiat-i-Iqwan keh Jamiate Adam.⁴⁶*

(The association of Nations has become a common place of occurrence these days, but the unity of the mankind remains hidden. The disruption of human communities is the object of Frankish State-craft; but the object of Islam is the unity of man. Mecca gives the message to the soil of Geneva — What is true goal? A League of Nations or — League of human beings.)

It, thus, becomes clear that Iqbal's criticism of nationalism was based on moral spiritual and political factors. He opposed it because it would eventually lead to atheism. This political creed devoid of spiritualism was unacceptable to a believer like Iqbal.⁴⁷

The evolution of his thought, however, continued and by the closing years of his life his ideas encompassed the whole of oppressed humanity irrespective of race and religion. He preached brotherhood of man which could only guarantee peace and progress in the world. Iqbal refuted the charge of Mr. Dickens that his (Iqbal's) message lacked universality. In a letter written to Dr. Nicholson, he made it clear:

The object of my Persian masnavi is not to attempt an advocacy of Islam. My real purpose is to work for a better social order and to present a universally acceptable ideal of life and action before the world, but it is impossible for me in this effort, to outline this ideal, to ignore the social system and values of Islam whose most important objective is to demolish caste, creed, colour and economic status. Islam has opposed vehemently the ideal of racial superiority which is the greatest obstacle in the way of international unity

and co-operation; in fact, Islam and racial exclusiveness are utterly antithetical. The racial ideal is the greatest enemy of mankind and it is the duty of all well-wishers of the human race to eradicate it. When I realized that the conception of nationalism based on the differences of race and country, was beginning to over-shadow the world of Islam also and that the Muslims were in danger of giving up the universality of their ideal in favour of narrow patriotism and false nationalism, I felt it my duty as a Muslim and as a well-wisher of humanity, to recall them back to their true role in the drama of human evolution. No doubt I am intensely devoted to Islam but I have selected the Islamic community as my starting point not because of any national or religious prejudice but because it is most practicable line of approach to the problem.

... In my opinion, Mr. Dickens has not still freed his mind from this age-long idea of the Europeans that Islam teaches bloodshed and cruelty. The real fact is that the kingdom of God on earth is not the special privilege of the Muslim. On the other hand, all men can become its participants provided they give up the worship of race and nation and respect each other's personality.⁴⁸

The shift from Muslim universalism to humanism and internationalism is also reflected in *Javid Nama*. In this Iqbal wrote:

Adamiyat, ahtram-i-admi
Ba khabbar sho az maqam-i-admi!
Harf-i-bad ra bar lab aavardan khatast
Kafir-o-momin hama khalq-i-khudast!
Banda-i-ishq az khuda geerad tareeq
Me shavad har kafir-o-momin shafiq!
Aadmi az rabt-o-zabt tan ba tan
*Bar tariq-i-dosti gamay bazan.*⁴⁹

(What is humanity?)

Respect for man, learn then the true status of man;
 sin is to utter a single harsh word,
 for both the Muslims and non-Muslims are the creatures of God.
 The man of God learns his way from God himself.
 He is gracious alike to all men,
 whether Muslims or non-Muslims;
 walk in the path of friendship for man lives by mutual
 co-operation.)

In the message for the New Year's Day, which was broadcasted from the Lahore Station of All India Radio on 1 January 1938 Iqbal pleaded for the brotherhood of man, which is above race, nationality, colour or language. He said:

The world's thinkers are stricken dumb. Is this going to be the end of all this progress and evolution of civilisation, they ask, that man should destroy one-another in mutual hatred and make human habitation impossible on this earth? Remember, man can be maintained on this earth by honouring mankind, and this world will remain a battleground of ferocious beasts of prey unless and until the educational forces of the whole world are directed to inculcating in man respect for mankind.⁵⁰

These views of Iqbal clearly speak of him as a humanist. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, an important leader of the Indian National Congress and a freedom fighter also opined the same. She said that poetry of Iqbal had released her soul from the narrow confines of nationalism and made her capable of loving the entire universe.⁵¹

However, Iqbal was not the only one to discard the Western concept of nationalism. His contemporary Rabindra Nath Tagore, a great poet also shared the same view. He wrote in 1901:

The word does not occur in our language, not does it exist in the country. We have learnt of late to prize national greatness by virtue of European education. But its ideal cannot be found in our minds, our history, our religion, our society, our family, none of them have recognised the ascendancy of the cult nation.

Europe prizes political independence; we set store by spiritual liberation The civilization as manifested in the cult of the nation has yet to be tested. But it is clear that its ideals are not ennobling, they carry the evils of injustice and falsehood, there is a sort of terrible cruelty about the cult The basis of Hindu civilization is the society; the basis of European civilization is the state. But if we ever think that to build up the nation after European pattern is the only way open and the only aim of humanity, we shall be wrong.⁵²

Like Iqbal, Tagore also opined that under the cloak of nationalism, the rich nations exploited and dominated the weak nations. Tagore explained this aspect of nationalism as:

The nation with all its paraphernalia of power and prosperity, its flags and pious hymns, its blasphemous prayers in the churches, and the literary mock thunders of its patriotic bragging, cannot hide the fact that the nation is the greatest evil for the nation, that all its precautions are against it, and any new birth of its fellow in the world is always followed in its mind by the dread of a new peril. Its one wish is to trade on the feebleness of the rest of the world, like some insects that are bred in the paralysed flesh of victims kept just enough alive to make them toothsome and nutritious.⁵³

Rabindranath Tagore, like Iqbal also regarded nationalism as the enemy of the ideal of humanity. He said:

Even though from childhood I have been taught that idolatry of the nation is almost better than the reverence for God and humanity, I believe I have outgrown that teaching, and it is my conviction that my countrymen will truly gain their India by fighting against the education which teaches them that a country is greater than the ideal of humanity.⁵⁴

Thus Iqbal was not the only thinker who opposed nationalism but there were other eminent thinkers also who shared his views. Unfortunately, he was characterized as anti-nationalist because of his views about this concept. He was accused of a lack of patriotism. This, however, is not correct because throughout his life he remained a patriot and desired the freedom of the country. Commenting on the ugliest side of patriotism Tagore had opined:

In small minds, patriotism dissociates itself from the higher ideal of humanity. It becomes the magnification of self on a stupendous scale magnifying our vulgarity, cruelty, greed, dethroning God, to put up this bloated self in its place.⁵⁵

Thus even Tagore like Iqbal never agreed to forsake the complete man, in his kernel of patriotism. Iqbal's love for his country reflects in his poems, writings, speeches and statements. In *Javid Nama* which was published in 1932, he reserved the severest tortures of hell for Mir Jafar of Bengal and Sadiq of Deccan who betrayed their country and sided with foreigners. He wrote:

*Jafar az Bengal-o-Sadiq az Daccan,
Nang-i-Adam, nang-i-din, nang-i-watan!
Na qubul - o - na umid -o- na murad
Millate az kar-i-shan andar fasad
Millate ku band-i-har millat kushad
Mulk o dinash az maqam-i-khud fatad!
Me nadani khitta-i-Hindustan,
An aziz-i-khatir-i-sahib dilan!
Khitta-i-har jalwa ash geeti faroz,
Darmiyan-i-khak-o-khoon ghaltad hunooz!
Dar gilash tukhm-i-ghulami, ra keh kisht?
Ien hama kirdar-i-an arwah-i-zisht!⁵⁶*

(From Deccan Sadiq, Jafar from Bengal,
Ungratified and unaccepted souls,
Sunk in despair, since they chaos cast
Into a people's life. A people, who
Delivered other nations, find their faith.
And fatherland debased. Dost thou not know
That Ind, the darling of all feelling souls,
Whose beams were once spread far and wide, in dust.

And blood still rolls. Who in her clay the seed
Of slavery sowed save these two evil ones?)

Iqbal praised the patriotism of Tipu Sultan who bravely fought against the enemies of the country. His love for his country remained undiminished throughout his life on this earth. In his *Mathanavi Pas Che Bayad Kard* . . . published in 1936, there is a poem "Ashk-i-Chand Bar Iftiraq-i-Hindiyan" (A few tears on the dissensions among the Indians) which speaks of his deep love and intense feelings for his country and pain for the prevailing discord and disunity among the people of India. In his last collection, *Zarb-i-Kalim*, there are poems like "Gila" (complaint) and "Shua-i-Umeed" (Ray of Hope) which reflect his attachment to his motherland. His posthumous collection of poems entitled *Armughan-i-Hijaz* speaks about his patriotic feelings and sentiments.

In the light of these facts, it will be incorrect and unfair to characterize Iqbal as anti-national. He opposed nationalism because it was devoid of spiritualism, it threatened the unity of the mankind, divided the people into hostile camps, narrowed their outlooks and became a hurdle in the attainment of higher ideals for the humanity. In the context of India, he made it clear that "nationalism in the sense of love of one's country and even readiness to die for its honour is a part of Muslim faith."⁵⁷ He further pointed out his views in a letter to Jawaharlal Nehru that, "In Turkey, Persia, Egypt and other Muslim countries it will never become a problem. In these countries Muslims constitute an overwhelming majority and their minorities, i.e., Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians, according to the law of Islam are either 'People of the Book' or 'Like the People of the Book' with whom the law of Islam allows free social relations including matrimonial alliances. It becomes a problem for Muslims only in countries where they happen to be in a minority, and nationalism demand their complete self-effacement. In majority countries Islam accommodates nationalism; for there Islam and nationalism are practically identical; in minority countries it is justified in speaking self-determination as a cultural unit." This cultural unit he wanted within the Indian federation⁵⁸ and not outside it.

In fact he wanted to maintain the distinct identity of his community and sought the formation of Muslim majority provinces for their development. He opposed the fusion of communities but explained that it was not against the country. He said:

A man who opposes nationalism in the sense

of a fusion of the communities is, however, not necessarily anti-national. It is obvious that there are interests common to the various communities of India. In so far as these interests are concerned, an understanding among the communities is possible; according to my belief, it is bound to come. The present situation is only a necessary stage in the country's political evolution. A united India will have to be built on the foundation of concrete facts, i.e. the distinct existence of more than one people in the country.⁵⁹

Just few weeks before his death, Iqbal criticised Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani's views regarding nationalism that "nations are formed by lands." Iqbal stated that he had been repudiating the concept since the time it was not well known in India and the Muslim world. He further remarked that:

I have just said that the Maulana's statement that nations are formed by lands is not open to objection. This is so because from remote past nations have been associated with countries and countries with nations. We are all Indians and are so called because we live in that part of the world which is known by the name of India. So with Chinese, the Arabs, the Japanese, the Persian etc. The word 'country' used in the statement is merely a geographical term and, as such, does not clash with Islam. Its boundaries change with time. Till recently those living in Burma were Indians; at present they are Burmese. In this sense every human being loves the land of his birth, and according to his capacity remains prepared to make sacrifices for it⁶⁰

Thus for Iqbal love of one's native land was a natural instinct. Iqbal remained a patriot in all the three different phases of his thinking, i.e., from nationalism, Muslim universalism to humanism or internationalism. Along with the interests of his community his desire to see India independent, united and free of discord dominated his ideas.

Iqbal on Communism

Once Iqbal said, "If I should become the ruler of a Muslim state, I would first and foremost create in it a socialist state."⁶¹ These lines clearly speak of his inclination towards the communist philosophy.

By the time Iqbal moved towards his intellectual maturity communism had become a popular doctrine. Its first experiment was made in Russia in 1917. There the Communist Party under the leadership of Lenin not only liquidated Tzarism but also the then existing social system based on exploitation. The success of the October Revolution and the subsequent establishment of a socialist society ruled by the working class fascinated the downtrodden, poverty ridden and oppressed people of the entire world particularly of the colonial world. The people of the colonial countries welcomed the new system and in their own countries, they combined their fight of political liberation with the struggle for the establishment of an egalitarian society based on the socio-economic justice to all.

In India, particularly, in Punjab, the impact of the Russian revolution was on a large scale. Because of its proximity to Afghanistan and Central Asia, the Marxist literature, reached Punjab on a bigger scale than it did anywhere else in the country. Besides, the poor peasantry of the province, 95 per cent of which was under the debt was drawn towards the new ideas which according to the secret government reports had become "the chief topic of conversation,"⁶² among the common people of the province. *Siyasat*, *Khuda-Dost*, *Zamindar*, *Akali*, *Kirpan-Bahadur*, *Babbar-sheer*, *Bande-Matram* and *Nation*, published pro-Bolshevik articles with a distinctly communist flavour. Through these papers, the air of new ideas travelled widely throughout the province.⁶³

One of the intellectuals in Punjab, who supported the socialist ideas, aspired to build a socialist society and tried to instill a new left current to his political party was Muhammad Iqbal. The successful implementation of the Marxist-principles greatly stirred his imagination. He himself belonged to a working class family and had experienced economic hardships. Besides, the poverty, hunger, backwardness, illiteracy and exploitation of his own community inclined him towards Marxism which could eradicate all these evils from the society. His bent towards this philosophy can be seen even in his first book *Ilam-ul-Iqtisad* (Science of Economics) published in 1903. The following passage from this book clearly reflects his ideological view-point:

If the wealth of the landlord is not the result of his personal effort, then his prosperity is unjust. In view of this fact some scholars vehemently maintained that this injustice is produced by the private ownership of property, which is harmful to the national interest. According to the ideology of these scholars, land is not the property of a particular individual, but should be nationalized. This is a very significant point of discussion, but since this is an elementary book I should avoid taking up this question here.⁶⁴

Iqbal wrote further

Some researchers suggest that if the labour is also the owner, there will be no place in industry for the capitalist and the profit which under present-conditions goes into the pocket of the capitalist will accrue to the labour.⁶⁵

After presenting the viewpoints of scholars Iqbal concluded that the entire benefit of the increased production should not go to the landlord, proprietors, or industrialists but to the workers. He stated:

It is, therefore, proved that increased productivity which is the fruit of the worker's labour should entirely benefit the workers. Landowners, bankers and factory-owners should have no claim on it.⁶⁶

Iqbal attached great importance to the economic factors in human life. He explained this in the same book as follows:

There is no doubt that religious principles have played extremely influential role in the course of human history, but it is also clearly established by daily observation and experience that earning a livelihood is the constant concern of man, and it is this concern which quite imperceptibly and unconsciously shape his external and internal instincts, reflects how poverty or insufficient provision of necessities of life affect the conduct of man.

Often poverty and deprivation so entrust the clean state of human soul that human morality and culture are completely eroded.⁶⁷

These views of Iqbal make it clear that he was one of the early Marxist-thinkers and ideologue in India. He supported it even before it took practical shape in Russia. He welcomed the Russian Revolution, eulogised Marx and Lenin and through his poetry vent out leftist ideas which stirred the down-trodden people of the country. Though, he did not join a communist group formed in Lahore in 1922 by Ghulam Hussain, a lecturer of Economics in Edward Church Mission College, yet his poetry preached communist ideology to the people of Punjab.⁶⁸ He exposed the exploitative character of the British rule in India and aroused the masses to revolt against feudalism, capitalism and imperialism. W.C. Smith has maintained that Iqbal's writings are "throughout tinged socialistically."⁶⁹ His interest in communism is apparent in his first poem in Urdu, *Khizr-e-Rah* and some verses in *Tulu-e-Islam*, all contained in his *Bang-i-Dara*, in five poems — *payam*, *Suhbat-i-Raftagan-e-Alam-i-Bala*, *Mahavra Mabain Hakim Fransvi Auguste Comte-wa Mard-i-Mazdoor*, *M. Lenin Wa Qaiser-William*, and '*Navai-Mazdoor*' — all included in *Payam-i-Mashriq* first published in 1923; his comments on '*Ishtirakiyat-wa-Mulukiat*' and '*Paigham-i-Afgani ba Millat-i-Rusiah*' in *Javid Nama* (1932) and '*Lenin Khuda Ke Huzoor Main*' and '*Farman-i-Khuda Farishton Ke Nam*' in *Bal-i-Jibril*. In *Zarb-i-Kalim*, '*Karl Marx Ki Awaz*', '*Ishtirakiyat*' and '*Bolshevik Roos*' and in *Armughan-i-Hijaz* which was published posthumously contain his famous poem *Ibilis Ki majlis-Shura*.

Iqbal was convinced with several aspects of the communist philosophy. He was an eyewitness to the existing tyranny, oppression and exploitation which had been the product of the capitalist system. He was also aware of the fact that imperialism was the result of the capitalist development of the West. Iqbal, like Karl Marx, condemned the concentration of wealth in few hands and exploitation of the millions resulting from it. In many of his poems, he expressed his sympathy for the working class which had to work from dawn to dusk to fill the pockets of the capitalists. He attached great significance to the dignity of labour and opined:

The hands of a carpenter, rough and coarse due to the constant use of the saw, are far more attractive and useful compared to the soft and delicate hands of a scholar which

never carry more than the weight of a pen.⁷⁰

The miserable conditions of the working class all over the world affected his mind greatly. He regarded it as a stigma for the whole humanity and like Marx bitterly criticised the bourgeois system which not only physically exploited the poor but had also enslaved the mentality of the people through educational institutions and other means of state control. In one of his poems he remarked:

*Yeh maktab, yeh school, yeh pathshaly,
Yeh takiay, yeh mandir, yeh girjay, yeh shivaly,
Yeh pandit, yeh baniye, yeh mulla, yeh lale,
Yeh sab pait hain aur hum tar nivale,
Gribon ka duniya mein Allah Walli.⁷¹*

(These madarsas, schools and pathshalas,
These shrines, temples and shivalas,
These pundits, mullahs and traders
They are all usurpers and devouring us,
God is the only saviour and hope of the poor.)

He also criticised the bourgeois democracy as a democracy for the rich. While analysing the Western democracy Iqbal said:

The idealism of Europe never became a living factor in her life, and the result is a perverted ego seeking itself through mutually intolerant democracies whose sole function is to exploit the poor in the interest of the rich.⁷²

Iqbal also shared Marx's views about the capitalist state and society. He was in agreement with Marx that state was a mean through which the rich ruling class was serving its interests. In a poem *In Bal-i-Jibril*, 'Lenin Khuda ke Huzoor mein' (Lenin before God) Iqbal presented a vivid picture of capitalist society.

*Ik baat agar mujh ko ijazat ho to poonchhun
Hal kar na sake jis ko hakimon kay maqalat
Woh kon sa Adam hai ke tu Jis ka hai mabood?
Woh Adam-i-khaki jo hai zer-i-samavat?
Mashriq ke khudawand safedan-i-firangee
Maghrib ke khudawand drakshanda-e-filarzat!
Rana-ay-tameer mein, rounaq mein safa mein*

*Girjon se kahin badh ke hein bankon ki imarat
 Zahir mein tijarat hai, haqeeqat mein jua hai
 Sood ek ka lakhon ke liye marg-i-mafajat
 Ye ilm, yeh hikmat, yeh taddubar yeh hakoomat
 Peete hain lahoon detain hain taleem-e-masawat.
 Bekari-o-uryani-o-may khwari-o-aflas
 Kya kam hain firangi madniet ke fatohaat?
 Chehron pe jo surkhi nazar ati hai sar-i-sham
 Ye ghaza hai ya saghar-o-meena ki karamat
 To Quadir-o-aadil hai magar tere jahan mein
 Hain talkh bohat banda-i-mazdoor ke halaat
 Kab dobe ga sarmaya parasati ka safina
 Dunia hai teri muntazir-i-roz-i-makafat.⁷³*

In the above poem Iqbal makes Lenin to seek permission from God to ask him a question which has tortured his soul for a long time. The question is: does the man now inhabiting the world really serve the purpose for which he was created. The world affirms, Lenin shows, that a system exist where people living in the East worship the Westerners and the Westerners worshipping the shining metals by which they enhance their power of domination and accordingly in beauty of architecture and cleanliness banks have surpassed the churches. These banks are in reality a great gamble; the interest of one individual can mean death of many. Unemployment, immorality, alcoholism and poverty are the great triumphs of modern civilization. The people look drained of blood and when faces are lit up, it is because of cosmetics or lent by flask and cup. The life of the worker is extremely miserable. He lives in dire poverty and prays for an early destruction of the capitalist society.

Iqbal's hatred for injustice, oppression and exploitation led him towards communism and he welcomed the Russian Revolution because it marked the beginning of a new era in the history of mankind. It was a manifestation of impatience with the older forms of governance and had successfully made the exploited people the ruler. In the following verses, Iqbal asked the people to break their chains and drive inspiration from Russia. He wrote:

*Naghma-i-bedari-i-jamhoor hai, samanay-aysh
 Qissa-e-khwab awar Isikandar-o-Jam kab talak
 Aftab-i-taza peda batan-i-geeti se hua
 Asman dube hue taron ka matam kab talak!
 Tod dalien fitrat-i-insan-ne-zanjeeren tamam
 Dooriaay jannat se roti chashm-i-adam kab talak.⁷⁴*

(To those drowsy tales of Jamshed of Sikander for how long
Will you listen, now men's joy is in democracy's new song?

From the womb of this old universe a new red sun is born—
For extinguished stars, oh heaven, how much longer will you
mourm.

Now the human mind has made of all its chains a broken heap,
For his banishment from Eden how much longer must Man
weep?)

Yet in another poem Iqbal even made God concerned about the persistence of the old order. He ordered angles to go to earth and rouse the weak against the strong, to burn the crops if the cultivator was not able to get his just share. In 'Farman-i-Khuda (Farishton Se)' (God's command to His Angels) Iqbal asked the peasant to revolt against the existing system in the following words:

*Utho meri duniya ke gharibon ko jaga do
Kakh-i-umra ke dar-o-dewar hila do
Garmao ghulamon ka lahoosoz-i-yaqeen se
Kunjushke fromaya ko shaheen se lada do
Jis khet se dehqan ko mayasar na ho roti
Us khet ke har khoshay gandum ko jala do.⁷⁵*

(Rise, and from their slumber wake the poor-ones of my world!
Shake the walls and windows of the mansions of the Great!
Kindle with the fire of faith the slow blood of the slaves!
Make the fearful sparrow bold to meet the falcon's hate!
Find the field whose harvest is not peasants daily bread Garner
in the furnace every ripening ear of wheat!)

Iqbal's sympathy for the working class clearly reflects from the above verses. He regarded the worker as the ultimate source of all wealth. He builds castles for the rich, digs minerals out of the earth and extends civilisation. But due to deceitful tactics, the capitalist has triumphed, while due to his simplicity and ignorance, the worker has been completely ruined. The wealth of the rich according to Iqbal was the product of the sweat and blood of the poor. In a poem *Qismat nama-i-Sarmayadar-O-Mazdoor* (The Lot of Capitalist and the Worker) Iqbal writes about a meeting between the capitalist and the worker. In this meeting the capitalist cleverly and cunningly keeps all the assets created by the worker and states in "Qismat Nama-i-Sarmayadar-O-Mazdoor" as:

*Ghogha-i-karkhana-i-ahangari zaman
Gulbang-i-arghanoon-e-kalisa azan-i-tu
Nakhle keh sheh khiraj baroomi nehad zaman*

*Bagh-i-bahisht -o-sad rah wa toba azan-i-tu
Talkhaba-i-keh dard-i-sar arad azan-i-man
Sebha-i-pak Adamo Hawwa azan-i-tu
Murghabi-o-tadroo-o-kabootar azan-i-man
Zill huma-o-shehpar-i-unqa azan-i-tu
Ien khak wa anchhe dar shimkme-O-azan-e-man
Waz khak ta bah arsh-i-moalla azan-i-tu.⁷⁶*

[The harsh tumult of the mill producing steel is mine;
The sweet song of the organ of the church is yours.
The plant that bears tribute to the kind is mine;
The garden of paradise, heavenly mansion of the angel Gabriel,
and the Tree in paradise is yours.
The wine that causes headache is mine;
But the pure wine of the Adam and Eve is yours.
The teal, the pheasant and the pigeon belong to me;
The shadow of Huma and the wing of Unqa (mythical bird)
belongs to you.
The earth and whatever is in its bowels is mine;
That (Which is) between the earth and the high heavens above
belong to you,)

In *Pas Cheh Bayad Kard, Ay Aqwam-i-Sharq* (What should be done O People of the East), Iqbal condemned the capitalist system:

*Az zaifan nan rabodan hikmat ast
Az tan-i-shan jan raboodan hikmat ast
Shewa-i-Tehzib-i-nau adam dari ast
Parda-i-adam dari saudagari ast.⁷⁷*

(It is 'wisdom' to snatch food from weak and to rob their body of the soul. The way of the new culture is to murder people; and this killing is done under the garb of commerce.)

Iqbal eulogised Marx, a crusader against capitalism in his poem *Iblis Ki Majlis-i-Shora*. In this he placed Karl Marx next to God. He wrote:

*Wo kalam-e-be tajjali wo Massih-e-be saleeb
Neest paighambar wa lekin dar bagal darad kitab.⁷⁸*

(That Moses sans vision! That Christ sans cross,
He is not prophet, but, keeps book for a gloss.)

In Javid Nama Marx and his system are described as:

*Sahib-e-Sarmaya az nasal-i-khaleel
Yanee aan paighambar-i-be jibril
Zan ke haq-o-batil-o-muzmirast
Qalb-i-oo momin dimaghash kafir ast.⁷⁹*

(That prophet uninspired by Gabriel,
Belonging to the race of Abraham,
The author of Das Kapital, has truth
Concealed in falsehood — he possessed the heart of the believer
and healthen's brain.)

The exploitation of the peasantry by the feudal lords was also condemned by Iqbal. He wrote some stirring verses to describe the miserable conditions of the peasants. In a poem *Punjab Ke Dehqan-Se* (To the Punjab Peasant), he vent out his ideas as follows:

*Bata kya teri zindgi ka hai raz
Hazaron baras se hai tu khak baz
Ise khak mein dab gai teri aag!
Sehar Ki azan ho gai ab to jag!
Butane shaob-o-qabail ko tod
Rasoom-e-koochan ke salasil ko tod.⁸⁰*

(What is this life of yours tell me its mystry
Trampled in dust is your ages old history!
Deep in the dust has been smothered your flame
Wake, and hear dawn its high summons proclaim!
Break all the idols of tribe and of caste,
Break the old customs that fetter man fast!

He was against landlordism and said in one of his poem that:

*Deh khudaya! Yeh zamin teri nahin, teri nahin!
Tere aaba ki nahin, Teri, nahin meri nahin.⁸¹*

(Landlord: this earth is not thine, is not thine,
Not yet thou fathers'; no, not thine, nor mine.)

Like a Marxist Iqbal regarded materialism as an effective weapon against Mulla-craft and sufi-craft which in his views mystifying the people with a view to exploit their ignorance and credulity.⁸²

Not only through poetry, Iqbal also propagated his ideas from the platform of the Punjab Legislative Council during 1923 to 1926. In the Council which was dominated by the big feudallords and traders Iqbal raised his voice for the cause of the working people. He spoke against unemployment, indebtedness, charging land revenue from holdings of less than five bighas, inheritance of property and the high salaries paid to the British Indian officials.⁸³ He wanted to re-organise the Muslim League on Socialist principles which could improve the lot of the average Muslim. In a letter to Jinnah on 28 May 1937, Iqbal stated that the economic plight of the Muslims was becoming acute. The Muslims believed that they had been reduced to poverty by the Hindu capitalists or moneylenders. They did not realise yet that imperialism was equally responsible for their economic distress. The Muslim League's ultimate success, Iqbal believed lay in its ability to solve the Muslims economic problems.⁸⁴

He viewed capitalism as the enemy of the working people and regarded it unsuitable for the emerging nations of Asia. In his Presidential Address at the Annual Session of the All India Muslim Conference, Lahore on 21 March 1932 Iqbal remarked:

The people of Asia are bound to rise against the acquisitive economic which the West has developed and imposed on the nations of the East. Asia cannot comprehend modern Western capitalism with its undisciplined individualism.⁸⁵

He was sympathetic to world-wide socialist movement and regarded it as a storm that sweeps away all the foul airs in the atmosphere. However, it will be wrong to conclude that Iqbal was a Marxist. He was a believer of Islam since childhood. He was a devoted Muslim and thus did not agree with Marx that religion was opium to the people. Bolshevism minus God was unacceptable to him. In a letter written to Sir Francis Younghusband he wrote, "Since Bolshevism plus God is almost identical with Islam, I should not be surprised if, in the course of time, either Islam will devour Russia or Russia Islam."⁸⁶

Iqbal believed that Quran stands for social justice and equality. He considered Quran as "a message of death to rich man and the weapon of the oppressed."⁸⁷ He believed that Islam like communism was against injustice, inequality and exploitation. Iqbal pointed out:

there is no aristocracy in Islam. There is no

privileged class, no priesthood and no caste system. Islam is a unity in which there is no distinction, this unity is secured by making men believe in the two simple prepositions—the unity of God and mission of prophet...⁸⁸

He opposed atheistic socialism of the communists and stated it to be incapable to cure the ills of the humanity. He wrote:

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 hidden sources of spiritual energy. Neither the technique of medieval mysticism nor nationalism nor atheistic socialism can cure the ills of a despairing humanity.⁸⁹

In Javid Nama he opined:

*Rango-boo-az-tan nagirad jan-i-pak
Juz-beh tan kare na dard ishtrak.
Deen-i-aan Paighambar-i-haq nashanash
Bar-masawat-i-Shikam-darad asas
Ta-sukhuvat ra maqam andar dilast
Bekh-i-oo-dar dil na dar ab-o-gil ast.*⁹⁰

(The colour of odour (of pure spirit) are not of the body.
Socialism believes only in the body,
The religion of the prophet who does not recognise God,
Has its basis only in an equality of bellies.
Since true fraternity springs from the heart,
Its roots lie in the heart rather than in water and earth.

Iqbal criticised communism because it was devoid of spiritualism. In an interview given to the Bombay Chronicle in December 1931 he pointed out:

As far as I have been able to see from the papers, the Russians are reported to have rejected the idea of God as a basis of human society. Even if this state does exist in Russia today, I doubt whether it will continue to

exist. Materialism pure and simple cannot serve as a basis for human society; and the Russians as far as I know are really a religious people.⁹¹

He described the then Russian state as a negative state which was not going to last indefinitely. He opined:

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 systems.⁹²

Thus, Iqbal attacked socialism because it had no place for God. In fact during the last years of his life, Iqbal felt increasingly the impact of socialist ideas. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru in his *Discovery of India* confirms this: "During the last years of his life Iqbal turned more and more towards socialism. The great progress that Soviet Russia had made attracted him. Even his poetry took a different turn."⁹³

Sajjad Zaheer and Dr. Ashraf, the two important communist leaders also share the same view. In 1935, both these leaders went to Iqbal for his blessings and support for the progressive writers' movement. During the meeting, they discussed the new socialist thought and when Sajjad expressed differences with Iqbal regarding socialism, Iqbal said:

I may be mistaken in my understanding of socialism. I had asked Tasir (Iqbal's friend) to provide some authentic books on the subject. He promised but did not fulfil his promise. You know my view-point . . . Obviously my sympathies are with the movement for socialism.⁹⁴

Thus Iqbal attacked atheist socialism but never socialism, as Bolshevism plus God was almost identical to Islam.

Iqbal's Concept of self (Ego)

The concept of 'self' (ego), is an important part of Iqbal's philosophy. It is a message of action, assertion, and determination for apathetic world, particularly the East. Iqbal propounded this concept in his highly philosophical poem *Asrar-i-Khudi* (Secrets of Self) which was first published in 1915 in Lahore. It was considered as monumental work by a genius in the world of letters and in the practical politics particularly of India. It awakende the people from their deep slumber and infused in them a sense of self-confidence, self-development and dignity.

Iqbal through the theory of 'self' placed action in the forefront of human activities and preached that life was not to be merely contemplative but to be assertive. He opposed all the theories of self-negation and regarded them responsible for the social decay of many nations. He denounced Platonism, from which mysticism was derived. He called Plato as "that old philosopher of sheep" because he deprecated a life of active striving in this world and advocated instead a static state of life, a state which would be worse than death.⁹⁵

Iqbal wrote:

*Fikr-i-Aflatoon zian ra sood guft
Hikmat-i-oo bood ra nabood guft
Bus keh az zoq-e-amal mehroom bood
Jane-oo-wa rafta-ay-madoom bood
Munkir-i-hungama-e-mojood gasht
Khaliq-i-ayan-i-namashhood gasht
Zinda janra alam-i-imkan khushast
Murda dil ra alam-i-ayan khushast
Rahib-i-machara ghair az ram nadasht
Taqat-i-ghoghay een aalam nadasht
Quam ha az sukar-i-oo masmoom gasht
Khuft-o-az zoq-i-amal mehroom gasht.⁹⁶*

(The thought of Plato reaged loss as a profit
His philosophy declared that being is non-being.
Since he was without any taste for action
His soul was enraptured by the non-existent.
He disbelieved in the material universe
And became the creator of invisible ideas.
Sweet is the world of living phenomenon to the living spirit, Dear
is the world of ideas to the dead spirit.
The people were poisoned by his intoxication,
They slumbered and took no delight in action.)

Iqbal regarded the effect of Plato's teaching disastrous for the world particularly for the Islamic world. The Muslims lost their zest for life and a current of despondency ran through out the Muslim world which obstructed all kinds of progress. "My criticism of Plato." remarked Iqbal, "Is directed against those philosophical system which hold up death rather than life as their ideal system which ignore the greatest obstruction to life, namely matter, and teach us to run away from it instead of absorbing it."⁹⁷

While working on his thesis, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, Iqbal had studied the Vedantas and Upanishadas. The Hindu philosophy regarded the self or ego as mere illusion of the mind. Buddhism and Jainism, also emphasised upon the principle of life negation. Iqbal differed with any thought which preached self-negation. He viewed the negation of self, a doctrine invented by the subject races of mankind so that they could weaken the character and strength of their rulers by that weapon.⁹⁸

Iqbal criticised pantheistic conception of life as it looked upon self as a mere fragment of the Eternal mind. He also rejected the views of the English disciples of Hegel who opined that "the highest objective and ideal of man was to lose his individual identity in the absolute like the drop in the ocean." Iqbal criticised Bradley, Bosanquet and McTaggart and other panthesist for such views.⁹⁹ Though in the earlier phase of his thought he himself believed in pantheism but his mature thinking made him critical of all such views. He advocated his own philosophy of life which provided man with a prominent position in the universe and laid emphasis on self realization and bold affirmation. In a letter written to Iqbal in 1920 after the publication of *Asrar-i-Khudi*, McTaggart remarked:

I am writing to tell you with how much pleasure I have been reading your poems. Have you not changed your position very much? Surely in the days when we used to talk philosophy together, you were much more of a pantheist and mystic.¹⁰⁰

This change in his views was the result of his own analysis of the socio-economic conditions of the Indian Muslims and their belief in the theory of fatalism which had left them backward in every walks of life in comparision to other communities. In October 1904, Iqbal in an article entitled "Qaumi Zindagi" (National Life) which was published

in *Makhzan*, stated

If we look into the conditions of the Muslims, their state of affairs seems to be very alarming. This unfortunate nation has lost its rule, industry and commerce. Now ignorant of the challenges of times, injured by acute poverty, it is relying on meaningless fatalism.¹⁰¹

To take the Muslim out from this fatalism and to infuse in them a new spirit, Iqbal evolved the concept of self (*Khudi*). Commenting on his own work *Asrar-i-Khudi*, Iqbal in a letter to Dr. Hadi Hassan of Muslim University, Aligarh, remarked:

I some times feel that I have made a mistake in publishing *Asrar-i-Khudi* for the doctrine of self is not an easy thing to understand, and depends for its grasp more on personal spiritual experiences than on logical reasoning..... The ideas I have ventured to clothe into words are very far reaching and the mind sees into their breadth and meaning gradually. In my own case it has taken not less than fifteen long years.¹⁰²

Iqbal preached the philosophy of action and praised Lord Krishna who had put before the people the value of activity or karma. He said that Quran also laid the principle of self affirmation. The prophet said "Takhallaqu bi Akhlaq Allah" (Create in yourself the attributes of God.)¹⁰³

Through his theory, he asked the people that the negation of self or its absorption into some Eternal self should not be their moral or religious ideal. They should rather strive to retain their individuality and to strengthen it by developing greater originality and uniqueness in it.¹⁰⁴ The true interpretation of human experience, he explained "is not the drop slipping into the sea, but the realization and bold affirmation of the reality and permanence of the human ego in a profounder personality."¹⁰⁵

Iqbal emphasised significance of the self (ego) by saying that even the life of the universe developed on the strength of self (ego), therefore, it could be measured only in proportion to strength. He

explained it in the following verses:

Qatra choon harf-e-khudi az bar kunad
 Husti-ay-be-maya ra gohar kunad
 Subza choon tab-i-dameed az khowesh yaft
 Himmat-i-oo seena-ay gulshan shigaft
 Choon zameen bar hasti-ay-khud mehkam ast
 Mah paband-i-twaf-i-peham ast
 Husti-ay mehar az zameen mehkam tar ast
 Pas zameen mashoor chashme khawar ast.
 Chun khudi arad baham nero-ay zeest
 Mi kushayad Qulzamay az joay zeest.¹⁰⁶

(When a drop of water learns the lesson of Ego, its worthless existence is transformed into a pearl and its realization can help the blade of grass to open the treasures of a garden by its strength. It is firmness of the earth which makes the moon revolve eternally around it, and since the sun has a greater strength, so the earth in turn revolves around it. When life procures strength from the ego, the river of life expands to become an ocean.)

The above lines clearly show that the essence of self (ego) is strength. Firmness and determination are activating virtues leading to innovation, and creativity. It stands for change and is against stagnation. It is action which leads to change. Through these views Iqbal, in fact, asked the people to shed off their attitude of indifference and inactivity and to work vigorously to change their conditions. He said in the following verse:

*Khuda ne aaj tak us Qaum ki halat nahi badli
 Na ho jisko khayal khud apni hi halat badalne ka.*

(God never changed the conditions of nations
 Till the desire of change is kindled in them.)

He also cited the following verses from Quran to support his own viewpoint:

Verily God will not change the conditions of men till they change what is in themselves.¹⁰⁷

If a man does not take the initiative and if he ceases to feel the inward push of advancing life, then the spirit within him hardens into stone and he is reduced to the level of dead matter.¹⁰⁸ It is through strenuous efforts and struggle that the man, according to Iqbal evolves the inner richness of his being and in this process God also becomes a co-worker

with him. Iqbal, therefore, preached the doctrine of the fullest development and affirmation of the self and wrote:

*Ay mayan-in-keesa at naqd-i-sukhan
Bar ayar-i-zindagi oo ra bazan
Khawesh ra bar reg-i-sozan ham bazan
Ghota andar chashma-ay za^m zam bazan
Misil-i-bulbul zoq-i-shewon ta kuja
Dar chaman zaran nasheman ta kuja
Ay Huma az yaman-i-damat arjumand
Ashiane saz bar koh-i-bulund
Ta shawi dar khorad-i-pekar-i-hyat
Jism-o-janat sozad az tar-i-hyat.¹⁰⁹*

(Oh! if thou hast the coin of poesy in the purse,
Rub it on the touch stone of life!
For a long time thou hast turned about on abad silk
Now throw thyself on the burning sand
And plunge into the fountain of zam-zam
How long will thou fair lament like the nightingale?
How long make thine abode in gardens?
O thou whose auspicious share would do honour to phoenix
Built a nest on the high mountains,
That thou mayst be fit for life's battle
That thy body and soul burn in life's fire!)

'Self' according to Iqbal is always in the making and is a reservoir of potentials with which a man can attain unimaginable heights. Iqbal believes in the dictum, "One who has known oneself has known God."¹¹⁰ He attributes the cause of miseries and misfortunes of man to the ignorance on his part of his own worth.

*Ah: ae raz-i-hyat ke na samjhane wale
Halqae dam-i-tamanna me ulajhne wale
Hai ghaflat ki teri ankh hai paband-i-majaz
Naz zeba the tujhe tu hai magar garm-i-niaz
Tu agar apni haqiqat se khabardar rahe.
Na siyah roz rahe phir na siyah raat rahe.¹¹¹*

(O thou ignorant of life's secret,
Caught in the web of desires!
O careless creature whose eyes see only the superficial,
Self pride is justified, but not the sense of pride attributed to
others!

If thou art aware of your self,
Thine bad days will be over.)

Iqbal delivered the same message in following inspiring verses
as:

*Ah kiski justju awara rakhti hai tujhe,
Rah tu, raharau bhi tu, rahbar bhi tu, manzil bhi tu!
Ashna apni haqiqat se ho ai dehqan zara,
Dana tu, kheti bhi tu, baran bhi tu, hasil bhi tu!
Kanpata hai dil tera andesha-i-toofan se kya
Na khuda tu, behar tu, kishti bhi tu, sahil bhi tu!
Dekh akar kucha-i-chake gareban mein kabhi,
Qais tu, Laila bhi tu, Sehra bhi tu, Mahmal bhi bu!
Wai nadani ki tu mohtaj-i-saqi ho gaya,
Mey bhi tu, mina bhi tu, saqi bhi tu, mehfil bhi tu.¹¹²*

(Ah! in whose pursuit wanderest thou,
Thou art thyself the way, the way fare, the guide and the
destination!

O Peasant, realize thine real self,
Thou art the seed, the crop, the rain and the yield!
Dost thou tremble at the thought of storm,
You are the sailor, the ocean, the boat and the coast!
Come and observe the world of love,
Thou art Qais and Laila (the legendry lovers) the desert and the
veil!
O shame thou dependent on saqi (one who distributes wine),
Thou art the wine, the cup, the saqi and the gathering.)

Nicholson has summed up Iqbal's advocacy of the elevation of
the self in the following words:

For Iqbal self-consciousness, individuality,
is all in all. He never tires of preaching the
gospel of self-knowledge, self-affirmation
and self-development.¹¹³

The qualities which create and enrich ego are *ishq* (love), *faqr*
(indifference to material possession) and courage. Iqbal regarded these
as the basic ingredients of ego.

According to Iqbal, love makes the ego immortal. It inspires the
man to conquer the universe. It is a regenerating spirit of the universe
which explains many mysteries of life that are beyond the explanation
by reason or rationality.

He elaborated his views about love as:

This word (love) 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 realise them. Love individualises the lover as well as the beloved.¹¹⁴

Iqbal regarded love as powerful weapon of transforming both the individual and humanity. He writes:

*Nuqta-ay-noray keh nam-e-oo khudi ast
Zere khak ma sharar-i-zindgi ast
Az mohabbat mi shawad paimda tar
Zinda tar so zinda tar tabinda tar
Fitrata-oo-atish andozad-ze-ishq
Alam afrozi bya moozad ze-ishq.¹¹⁵*

(The luminous point whose name is the self is the spark beneath our dust. By love it is made more lasting, more living, more burning more glowing. From love proceeds the radiance of its being and the development of its unknown possibilities.)

Along with, love Faqr also strengthens self (ego). In his view Faqr is a force behind every noble action. It disdains any material reward but the same time it is against the mystical denunciation of the worldly possession. He supports his view-point by citing Islam which says yes to the world of matter and points the way to master it with a view to discover a basis for a realistic regulation of life.¹¹⁶ Beggary or any kind of dependence on others weakens the self and a thing achieved by one's own hard labour is more pleasing than the one got by begging. He says:

*Qulzam-i-zunbel sail-i-atish ast
Gar zedast-i-khood rasad shabnam khush ast.¹¹⁷*

(A whole ocean if gained by begging, is but a sea of fire; Sweet is a little dew gathered by one's own hand.)

Courage is also an essential element of the ego. Iqbal attached great importance to it and has used the lion and eagle as symbols of courage. He is against all kinds of fear. He considered fear to be one of the most degrading and inhibiting emotions and the parent of all the vices characteristic of the weakness, deceit, hypocrisy, meanness, cowardice and flattery.¹¹⁸ Fear undermines wisdom, joy of life and thus weakens

the ego. Man should uphold the cause of truth with courage. However, Iqbal is against courage which is not subservient to the will of God. Iqbal believes that man is the maker of his own destiny and wishes that man should try to develop to such heights that even God may feel proud of him.

*Khudi ko kar buland itna ke har taqdir se pehle,
Khuda bande se khud poochhe bata teri raza kya hai!*¹¹⁹

(Elevate your self to such heights
That before destiny (intervenes)
God Himself may ask his slave "Tell!
What doeth thou will!"

Due to such emphasis on courage, determination, assertion and affirmation, Iqbal has been called as an advocate of absolute power or a Fascist.¹²⁰ But Iqbal did not support either fascism or authoritarianism. He evolved his theory of active dynamism to awaken the people of the country from their attitude of escapism or fatalism. He desired freedom, peace and progress of the country and aspired to build a society free from communal violence, hatred, enmity and all kinds of exploitation of man by man. Through his philosophy he preached the message of love, harmony, peace and oneness of mankind.

5

REFERENCES AND NOTES

POLITICAL IDEAS OF IQBAL

- ¹ Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, (ed.) Saeed Sheikh, Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1989, p. 125.
- ² B.A. Dar, *Letters and Writings of Iqbal*, Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1981, p. 59.
- ³ Bal-i-Jibril — *Kulliyat-i-Iqbal* (Urdu), Hyderabad: Commercial Book Depot, 1972, p. 110.
- ⁴ Hafeez Malik (ed.), *Iqbal - Poet, Philosopher of Pakistan*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1971, p. 181.
- ⁵ *Bang-i-Dara* — *Kulliyat-i-Iqbal*, n. 3, pp. 261-62. See V.G. Kiernan, *Poems From Iqbal*, London: John Murray, 1955, p. 21.
- ⁶ *Zabur-i-Ajam* — *Kulliyat-i-Iqbal* (Persian), Lahore: Sheikh Ghulam Ali and Sons, 1978, pp. 167-68.
- ⁷ *Armaghan-i-Hijaz* — *Kulliyat-i-Iqbal*, n. 3, p. 8.
- ⁸ *Gulshan-i-Raz-i-Jadid* — *Kulliyat-i-Iqbal* (Persian), n. 6, p. 168. See also translation by B.A. Dar, Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1948, p. 48.
- ⁹ *Pyam-i-Mashriq* — *Kulliyat-i-Iqbal* (Persian), n. 6, p. 135.

- ¹⁰ Javed Iqbal (ed.), *Stray Reflections : A Note-Book of Allama Iqbal*, Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1961, p. 120. See also, Waheed Qureshi (ed.), *Selections From Iqbal Reviews*, Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1983, p. 220.
- ¹¹ Muhammad Iqbal, n. 1, p. 142.
- ¹² Iqbal's letter to Sir Francis Younghusband, cited from L.A. Sherwani, *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1977, p. 208.
- ¹³ *Zarb-i-Kalim - Kulliyat-i-Iqbal* (Urdu), n. 3, p. 157. See also, V.G. Kiernan, *Poems From Iqbal*, London, 1955, p. 77.
- ¹⁴ *Pyam-i-Mashriq — Kulliyat-i-Iqbal* (Persian), n. 6, p. 193.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 217.
- ¹⁶ Abdulla Anwar Beg, *Poet of the East*, Lahore: Qaumi Kutub Khana, 1939, p. 124.
- ¹⁷ Mohd. Abdulla Qureshi, *Ruh-i-Makateeb-i-Iqbal*, Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1977.
- ¹⁸ Iqbal's statement on the Report of the Indian Franchise Committee, published on 5 June 1932, cited from Sherwani, n. 12, p. 210. Also see Dar, n. 8, p. 59.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 208.
- ²⁰ Muhammad Iqbal, Attitude of Muslim Delegates to the Round Table Conference, 6 December 1933, cited from *Ibid.*, pp. 242-43.
- ²¹ Iqbal's New Year Message, on 1 January 1938, quoted from Sherwani, n. 12, pp. 249-51.
- ²² Muhammad Iqbal, n. 1, p. 142.
- ²³ Muhammad Iqbal, *Muslim Democracy*, cited from Sherwani, n. 12, pp. 123-24.
- ²⁴ K.A. Hakim, *Fikr-i-Iqbal* (Urdu), Aligarh: Educational Book House, 1977, p. 190.
- ²⁵ Iqbal, n. 1, p. 117.
- ²⁶ R.A. Nicholson, *Secrets of the Self*, Delhi: Arnold Heinmann, 1978, p. 23.
- ²⁷ Iqbal, n. 1, pp. 124-25.

- 28 Muhammad Iqbal, *Islam and Qadianism*, cited in Sherwani, n. 12, p. 194.
- 29 *Ibid.*, p. 193.
- 30 Hakim, n. 24, p. 191.
- 31 Muhammad Iqbal, *Gulshan-i-Raz-i-Jadid tnd Bandgi Nama*, cited from Dar, n. 8, p. 13.
- 32 Cited from Sherwani, n. 12, p. 114.
- 33 *The Modern Review*, Vol. LXXXV, No. 1-6, January to June 1954, p. 311.
- 34 *Ibid.*
- 35 *Ibid.*
- 36 *Bang-i-Dara — Kulliyat-i-Iqbal* (Urdu), n. 3, p. 21.
- 37 *Ibid.*, p. 83.
- 38 Gian Chand, *Ibtidai Kalam-i-Iqbal* (Urdu), Hyderabad: Urdu Research Centre, 1988, p. 275.
- 39 Abdulghaffar Shakeel, *Iqbal Ke Nasri Afkar* (Urdu), Delhi: Anjuman Taraqqi, 1977, p. 185.
- 40 Muhammad Sadiq, *A History of Urdu Literature*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984, p. 462.
- 41 *Bang-i-Dara — Kulliyat-i-Iqbal* (Urdu), n. 3, p. 248.
- 42 *Ibid.*
- 43 Muhammad Iqbal, *Millat-i-Baiza Par ik Imarani Nazar*, in, *Iqbal Ke Nasri Afkar*, n. 39, p. 224.
- 44 *Punjab Census Report*, Vol. XIV, 1911, Part I, p. 165.
- 45 K.G. Saiyidain, *Iqbal's Educational Philosophy*, Lahore: Ashraf Publication, 1939, pp. 177-79.
- 46 *Zarb-i-Kalim — Kulliyat-i-Iqbal* (Urdu), n. 3, pp. 57-58.
- 47 Iqbal's letter to Professor Edward John Thompson on 20 June 1933, cited from S. Hasan Ahmad, *Iqbal: His Ideas at Crossroads*, Aligarh, 1979, p. 2.
- 48 Iqbal's letters to Dr. Nicholson, cited from Ehsan Ashraf, *Iqbal's Philosophy*, Patna: Associated Book Agency, 1978, pp. 158-59.

- 49 *Javid Nama — Kulliyat-i-Iqbal* (Persian), n. 6, p. 205.
- 50 Iqbal's New Year Message on 1 January 1938 to Lahore Station of All India Radio, quoted from Sherwani, n. 12, pp. 250-51.
- 51 P.N. Chopra, *Indian Muslims in Freedom Struggle*, New Delhi: Eriterion Publications, 1988, p. 211.
- 52 Sachin Sen, *The Political Thought of Tagore*, Calcutta, 1947, p. 130.
- 53 *The Modern Review*, n. 33, p. 313.
- 54 *Ibid.*
- 55 Sachin Sen, n. 52, p. 104.
- 56 *Javid Nama — Kulliyat-i-Iqbal* (Persian), n. 6, p. 142. See also Shaikh Mohd. Ahmad,, *Pilgrimage of Eternity*, Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1961, p. 132.
- 57 Iqbal, *Islam and Ahmadism*, cited from Sherwani, n. 12, p. 197.
- 58 *Ibid.*
- 59 Iqbal, "Statement Explaining the Attitude of Muslims Delegates to the Round Table Conference", issued on 6 December 1933, quoted from Sherwani, n. 12, p. 242.
- 60 Iqbal, "Statement on Islam and Nationalism", published in *Ehsan* on 9 March 1938, cited from Sherwani, n. 12, pp. 252-53.
- 61 Hafeez Malik, n. 4, p. 172.
- 62 Home Political Reports, October 1920, File No. 75 (D).
- 63 *Ibid.*
- 64 Cited from Riaz Hussain, *The Politics of Iqbal*, Lahore, 1977, p. 5.
- 65 *Ibid.*
- 66 *Ibid.*, p. 6.
- 67 *Ibid.*, p. 7.
- 68 Home Political Reports, 1923, F. No. 103/IV.
- 69 W.C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, New Delhi: Usha Publications, 1979, pp. 116-34.
- 70 Hafeez Malik, n. 4, p. 74. Also see Sherwani, n. 12, p. 94.
- 71 Hakim Mohd. Yusuf Hasan, "Some Aspects of Iqbal's Personality", in *Naqoosh*, Lahore: Idara-i-Farogh-e-Urdu, 1977, p. 437.

- 72 Muhammad Iqbal, n. 1, p. 142.
- 73 Muhammad Iqbal, *Bal-i-Jibril — Kulliyat-i-Iqbal*, Urdu, n. 3, pp. 106-08.
- 74 *Bang-i-Dara — Kulliyat-i-Iqbal* (Urdu), n. 3, p. 263. See also, V.G. Kiernan, *Poems of Iqbal*, London: John Murray, 1955, p. 22.
- 75 *Bal-i-Jibril* in *Ibid.*, pp. 109-11. See also Kiernan, n. 74, p. 43.
- 76 *Pyam-i-Mashriq — Kulliyat-i-Iqbal* (Persian), n. 6, p. 215.
- 77 *Pas Cheh Bayad Kard*, in *Ibid.*, p. 30. See also translation by B.A. Dar, Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1977, pp. 81-82.
- 78 *Armughan-i-Hijaz — Kulliyat-i-Iqbal* (Urdu), n. 3, p. 8. See translation by Q.A. Kabir, Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1988, p. 131.
- 79 *Javid Nama — Kulliyat-i-Iqbal* (Persian), n. 6, p. 64. See translation by Shaikh Mohd. Ahmad, n. 56, p. 52.
- 80 *Bal-i-Jibril — Kulliyat-i-Iqbal* (Urdu), n. 3, p. 152. See translation by Kiernan, n. 74, p. 56.
- 81 *Ibid.*, p. 119. See Kiernan, n. 74, p. 45.
- 82 Muhammad Iqbal, *Islam and Ahmadism*, cited from Sherwani, n. 12, p. 193.
- 83 See for details chapter IIIrd of this book.
- 84 Iqbal's letter to Jinnah on 28 May 1937, cited in Mohd. Jahangir Aalam (comp.), *Iqbal Ke Khatoot Jinnah Ke Nam*, Lahore: Universal Books, 1986, p. 49.
- 85 Muhammad Iqbal's Presidential Address, cited from Sherwani, n. 12, p. 207.
- 86 Muhammad Iqbal's letter to Sir Francis Younghusband, cited in *Ibid.*, p. 207.
- 87 Hafeez Malik, n. 4, p. 276.
- 88 *Punjab Census Reports*, Vol. XIV, 1911, Part I, p. 165.
- 89 Muhammad Iqbal, n. 1, p. 149.
- 90 *Javid Nama — Kulliyat-i-Iqbal* (Persian), n. 6, p. 64.
- 91 B.A. Dar, n. 2, p. 58.
- 92 Sherwani, n. 12, p. 207.

- 93 Jawaharlal Nehru, *Discovery of India*, London: Meridian Books Ltd., 1951, p. 355.
- 94 Muhammad Hasan, *A New Approach to Iqbal*, Delhi: Publication Division, 1987, pp. 12-13.
- 95 K.G. Saiyidian, *Iqbal's Educational Philosophy*, Lahore, 1939, p. 19.
- 96 *Asrar-i-Khudi — Kulliyat-i-Iqbal* (Persian), n. 6, pp. 33-34.
- 97 Iqbal Singh, *The Ardent Pilgrim*, Bombay: Orient Longman: 1951, p. 90.
- 98 Zafar Uganwi (ed.), *Secrets of Iqbal*, Calcutta: Calcutta Universtiy, 1984, p. 44.
- 99 Ehsan Ashraf, *Iqbal's Philosophy*, Patna: Associated Book Agency, 1978, p. 12.
- 100 Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 13.
- 101 Shakeel, n. 39, p. 64.
- 102 Dar, n. 2, p. 2.
- 103 R.A. Nicholson, *Secrets of the Self*, New Delhi: Arnold Heinemann, 1978, pp. 16-17.
- 104 Saiyidain, n. 95, pp. 13-14.
- 105 Muhammad Iqbal, n. 1, p. 77.
- 106 *Asrar-i-Khudi — Kulliyat-i-Iqbal* (Persian), n. 6, pp. 14-15.
- 107 Muhammad Iqbal, n. 1, p. 10.
- 108 *Ibid.*
- 109 *Asrar-i-Khudi — Kulliyat-i-Iqbal* (Persian), n. 6, pp. 38-39.
- 110 *Leader* (Allahabad), 26 April 1938.
- 111 *Ibid.*
- 112 *Bang-i-Dara — Kulliyat-i-Iqbal* (Urdu), n. 3, p. 192.
- 113 R.A. Nicholson, "Iqbal's Message of the East", *Islamica*, Vol. I, 1924-25, p. 115.
- 114 Iqbal Singh, n. 97, p. 91.
- 115 *Asrar-i-Khudi — Kulliyat-i-Iqbal* (Persian), n. 6, p. 8.
- 116 Muhammad Iqbal, n. 1, p. 8.

- 117 Muhammad Iqbal, *Secrets of Self*, p. 41.
- 118 Saiyidain, n. 95, p. 136.
- 119 *Bal-i-Jibril* — *Kulliyat-i-Iqbal* (Urdu), n. 3, p. 55.
- 120 These critics of Iqbal are Sachchidananda Sinha and Wilfred Cantwell Smith. See Sinha's book, *Iqbal: The Poet and His Message*, Allahabad: Ram Narain Lal, 1947, and Smith's *Modern Islam in India*, New Delhi: Usha Publications, 1979.

CONCLUSION

The study of Iqbal's life, ideas and activities makes it evident that Iqbal was an outstanding genius, a gifted poet-philosopher, a versatile thinker and a magnificent personality. Through his poetical and prose works, he delivered the message of love, amity, unity, harmony and oneness of the whole mankind. His philosophy aimed to present cultural ideas and an atmosphere which should raise man above the territorial and racial considerations, where the ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity could materialise and in which man could lead a happy and contented life.

He was an ardent patriot and deeply loved his motherland. He regarded India, a paradise on earth and each of its particles of dust as god. He was proud of its civilization and had deep regard and respect for its religions and religious leaders. He called Rama as Imam-i-Hind (spiritual leader of India), Nanak as a perfect Man and Gautam Buddha as a prophet. Lord Krishna's theory of Karma greatly appealed to him and he was fascinated by the teachings of Quran. He had great reverence for Ramayana and Gita and cited verses from these holy-books in his works. He was intensely patriotic and his patriotic poems became immensely popular all over India. His poem "*Sare-Jahan Se Accha Hindustan Hamara*" (the best in the world is our India) made him a legend in his life-time and many in India till today remember Iqbal through this poem which is still sung in the celebrations of Independence Day and Republic Day. He had high regards for the

patriots and condemned those who had betrayed India and had helped the imperialists in enslaving this great land. He appreciated and praised patriotism and wrote poems on Gokhale, Gandhi, Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru.

The study of his life reveals that he was a simple man and led a spartan life devoid of hypocrisy and humbug. He was determined, diligent, utterly unselfish and never ran after popularity and image building. It is unfair to label Iqbal a conservative. He was secular, and progressive and his outlook was liberal and modern. There is no substance in W.C. Smith and S.C. Sinha's charges that Iqbal was conservative and condemned people who prepared to do anything religiously radical. (Iqbal was radical because he believed that the gate of religious interpretations were not closed). His book *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* created a stir among the Muslim conservative elements and he was dubbed a heretic. Munshi Prem Chand, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mulk Raj Anand, all renowned writers who knew Iqbal closely, confirm that Iqbal was modern and it is modernity of themes of his writings which attracted not only the intellectuals but also the nationalist leaders. His views were quoted and his poems were cited even by leaders like Gandhi to inspire the people and to rouse their patriotic fervour even by leaders like Gandhi. In fact, there is a contradiction in Smith's view about Iqbal. Smith himself says that Islam as a religion has produced so far no intellectual modernization of its ideals of righteousness more explicit by than Iqbal.

There is also no substance in the charge that Iqbal was a reactionary, dogmatic or a fanatic. Fearlessly and boldly he exposed and unmasked those pirs and religious fakirs who exploited the poor, ignorant, illiterate and innocent masses. He castigated both Mullas and Pandits for dividing the people in the name of religion. He appealed to the Indians to build a *New Shivala* (a new temple) based on the principles of love, unity and harmony. He never uttered a single word against non-Muslims throughout his life.

S.C. Sinha also accuses Iqbal as propagandist, preaching doctrines and dogmas. His criticism is unjustified because a writer can never keep himself aloof from his surroundings. His works bear the imprint of his times. If Iqbal's works constitute propaganda, then Tolstoy, G.B. Shaw, Rabindranath Tagore and Munshi Premchand are all propagandists. Iqbal was a writer with a purpose. His philosophy was relevant as it taught the people to be self-assertive, not to fear and not to bow before oppression, atrocities and exploitation. This inspired not only the people of India but also of Asia to rise against the colonial rule in their

countries. In this sense Iqbal was pan-Asiatic. He regarded the whole world as the family of God and aspired for peace, progress and prosperity for the whole mankind.

Thus Iqbal as a poet-philosopher belonged to all (but ironically in the field of politics he confined himself to the framework of defending the Muslim interests in India). He joined the Muslim League in 1908 and served this organisation till his death. Relentlessly and vigorously, he fought for the protection of rights of his community, remained a staunch advocate of separate electorate and demanded a separate Muslim block within the country for the free development of the Muslim culture. Such advocacy does not fit in with his high ideals of unity, love and humanity. This is a weakness of Iqbal as a politician, and it is because of this that he has been branded as communal and defender of the Muslim interests. This weakness of Iqbal is invariably rooted in the exclusively socio-economic-political conditions in the colonial India and the Muslims' position in that set-up. The backwardness of his community in all walks of life, their permanent minority position in the political set-up based on the majority-rule, the identification of Indian nationalism with Hinduism by the extremist Congress leaders, their aggressive zeal for shuddhi and their hatred for what ever was linked with Muslims, their culture and their language, forced Iqbal to play the role of the defender of Muslim interests. The British also played an important role in this regard. They successfully prevented Muslim patriots like Iqbal from actively participating in the liberation movement. Arnold, diverted the Muslim talents from the service of the country to the service of Islam. He inspired young Iqbal and it was on his advice that Iqbal went to England for higher studies. There he delivered lectures on Islam which were widely reported by the British press and Iqbal's talent got recognition. It is, perhaps, here that he developed the notion that he could depend on British friendship.)

Back home, his feeling that the British were friends and well-wishers of the Muslim community and that the latter could depend on the British for protection and patronage was strengthened by the partition of Bengal and the introduction of separate electorate for the Muslims under the Morely-Minto Reforms. The Samajist and Hindu Mahasabhaites further confirmed Iqbal's views that the British stood for justice and wanted to uplift the Muslim minority. He distanced himself from the Congress because among its important leaders in Punjab were Arya-Samajist and Sabhaites, who had never concealed their anti-Muslim feelings.

Iqbal sought safeguards for the Muslim community because it had been left behind in all fields of life, but unfortunately he wrongly thought that the interests of all its members were the same. This was not correct because there were rich and poor in all the communities of India. The downtrodden of all the communities were exploited and oppressed but Iqbal stood only for the protection of his community's interest and this understanding or rather misunderstanding of Iqbal confined his politics to a narrow framework.

His concern for his community led him to try not to annoy the British as they were the final decision-makers. He not only adopted the path of direct nonconfrontation with the British but went much further. He accepted knighthood at a time when the stream of blood of the thousands of martyrs in Jallianwala Bagh including a large number of Muslims, had not dried. He wrote poems welcoming Russian Revolution and its leaders but when he was referred to as socialist in a paper he immediately countered it. Like Hindu Mahasabha, he also supported and co-operated with the Simon Commission when Congress, Communists, Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Jinnah and Muhammad Ali were boycotting it.

These were his weaknesses but despite all these Iqbal cannot be accused of being a British loyalist and the one who did not aspire for freedom of the country. In fact, he aspired for freedom as much as the other patriots but first he wanted the solution of the communal problem. He wanted the retention of the separate electorate not because he had separatist feelings but because he regarded it essential for the political survival of his community. The failure of Jinnah, "The ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity" strengthened his suspicion of Hindu-dominance. The increasing communal activities of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Rashtriya swayam Sewak leaders produced a sense of insecurity among the Muslims and at this juncture non-assertion of the secular forces led intellectuals like Iqbal to ignore the fact that the British were not interested in safeguarding the interest of any particular community but were only interested in maintenance of their rule, and only disunity and discord between Hindu and Muslims could keep their position intact in India.

The illusion that British were impartial and friends remained with Iqbal the politician till the end of second decade of the present century. But when he realized the true intentions and character of the imperialists, he denounced and condemned the British rule in India in the strongest possible terms. During his participation in the Round Table Conferences, he had observed closely the manoeuvring tactics

of the British statesmen who did not want the solution of the communal problem. He blamed the British for driving the Indian communities, especially Hindus and Muslims to a kind of civil-war to facilitate their own position in India. He bitterly criticised the British government in his presidential Address delivered at the Annual Session of the All India Muslim Conference in Lahore on 21 March 1932. So annoyed were the British that they rejected Iqbal's name for any post recommended by Fazl-i-Hussain, the Chief Minister of Punjab.

Iqbal also accused the British for giving currency to pan-Islamist ideas in India so as to keep away the Muslim masses from actively participating in the Indian politics. He now realized that even Arnold, his teacher, for whom he had great regard, was loyal only to England which was his religion as well as his world. Whatever he did, in Iqbal's view, he did for the interest of his country. Iqbal now exposed such intellectual personalities as the helping hand of the politicians of their country who had nothing to do with the interest of any community or religion.

To find out a peaceful and amicable solution of the communal problem, he prepared a scheme which sought to make India a federation with more powers to the states. He asked for the re-distribution of the country on the basis of not only religion, but also on the basis of language and economic interests so that people could get opportunities for the free development of their cultures. The formation of the Muslim states in the north-west was sought within India and not outside India. Ironically, the scheme which nowhere referred to the division of the country was interpreted as a rough sketch of the Pakistan project. Lala Lajpat Rai and Lala Hardayal had advocated division of the country between Hindus and Muslims as early as mid-twenties but Iqbal was against partitioning of India. Had he desired division he would have mentioned it not only in his presidential Address to the All India Muslim League in 1930 but would have also referred to it in his address to the All India Muslim Conference, or had used the platform of the Round Table Conference for its propagation. Iqbal through his scheme wanted permanent peace in the country and stood for maintaining its unity and integrity.

There is no substance in S.C. Sinha's contention that Rahmat Ali and his colleagues were devout believers in Iqbal's political doctrine which sought partition of the country and formation of an Islamic state. There is no evidence that Iqbal had any contact with Rahmat Ali. Besides, Rahmat Ali himself bitterly attacked Iqbal for not advocating separation during his participation in the Round Table Conference for

preparing the federal constitution of India and for calling all the people of India as Indians. Even in his private letters to Jinnah, Iqbal never used the word partition or talked of an independent, separate, sovereign, national state.

Thus Iqbal neither advocated separation nor supported the separatist theory of Rahmat Ali. He died in an undivided India in April 1938. Articles and editorials on Iqbal were published in almost all the dailies of the country but he was not hailed as the architect of the idea of Pakistan even by the communal Muslim press. Had Iqbal proposed Pakistan, Jinnah would have mentioned or recalled it but he in his condolence message merely called Iqbal a great patriot and one of the greatest Indians. Even in the Pakistan Resolution in 1940 there was no reference to Iqbal. Speeches delivered at that occasion by important Muslim Leaguers made no mention that Iqbal propounded the idea of Pakistan. It was only afterwards that the supporters of Pakistan decided to glorify the new state with the eminence of Iqbal. They conferred on him the parentage of Pakistan and adopted Iqbal as the poet-philosopher of Pakistan. The creation of Pakistan was the very negation of ideals for which Iqbal stood throughout his life.

Iqbal did not preach the idea of Pakistan. He was a patriot and deeply loved India. India was as dear to him as Islam and he regarded it as the only country in the world where Islam as a people-building force had worked at its best. He laid great importance to Hindu-Muslim unity. Through his powerful poetry he appealed to both the communities to unite, to shed dissensions, ill-feelings and enmity towards each other. He also participated in the unity conferences. By 1932 he sought the Hindu and Muslim unity on economic issues. His ardent desire of unity led him to have direct dialogue even with the Hindu Mahasabhaites who had not concealed their goal of making independent India, a Hindu Rashtra.

Iqbal stood for the ideals which preached love and oneness of the whole mankind. He wanted to make man aware of his immense potentialities, which they could use to achieve the goal they desired. He sought to present a system which could end all sorts of exploitation and could develop and enrich the inner-being of the individual. But like the philosophers of the West, Iqbal did not write a political testament and thus his philosophy is not systematic and coherent. His poetry, addresses, speeches, statements, writings and letters give vent to his political ideas regarding different political concepts. His ideas did not grow in vacuum. They were the product of the contemporary socio-economic conditions of the country and therefore developments in the

world and therefore changed and modified and developed and revolutionised accordingly. It is precisely because of this that there is sometimes no consistency and even contradiction in Iqbal's ideas.

Iqbal, basically, was a believer. Religion had coloured his thinking and in his view the past could not be rejected. But at the same time he had remarkable open-mindedness to absorb new ideas and learn from fresh experiences. His deep knowledge of the Eastern and Western political thought supplemented by a keen observation of the practical implication of the prevailing currents of opinion, greatly enriched his ideas. In this context, changes in Iqbal's thought can rightly be analysed.

His denunciation of the concept of nationalism and his movement from nationalism to internationalism was the result of his close observation of the European national-states, which for their own selfish interests had trampled upon the freedom of the poor and weak countries. Their hunger for expansion had ultimately resulted in the First World War. Iqbal rejected the concept of nationalism as it was narrow, rigid and devoid of humanist values. Iqbal advocated internationalism and desired for peace, progress and prosperity of the people not of any particular nation but of the whole world. Because of this change in his views, Iqbal has been accused as anti-nationalist. This is not fair because he was not the only one who found nationalism as undesirable. Even a poet like Rabindranath Tagore opposed the concept of narrow nationalism and stood for universal brotherhood.

Iqbal was the critic of Western concept of democracy and not of the concept of democracy as such. He regarded the Republican form of government consistent with Islam. He supported the establishment of a secular-democratic state in Turkey and in his home country he was in favour of democracy with some safeguards for the minorities.

His hatred for injustice, inequality and exploitation led him to appreciate communism and to welcome the first Socialist State in Russia, and to characterize Marx though not as a prophet but as one who had a sacred book under his arm. Yet he was not prepared to accept it in toto despite being one of its early ideologues in the country. Communism minus God was unacceptable to Iqbal. Quran remained a book of inspiration to Iqbal's thinking. He condemned philosophers like Plato who by preaching mysticism had brought stagnation-particularly in the Muslim world. He was greatly impressed by Lord Krishna's theory of Karma. He opposed the concept of Taqdir or fate and propounded the theory of self (ego) to awaken man about his tremendous potentialities which could place him next to God. His writings had a message for all the down-trodden and enslaved people

of the world. Iqbal used religious terminology to convince the people of his own community, who were ignorant, illiterate and were under the influence of conservative pirs and Moulvis. This led the communal leaders of both the Hindu and Muslim communities to brand him as a poet-philosopher of Islam. Hindu communalists ignored his patriotism, universalism and his reverence for Rama and Krishna. The Muslim communalists emphasised only those writing which could arouse the Islamic fervour and keep the Muslim masses in their own old and away from the secular forces. By misinterpreting and distorting Iqbal's views, they dreamed of a happy, peaceful and contented life in a separate theocratic state. This ultimately led to the division of the country. Ironically he was proclaimed as the poet-philosopher of Pakistan, a State he had not dreamt of. This is certainly unjust a man who was an outstanding thinker, an eminent philosopher, a poet without an equal, an inspirer of down-trodden and a friend of humanity. He stood for the high ideals of love, peace and humanity which alone can unite the mankind divided by narrow geographical, racial and religious prejudices.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

A) Writings of Iqbal

Kulliyat-i-Iqbal(Urdu), Hyderabad : Commercial Book Depot, 1972.

Kulliyat includes the following works of Iqbal.

Armughan-i Hijaz

Bal-i-Jibril

Bang-i-Dara

Zarb-i-Kalim

Kulliyat-i-Iqbal (Persian), Lahore : Sheikh Ghulam Ali and Sons, 1978.

Kulliyat includes the following works of Iqbal.

Armughan-i-Hijaz

Asrar-i-Khudi

Javid Nama

Pas Cheh Bayad Kard

Payam-i-Mashriq

Rumuz-i-Bekhu di

Zabur-i-Ajam

B) **Miscellaneous Writings**

Ahmad, Shaikh Mahmud. *Pilgrimage of Eternity* (translation of Javid Nama), Lahore : Institute of Islamic Culture, 1961.

Alam, Muhammad Jahangir (comp.) *Iqbal Ke Khutoot Jinnah Ke Nam* (Urdu), Lahore : Universal Books, 1986

Ali, Zulfiqar Khan. *A Voice From the East* (The poetry of Iqbal). Lahore : Iqbal Academy, 1982.

Allama Muhammad Iqbal. *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Lahore : Iqbal Academy, 1989.

Attaullah, Shiekh (comp.) *Iqbal Nama*, (Urdu) (Collection of Iqbal's Letters). Lahore : Shiekh Muhammad Ashraf, 1963.

---- (Comp.) *Iqbal Nama*, (Urdu) Vol. II (Collection of Iqbal's Letters). Lahore; Shiekh Muhammad Ashraf, 1971.

Chand, Gian *Ibtidai-Kalam-e-Iqbal* (Urdu), Hyderabad : Urdu Research Centre, 1988.

Dar, B.A. *Amwar-i-Iqbal* (Urdu) Karachi, 1966.

What Should Be Done O People of the East (English rendering of Pas Cheh Bayad Kard). Lahore : Iqbal Academy, 1977.

Gulshan-i-Raz-i-Jadid (English translation). Lahore : Institute of Islamic Culture, 1980.

Letters and Writings of Iqbal. Lahore : Iqbal Academy, 1981.

Hashmi, Rafi-ud-Din. *Khutoot-i-Iqbal* (Urdu). New Delhi : Iqbal Sadi Publication, 1977.

Iqbal, Javid (ed.) *Stray Reflections*. Lahore : Iqbal Academy, 1961.

Kabir, Q.A., *Armaghan-i-Hijaz* (English translation). Lahore : Iqbal Academy, 1988.

Kiernann, V.G., *Poems From Iqbal*. London : John Murray, 1955.

---- *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah*. Lahore : Sheikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1943.

- Moeeni, Abdul Wahid. *Muqalat-i-qbali* (Urdu). Lahore : Iqbal Academy, 1963.
- Niazi, Syed Nazir. *Maktoobat-i-Iqbal* (Urdu). Lahore : Iqbal Academy, 1977.
- Nicholson, R.A. (trans). *Secrets of the Self*, New Delhi : Arnold-Heinemann, 1978.
- Qureshi, Muhammad Abdullah. *Ruh-i-Makateeb-i-Iqbal* (Urdu). Lahore : Iqbal Academy, 1977
- Shah, Syed Akbar Ali. *The Rod of Moses* (English translation of *Zarb-i-Kalim*) Lahore : Iqbal Academy, 1983.
- Shakeel, Abdulghaffar (comp.) *Iqbal Ke Nasari Afkar* (Urdu). Delhi : Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu, 1977.
- Vahid, S.A. *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*. Lahore : Iqbal Academy, 1964.

C) Official Records

- Home Political Files, 1906-1938-Fortnightly and subject-wise Reports*. New Delhi : National Archives of India.
- Punjab Administration Reports--1926-1931*. New Delhi : Central Secretariat Library.
- Punjab Census Reports--1911, 1921, 1931*. New Delhi : National Archives of India.
- Punjab Legislative Council Debates--1926-38*. New Delhi : Central Secretariat Library.
- Punjab Legislative Council Debates--1926-38*. New Delhi : Central Secretariat Library.
- Banned Urdu Literature* : New Delhi : National Archives of India.
- Hunter, W.W. "The Indian Muslamans : Are They Bound in Conscience to Rebel Against the Queen" (typed manuscript of 1871) in New Delhi : National Archives of India.

Secondary Sources

A) Books

- Ahmad, Aziz. *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan*. Great Britain : Oxford University Press, 1967.
- Ahmad, Aziz, *Iqbal : Nai Tashkeel* (Urdu). Delhi : Aytasad Publishing House, 1980.
- Ahmad, Refiuddin. *The Bengal Muslims*. New York : Oxford University Press, 1981.
- Ahmad S. Hasan. *Iqbal : His Political Ideas at Cross roads*. Aligarh, : 1979.
- Ahmad, Syed Nur. *From Martial Law to Martial Law in the Punjab 1919-1958*. London : Westview Press, 1985.
- Ahmad, Zafar Nizami. *Builders of India*. New Delhi, 1988.
- Akbar, M.J. *Nehru-The Making of India*, London : Viking, 1988.
- Allana, G. *Muslim Political Thought Through the Ages*. New Delhi: Publication Department, 1987.
- Ali, Malik Ikram. *A Book of Readings on the History of Punjab*. Lahore, 1970.
- Ali, Rahmat. *Pakistan-The Fatherland of the Pak-Nations*. Cambridge : Foister and Jagg., 1947.
- Ali, Yusuf. *The Makings of India*. London, A & E Black Ltd., 1925.
- Ambedkar, B.R. *Thoughts on Pakistan*. Bombay : Thacker and Compny, 1941.
- Ansari, Asloob Ahmed (ed). *Iqbal, Essays and Studies*. Delhi : Ghalib Academy, 1978.
- Ansari, Zoay. *Iqbal Ki Talash* (Urdu). New Delhi ; Maktaba Jamia, 1978.
- Ashraf, Ehsan. *Iqbal's Philosophy*. Patana : Associated Book Agency, 1978.
- Azad, Jagannath. *Iqbal Aur Us Ka Ahad* (Urdu). Allahabad : Idara-i-Anees Urdu, 1964.
- Aziz, K.K. *The Making of Pakistan*. London : Chatto and Windus, 1967.
- *History of the Partition of India*, Vol. I, II, III. New Delhi : Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, 1988.

- Azmi, Abdul Lateef. *Iqbal-Dana-i-Rza* (Urdu). Delhi : Maktaba Jamia, 1978.
- Baig, M.R. *The Muslim Dilemma in India*. Delhi : Vikas Publishing House, 1974.
- Bapat, N.A. *Nationalism Vs. Communalism*. Poona : G.S. Bapat, 1943.
- Barrier, N.G. (ed). *Roots of Communal Politics*. New Delhi : Arnold Heinemann, 1976.
- Batalavi, Ashiq Hussain. *Iqbal Ke Akhri Do Sal* (Urdu). Srinagar : Shaheen Publishers, 1978.
- Beg, Abdulla Anwar. *Poet of the East*. Lahore : Qaumi Kutub Khanna, 1939.
- Brown, Judith M. *Modern India*. Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1984.
- Burney, S.M.H. *Iqbal-Poet Patriot of India*. New Delhi : Vikas Publishing House, 1988.
- Chand, Lal. *Self Abnegations in Politics*. Lahore, 1938.
- Chand, Tara. *History of the Freedom Movement in India*. New Delhi : Publication Division, 1972.
- Chhabra, G.S. *Social and Economic History of Punjab*. Delhi : S. Nagin and Company, 1962.
- Chopra, P.N. *Indian Muslims in Freedom Struggle*. New Delhi : Criterion Publications, 1988.
- Choudhry, Binayendra Mohan. *Muslim Politics in India*. Calcutta: Orient Book Company, 1946.
- Coupland, Reginald. *Indian Politics*. London : Oxford University Press. 1943.
- Darling, M.L. *The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt*. London: Oxford University Press, 1925.
- Datta, V.N *Jallianwala Bagh*. Ludhianna : Lyall Book Depot, 1969.
- Dhawan, M.L. *Iqbal and His Equals*. Delhi : Bhavana Prakashan, 1986.

- Dungen, Ven Den. *Punjab Tradition ; Influence and Authority in the Nineteen Century India*. London : George Allen and Unwin, 1972.
- Durrani, F.K. *The Meaning of Pakistan*. Lahore : S.H. Muhammad Ashraf, 1944.
- Dwarkadas, Kanji. *India's Fight for Freedom, 1913-37 : A Short Eyewitness Story*. Bombay : Popular Prakashan, 1966.
- Edward, Michael. *British India, 1772-1947*. London : Sidgwick and Jackson, 1967.
- Embree, Ainslie T. *India's Search for National Identity*. New Delhi : Chanakya Publishers, 1980.
- Emmet, Davis. *Press and Politics in British Western Punjab*. Delhi : Academic Publication, 1983.
- Farquhar J.N. *Modern Religious Movements in India*. London : Macmillan, 1929.
- Fatehpuri, Farman. *Iqbal Sab Ke Liay* (Urdu). Delhi : Educational Publishing House, 1986.
- Gankovsky, Y.V. *A History of Pakistan* Moscow : Gordon Polonskaya, 1964.
- Garratt, G.T. and Edward, Thompson. *Rise and Fulfilment of the British Rule in India*. Allahabad : Central Book Depot, 1969.
- Griffith, Sir Percival. *The British Impact on India*. London : Macdonalds, 1952.
- Goldberg and Reisner. *Tilak and the Struggle for Indian Freedom*. New Delhi : PPH, 1966.
- Gopal, Madan. *Munshi Prem Chand : A Literary Biography*. New Delhi : Asia Publishing House, 1962.
- Gibb, Hamilton. *Modern Trends in Islam*. Chicago : Chicago University Press, 1947.
- Hakim, K.A. *Fikr-i-Iqbal* (Urdu). Aligarh : Educational Book House, 1977.
- Haque, Saeed Zahural. *Folklore and Nationalism in Rabindranath Tagore*. Dacca : Bangla

- Academy Dacca, 1981.
- Hardy, P., *The Muslims of British India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972.
- Hasan, Muhammad. *A new approach to Iqbal*. Delhi: Publication Division 1987.
- Hasan, Mushirul (ed.) *Communal and Pan-Islamic Trends in India*. New Delhi: Manohar, 1981.
- Holmes, T. Rice. *A History of the Indian Mutiny*. London: Macmillan, 1904.
- Hunter, W.W. *Rulers of India: Earl of Mayo*. London: Oxford Clarendon Press, 1891.
- Hussain, Azim. *Fazl-i-Hussain: A Political Biography*. Bombay: Longman Green and Company, 1946.
- Hussain, Riaz. *The Politics of Iqbal*. Lahore: Islamic Book Service, 1977.
- Ikram, S.M. *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan*. Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1965.
- Imam, Zafar (ed.) *Muslims in India*. Delhi: Orient Longman, 1975.
- Ishrat, Vahid. *Allama Iqbal Ka Nazaria-i-Pakistan* (Urdu). Lahore: Falsafa Academy, 1984.
- Jafari Ali Sardar. *Iqbal Shanasi* (Urdu). New Delhi: Maktaba Jamia, 1976.
- Jafari (Nadwi), Rais Ahmad. *Iqbal Aur Siasat-i-Milli* (Urdu). Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1981.
- Joshi, Subhadara (ed). *R.S.S.--A Danger to Democracy*. New Delhi: Sampradayikta Virodhi Committee, 1967.
- Khaliquzzman, Choudhry. *Pathway to Pakistan*, Karachi: LongmanGreen and Company, 1962.
- Kulkarni, V.B. *India and Pakistan*. Bombay: Jaico Publishing House, 1973.
- Lal, Sunder. *British Rule in India*. Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1972.

- Lelyveld, Devid. *Aligarh's First Generation*. New Jersey : Princeton University Press, 1978
- Mahmood, Safdar and Javaid, Zafar. *Founders of Pakistan*. New Delhi : Uppal Publishing House, 1988.
- Mahmud, Syed. *Hindu Muslim Cultural Accord*. Bombay : Vora and Company, 1949.
- Maitre, Luce Claude. *Introduction to the Thoughts of Iqbal*. Lahore : Iqbal Academy, 1981.
- Malik, Hafeez (ed.) *Iqbal : Poet-Philosopher of Pakistan* New York : Columbia University Press, 1971.
- Mehta, Ashoka. *The Great Rebellion*. Bombay : Hind Kitab Ltd., 1946.
- Modak, Cyril. *India's Destiny*. Allahabad : Kitab Mahal, 1944.
- Moizuddin, M. *The World of Iqbal*. Lahore : Iqbal Academy, 1982.
- Mookerji, Radha Kumud. *Akhand Bharat*. Bombay : Hind Kitab, 1945.
- Muhammad, Shan. *Sir Syed Ahmad Khan : A Political Biography*. Lahore : Universal Publishers, 1976.
- Mukerjee, H. *India Struggles For Freedom*. Bombay : Kutub, 1946.
- Mukerjee, Ram Krishna . *Rise and Fall of the East India Company*. Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1986.
- Munnawar, M. *Iqbal : Poet-Philosopher of Islam*. Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1985.
- *Dimensions of Iqbal*. Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1986.
- *Dimensions of Pakistan Movement*. Lahore : Institute of Islamic Culture, 1987.
- *Iqbal's Idea of Democracy*. Lahore : Iqbal Academy, n.d.
- Murray, Hugh. *The History of British India*, Vol. I. London: Oliver Boyd Edinburgh, 1843.
- Nanda, B.R. *Gokhale* London: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Narain, Iqbal (ed.) *State Politics in India*. New Delhi: Meenakshi Prakashan, 1976.

- Naravane, V.S. *Prem Chand- His Life and Works*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1980.
- Naim, C.M. (ed.) *Iqbal, Jinnah and Pakistan*. Delhi : Jinnah Publishing House, 1982.
- Nehru, Jawaharlal.. *Discovery of India*. London: Meridian Books Ltd., 1951
- Noman, Muhammad. *Muslim India*. Allahabad : Kitabistan, 1942.
- Nur, Syed. *Martial Law to Martial Law*. London : Westview Press, 1985.
- Page, David. *Prelude to Partition*. New York : Oxford University Press, 1982.
- Parkash, Indra. *Hindu Mahasabha : Its Contribution to Indian Politics*. New Delhi : Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, 1966.
- Prakasha, Sri. *Pakistan--Birth and Early Days*. Delhi : Meenakshi Prakashan, 1965.
- Parsad, Ishwari. *A History of Muslim Rule in India*. Allahabad: The Indian Press, 1958.
- , and Subedar, S.K. *Hindu Muslim Problems*. Allahabad : Chugh Publication, 1974.
- Pirzada, Syed Sharifuddin. *Foundations of Pakistan : 1924-27*. New Delhi : Metropolitan Book Company, 1982.
- Prasad, Beni. *The Hindu Muslim Question*. Allahabad : Kitabistan, 1941.
- Prasad, Rajendra. *India Divided*. Bombay: Hind Kitab Ltd., 1947.
- Quadir, Sheikh Abdul. *Iqbal - The Great Poet of Islam*. Lahore, 1975.
- Quadir, K.M. *Hasrat Mohani*. Delhi : Idara-i-Adabiat, 1985.
- Qureshi, Ishtiaq Hussain. *The Muslim Community of Indo- Pak Sub-Continent*. S.Gravenhag, Mouton and Co., 1962.
- Rai, Amrit. *Prem Chand - A Life*. New Delhi : PPH, 1982.
- Rai Dhanpat. *Life Story of Lala Lajpat Rai*. New Delhi : Metropolitan Book Co., 1976.
- Rai, Lala Lajpat. *Unhappy India*. Calcutta : Banna Publications, 1928.

- Rao. Raja and Singh, Iqbal (eds.) *Changing India*. London : George Allen and Unwin, 1939.
- Rao, Shiva. *India's Freedom Movement*. New Delhi : Orient Longman, 1972.
- Rao, V. Raghuvendra. *Indo-Muslim Culture*. Banglore : Vichara Sahitya, n.d.
- Rehman, S.V. *Iqbal Aur Socialism* (Urdu.) Delhi : Firdaus Publishers, 1979.
- Roy, M.N. *Historical Role of Islam*. Bombay : Renaissance Publications, 1943.
- Sadiq, Muhammad. *History of the Urdu Literature*. Delhi Oxford University Press, 1984.
- Saggi, P.D. (comp.) *Hindu and Muslim: A Historical Survey*. New Delhi, 1968.
- Saiyed, M.H. *Muhammad Ali Jinnah : A Political Biography*. Lahore : Sh. Mohd. Ashraf, 1953.
- Saiyidain, K.G. *Iqbal's Educational Philosophy*. Lahore : Arafat Publications, 1939.
- Salik, Abdul Majid, *Zikr-i-Iqbal* (Urdu). Lahore : Bazm-i-Iqbal, n.d.
- Sen, Sachin. *The Political Thought of Tagore*. Calcutta. Calcutta University, 1947.
- Sen, Surender Nath. *Eighteen-Fifty Seven*. Calcutta : Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1951.
- Shahid, Haneef (ed.) *Tributes to Iqbal*. Lahore : Sangmeel Publication, 1977.
- Shakir, Moin. *Khilafat to Partition*. Delhi : Ajanta Publications, 1985.
- Sharma, S.C. *Punjab : The Crucial Decade*. New Delhi : Nirmal Publishers, 1987.
- Sharma, S.R. *Mughal Empire in India*. 1934; rpt. Agra : Educational Publication, 1971.
- Shelvankar, K.S. *The Problem of India*. London : Penguin Book Ltd., 1940.

- Siddiqui, Attique. *Iqbal Jadugar-i-Hindi Nathrad* (Urdu). New Delhi : Maktaba Jamia, 1980.
- Siddiqui, M.H. (comp) *Iqbal : A Critical Study*. Lahore : n.p., 1986.
- Singh, Ganda. *Deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai and Sardar Ajit Singh*. Patiala Panjabi University, 1978.
- Singh, Iqbal, *The Ardent Pilgrim*. Bombay : Orient Longman, 1951.
- Singh, Karan. *Prophet of Indian Nationalism*. London : George Allen and Unswin, 1962.
- Singh, Khushwant, et al. *The Punjab Story*. New Delhi : Roli Books International, 1985.
- Singh, Teja. *Essays in Sikhism*. Lahore : Sikh University Press, 1944.
- Sinha, Sachchidananda. *Iqbal : The Poet and His Message*. Allahabad : Ram Narain Lal, 1947.
- Sondhi, G.C. (comp.) *To The Gates of Liberty*. Calcutta : G.C. Sindhi, 1948.
- Smith, Robert Aura. *Divided India*. New York, 1946.
- Smith, W.C. *Modern Islam in India*. New Delhi : Usha Publications, 1979.
- Talbot, Ian. *Punjab and the Raj*. Delhi : Manohar, 1988.
- Tavernier, Jean Baptiste. *Travels in India*. London : Oxford University Press, 1925.
- Thomson, Edward. *Enlist India for Freedom*. London : Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1940.
- Uganwi, Zafar (comp.) *Secrets of Iqbal*. Calcutta : Calcutta University, 1984.
- Usman, Mohammad. *Iqbal Ka Falsafa-i-Khudi* (Urdu). Delhi : Shaheen Book Centre, 1984.
- Vahid, S.A *Introduction to Iqbal*. Karachi : Pakistan Publication, n.d.
- *Studies in Iqbal*. Lahore : n.p., n.d.
- Wolport, Stanley. *Jinnah of Pakistan*. New York : Oxford University Press, 1984.

Yajnik, Indulal. *Gandhi As I Know Him*. Delhi : Danish Mahal, 1943.

Zakara, Rafiq. *Rise of Muslims in Indian Politics*. Bombay : Somaiya Publishers, 1970.

B) **Journals**

Iqbal (Quarterly) Urdu. Lahore, January 1988 to April 1989.

Iqbal (Quarterly) English. Lahore, December 1987.

Iqbaliat (Quarterly) Urdu. Lahore, January 1986 to March 1988.

Iqbal Review (Quarterly) English. Lahore, April 1983.

Jamia-Iqbal Ki Yad Mein (Urdu). March 1978.

Modern Review (Half Yearly). Calcutta, January to June 1950.

Naqoosh (Iqbal Number) Urdu. Lahore, December 1977.

C) **Newspapers**

Civil and Military Gazette

Hamdard

Hindustan Times

Leader

Muslim Outlook

Pioneer

Statesman

The Times of India

The Tribune

Index

- A History of Muslim Rule in India, 26
A History of Pakistan, 101
Abdul Majid Daryabadi, 82,98
Abdul Qadir, 35
Abid Hussain, 39
Akbar, 3,5,
Akbar, M.J., 102
Akbarabadi, 22
Akhand Bharat, 137
Al-Hilal, 78
Aligarh Institute Gazette, 58
Aligarh Movement, 32, 35
Ali Sardar Jafari, 60
Allahabad Address, 113, 119, 135
All India Muslim Conference, 125, 198
All India Muslim League 80, 125
All India National Liberation Movements, 65
All India Radio 135, 143, 152
Amir Khusrau (1253 - 1347), 4
Amrit Kunda, 4
Anand Math, 68
Anand, Mulk Raj, 195
Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, 33
Anjuman-i-Islamia, 36, 58, 76
Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Urdu, 67
Anjuman-i- Taraqqiui-i- Urdu, 52
Anwar Beg, 61
Arabian Imperialism, 118
Aristocracy in Islam, 176
Armughan-i-Hijaz, 53
Arya-Samaj, 65, 76
Asiatic Journal, 18
Asrar -i- Khudi, 38, 79
Assembly Election, 1937, 133
Atharave Veda, 6
Atiya Begum, 77
Aurangzeb, 2,6,9,
Avatar of Vishnu, 4
B.R. Ambedkar, 22
Bahadur Shah, 21
Bal-i-Jibril, 145, 153
Bande-Matram, 134
Bang-i-Dara, 101, 146
Bankim Chand Chatterjee, 68
Banned urdu literature, II
Barvai Ramayana, 5
Battle of Plassey-12
Beggary-185
Bhagwad Gita-37
Bharat Ratna-109
Bhusan-6
Bishop Heber-13
Bolshevism, 176
Bombay Chronical-177
British Empire in India-17
British India-(1772-1947-59, 103)
British Indian Army-69
British Indian Polity-150
British Rule in India-19, 23,27,33
Caxton Hall-37
Central Referance Library-III
Chintamani, -86

- Civil and Military Gazette-122
 Civil Disobedience Movement-85
 Clarion-30
 Colonel Sleeman-13
 Colonial domination-20
 Commons Committee-19
 Communal Award-127, 128
 Communal Problem-116
 Communal Propaganda-110
 Communal Tension-107
 Communal Violence-107
 Communist Manifesto-37
 Communist Party-167
 Communist Party of India-50
 Coveted Civil Service-15
 Crakkock, Sir Reginald-124
 Criticism of Plato-180
 Culture Calcutta University-51

 Dr. Nicholson-41
 Dacca Muslin-16, 17
 Dae-e-Islam-111
 Dar-ul-Harb-20, 23
 Dar-ul-Islam - 23
 Dasavatar-4
 Das Kapital of Karl Marx-37
 Dastan-i-Ghadar-21
 Dayanand-Anglo-Vedic college-67
 Democracy Islamic concept of-153
 Dharmatma-109
 Discovery of India-62, 140, 192
 Divide and Rule-97
 Divide-et-Impera- 18, 99
 Dream for a Separate state-120
 Dur-bin-15

 E.G. Brown-36
 El Dorado-1
 East India Company-10, 13, 16, 17
 Edward Thompson-121
 Executive council of Punjab-18

 Faqr-184, 185
 Farman-i-Khuda-173
 Fascism-186
 Fatalism-186
 Fatehpur Sikri-9
 Fatma-80
 Firoz Shah Tughlaq-4
 Founders of Pakistan-59

 Gandhiji-51, 82
 Gaurakshani Sabha-67
 Gautam Buddha-194
 Gayatri-I
 Ghalib-8, 21,
 Gita-I, 4,
 Gokul Chand Narang-56
 Golwalkar, Madhav Rao Sadashive-109
 Guru Granth Sahib-66
 Guru Nanak-4, 38, 66

 Hafiz Mahmood shirani-36
 Hakim Ajmal Khan-51
 Hamdard-II, 104
 Hasrat Mohani-58
 Himayat-i-Islam-65
 Hindi Sahitya Parishad-134
 Hindu and Muslim-25
 Hindu Mahasabha-1, 38, 83, 90, 104, 108, 109, 137, 197,
 Hinduism-196

- Hindu-Muslim antagonism-18
 Hindu Muslim question-25
 Hindu Muslim Riots-134, 134
 Hindu Political Body-134
 Hindu Raj-108
 Hindu revivalism-89
 Hindu Sangathan-110
 Hindu-Sikh-Muslim Peasantry-71
 Hindutva-83,113
 History of British India-24
 History of of the Freedom Movement in India-139,
 Home Political Files 1905-1938, II
 Home Political Report-190
 House of Commons-12
 Hadson shot-21
 Hunter-14,15,23,29
 Hunter committee-80
 Husain Shah of Bengal-4
 Hymmaun Kula Tilakmani-6
- Idea of Pakistan-107
 Ijtihad- 81,154.
 Ilahiyas-3
 Ilm-ul-Iqtisad-36
 Immigration Act - 78
 Independence Day-194
 Index-214
 India Divided-26, 140
 Indian Freedom Movement-I
 Indian Madical Service-19
 Indian Nation-34
 Indian National Congress-107
 Indian Nationalism-131
 Indo Muslim Culture-25
 Inshaullah Khan-73
- Institute of Islamic culture-III
 Internal Harmony-115
 Iqbal Academy Pakistan-III
 Iqbal and His Equals-197
 Iqbal Aur Socialism-60
 Iqbal Jinnah and Pakistan-142
 Iqbal on communism-166
 Iqbal on Democracy-144
 Iqbal on Nationalism-155
 Iqbal-poet patriot of India-59
 Iqbal's Philosophy-180
 Iqbal the Poet and his Message-26
 Iraq-184
 Islamia Art College-67
 Islamic Invasions-2
 Islamic power in India-2
 Islamic principle of solidarity-119
- Jahangir-9
 Jallianwala Bagh-80,82,103,125,196
 Jama Masjid-9,22,
 Jamia Millia University-51
 Javid Manzil-45
 Javid Nama-53
 Jaziya-5
 Jinnah-56, 87, 105, 141
 Junior Scholarship examination-15
 Justice Shah Din-78
- Kabir Teaching of-114
 Kalidasa-6
 Kamal Pasha-87
 Karl Marx-I,39
 Kashmiri Shawls-16
 Kasim Bazar-10

- Khalsa Advocate-67
 Khalsa College - 67
 Khalsa Samachar-67
 Khan, Ch. Zafarullah-96, 129
 Khilafat Movement-80, 104
 Khoja Muslims of India-3
 Khooni Darwaza-21
 Khwaja Moynuddin Chishti-4,25
 Krishna Chander-42

 Lahore Anjuman-i-Islamia-65
 Lala Lajpat Rai-76,93
 Lal Bal Pal-68
 Leader-II,54
 Lilavati-6
 Lord Bentick-16
 Lord Cornwallis-12
 Lucknow Pact-79

 Madan Mohan Malaviya-75
 Mahabharata-4,6
 Maharaja Jaswant Singh-7
 Maharana Partap Singh-5
 Mahatma Buddha-37
 Majid Salik-37
 Majmaul Behrin - 6
 Malechhas-109, 110
 Manchester of India-16
 Manchus Conquered China-2
 Maratha Movement-9
 Marx-176
 Matiram-6
 Maulana Abul Kalam Azad-78
 Maulvi Imam Baksh-21
 Maulvi Mir Hasan-32

 Mecca and Geneva-159
 Mian Mohd-33
 Mian Roshan Bayezed-4
 Michael Edward-19
 Military Gazette-II
 Mir Jafar-164
 Mission College in Lahore-32
 Modern India-100
 Modern Islam in India-193
 Mohd Ali-124
 Morely-Minto Reforms-196
 Morning Post-124
 Mughal Empire in India-1,25
 Mughal Rule-118
 Mulk Raj Anand-48
 Murray college in Sialkot-31
 Muslim Cavairymen-13
 Muslim communalist-110
 Muslim Federal states-118
 Muslims in medieval India-28
 Muslim League-121, 133
 Muslims of India-114
 Muslim Outlook-II
 Muslim Politics in India-57
 Muslim Weaver-Kabir-4
 Mussolini-149
 Muti-ul-Islam-9

 Nadir Shah-22
 Naidu, Mrs. Sarojini-162
 Naldamyanti
 Nala-i-yatim-33
 Nanak-194
 Narrow Nationalism-200
 National Antham-134

- National Archives Library-III
 Naujawan Bharat Sabha-197
 Nawab of Awadh-13
 Nawab Zulfiqar Ali-78
 Naya Shivala-70,157
 Nehru Jawaharlal-98,165,194, 122
 Nehru Motilal-93,194
 New Gardens of Mystery-147
 Nicholson, R.A., 154, 188, 192
 Nila Gumbad-48
 Nizam Palace at Murshidabad-12
 Non-Cooperation Movement-82
 Norman Conquered England-2
 North West Indian Muslims-117
 Nur Muhammed-31

 Open Competitive Examination-96

 Padmawati-6
 Paisa Akhbar of Lahore, 67
 Pakistan Movement, 133
 Pakistan Scheme, 133
 Panchtantra - 6
 Pandit Dayashankar Kaul, 8
 Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant, 55
 Pandit Jagannath,6
 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, 55
 Pandit Motilal Nehru, 49
 Pan Islamist, 53, 131
 Pankha Festival-7
 Parliamentary Committee-17
 Partap-67
 Partition of Bengal, 97
 Partition of the Country, 133
 Pioneer-54, 61

 Pir Sadruddin-3
 Plato-I
 Poet of the East-59,99
 Poet Patriot of India-101
 Political Thought of Iqbal-I
 Prasad, Dr. Rajendra-120
 Premchand-40
 Presidential Address-139
 Provincial Muslim League-75
 Public Service Commission-132
 Punjab Census Report-II, 102, 159, 189
 Punjab Hindu Mahasabha-92
 Punjab Khilafat Committee-80
 Punjab Legislative Council-II, 92, 93, 106, 175
 Punjab Muslim Students Federation-132
 Punjab Provincial League-76, 113
 Punjab Swadeshi Association-74

 RSS Camp-110
 Rabindra Nath Tagore-54, 162, 163
 Rafiq-i-Hind of Lahore-67
 Raghu Nath-7
 Rahim-5
 Rai Lala Lajpat-109, 110
 Raja Jai Singh-7
 Raja Mansing-6
 Rakshabandhan Ceremony-7
 Ralph Fitch-9
 Rama-194, 4
 Ramayana-6
 Ramcharitmanas-5
 Ram Kaur-7
 Ram Naomi-4
 Rangila Rasool-85,138
 Rashtriya Swyam Sevak Sangh-83

- Red Fort-9
 Refaat Ali Khan-28
 Religion of Kafir-46
 Religion of Mulla-46
 Republic Day-194
 Revolt of 1857-II, 32
 Rice-Carpets-16
 Riot of Multan-83
 Rohil Kund-13
 Roman Catholic Church-95
 Roots of Communal Politics-138
 Roshniya sect-4
 Roy, M.N.-109
 Roznama-e-Khilafat-128
 Rulers of India-57
 Rumuz-e-Bekhudi-73
 Russian Revolution-39, 169, 172

 S.M.H. Burney-59
 Sangthan Movement-84
 Sapru, Sir Tej Bahadur-55, 195
 Sarojini Naidu-41, 55
 Satya Pir-4
 Satya pir cults-3
 Scotch Mission College-31
 Second Round Table Conference-122, 123
 Select Bibliography-202
 Self(ego) Iqbal's concept-178
 Separation from India-116
 Sepoy Mutiny-20
 Shah Aalam-7
 Shakespear - 7
 Shariatullah of Bahadurpur-23
 Shaukat Ali Maulana-126, 127
 Shaysta Khan-6
 Sheikh Abdul Qadir-33
 Sher Shah-3
 Shibli Nomani-33
 Shuddhi and Sangthan-97, 108
 Shuddhi Movement-84
 Simon Commission-90, 197
 Simon Report-92
 Singhasan Battisi-6
 Sir Agha Khan-89
 Siraj-ud-Daula-11
 Sir John Malcolm-17
 Sir Syed Ahmad Khan-23, 25, 32, 36, 58, 68, 81
 Sir Thomas Roe-9
 Sir William Howard Rusell-20
 Socialist State Russia-200
 Spheres of Exploitation-120
 Spheres of Influence-120
 Split of Congress-157
 Star of India-130
 Statesman-II, 62, 63
 Subedar Mir Kasim of Bengal-16
 Subhash Chandra Bose-55
 Swadeshi-74
 Swadeshi Movement-72, 73, 74
 Swajati-72
 Swaraj-72, 74, 83
 Swarajya-97, 108
 Syed Ahmad Rai Bareilvi-23

 T.W. Arnold-36
 Tabligh-83
 Tabligh and Tanzim-108
 Taj Mahal-9
 Talu-e-Islam-158
 Tanzim-83*

- Tarana-i-Hindi-51, 156
 Tarana-i-Milli-38, 77
 Tasvir-i-Dard-70
 The Ages-59
 The British Impact on India-27
 The Central Secretariat Library-III
 The Gates of Liberty-24
 The Hindustan Times-II, 54, 62, 63
 The Jamia Millia Islamia Library-III
 The Making of Pakistan-138
 The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pak Subcontinent-27
 The Muslim Dilemma in India-27
 The Nehru Memorial Museum and Library-III
 The Politics of Iqbal-58
 The Statesman-54
 The Times of India-II, 54, 117
 The Tribune-II, 35, 54, 62, 63
 Third Round Table Conference-53
 Todermal-6
 Travels in India-26
 Trevelyan-16
 Tripoli -1911, 77
 Trivedi-6
 Tzarism-167

 Ulemas-80
 United India-120
 Unity Conference on 20 March 1927-87,
 Unparh Falsafi-31
 V. Raghavendra Rao-45
 Vaishnava-5
 Vasco de Gama-1
 Voice of the East-30, 54
 Vrinda-6

 W.W. Hunter-33
 Watniyat-77
 Western Democracy-153
 William Archbold-112
 William Bentick-II

 Young Husband, Sir Francis-148, 151

 Zahir Dehlvi-21
 Zain-ul-Abidin-5
 Zamindar-67
 Zauq-8
 Zarb-i-Kalim-53, 132
 Zemorin of Calicut-1
 Zindagi Shakhsiat Aur Shairi-61

