

# IQBAL AND THE CONCEPT OF PAKISTAN

## PERSPECTIVES AND RESPONSES

Rashida Malik

Donated by: Mrs. Sunbal Zabair

Remarks: 11-2-14

IQBAL ACADEMY PAKISTAN

IQBAL AND THE CONCEPT OF  
PERSPECTIVES AND RESPONSES  
Iqbal Academy Brochure Series No. - 9  
Muhammad Suheyl Umar, Editor

ISBN 969-416-310-2

© 2002

Iqbal Academy Pakistan  
6<sup>th</sup> Floor, Aiwan-i-Iqbal Complex,  
Off Egerton Road, Lahore.  
Tel:[+ 92-42] 6314-510  
Fax:[+ 92-42] 631-4496  
Email: iqbalacd@lhr.comsats.net.pk  
Website: www.allamaiqbal.com

Rashida Malik

Publisher: : Director,  
Iqbal Academy Pakistan  
Author : Rashida Malik  
1<sup>st</sup> Edition : 2002  
Quantity : 1000  
Price : Rs. 40  
US\$ 2  
Printed at : Print Expert, Lahore.

Sales Office: 116 McLeod Road Lahore. Ph. 7357214

## CONTENTS

- ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS 1
- INTRODUCTION 3
- EVOLUTION OF THE IDEOLOGY OF A SEPARATE  
MUSLIM NATIONALISM 7
- UNIVERSAL ACCLAMATION OF IQBAL AS  
THE SPIRITUAL FATHER OF PAKISTAN 19
- THE NEW CONTROVERSY 25
- RAHMAT ALI'S PAK. PLAN 41
- CONCLUSION 45
- BIBLIOGRAPHY 47

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to record my gratitude to my teachers for their tuition and research assistance. Prof. Dr. Hyder Siadhi deserves a special mention in this regard.

At the National Institute of Pakistan Studies, I have benefited exchanging views with a number of fellow students, Aamir and Iqbal in particular. I am grateful to them for providing me an opportunity to share and refine my ideas. Thanks are also due to Aslam, Hyas and Mir Afsal of NIPS for their cooperation.

It is with a heavy heart that I acknowledge and thank my great Fatchi Muzammil Pasha who guided me all along with meticulous care of a spiritual father. Muhammad Suhayl Umar, former Iqbal Academy also offered encouragement to which I am deeply indebted.

I do not know how to thank my mother who is a constant and strong source of my spiritual strength as well as material well-

Rashida Malik

## INTRODUCTION

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to record my gratitude to my teachers for their cooperation and research assistance. Prof. Dr. Hyder Sindhi deserves a special mention in this regard.

At the National Institute of Pakistan Studies, I have benefited from exchanging views with a number of fellow students, Asrar and Azhar in particular. I am grateful to them for providing me an opportunity to share and refine my ideas. Thanks are also due to Latif, Aslam, Ilyas and Mir Afzal of NIPS for their cooperation.

It is with a deep gratitude that I want to acknowledge and thank Professor Fateh Muhammad Malik, who guided me all along with the affectionate care of a spiritual father. Muhammad Suheyl Umar, Director Iqbal Academy also offered encouragement to which I am greatly indebted.

I do not know how to thank my mother who is a constant and abiding source of my spiritual strength as well as material well-being.

**Rashida Malik**

## INTRODUCTION

Allama Muhammad Iqbal, the poet philosopher of Pakistan is universally acknowledged as the spiritual father of Pakistan. The concept of Pakistan is usually attributed to his Allahabad address of 1930, in which he has articulated and unfolded the concept of a separate Muslim nationalism as opposed to the concept of a composite Indian nationalism. But during the last few years a new controversy has sprung up in our intellectual circles regarding the origin of the concept of Pakistan. K.K. Aziz, the well-known historian has challenged this view in his book "A History of the Idea of Pakistan". Aziz writes that:

There is no doubt that Iqbal is a public hero of exceptional standing, and receives in adoration which is denied to other historical figures. There is always an element of dogmatism and irrationally in its hero worship. The great man is made out to be the greatest. Minor incidents of his life are exaggerated into legends. A myth is created and put into the national pantheon.<sup>1</sup>

K. K. Aziz has attempted to shatter this myth and declared that Iqbal has nothing to do with the concept of Pakistan. His conclusions were accepted blindfolded by Saad R. Khairi, who writes in his book entitled "Jinnah reinterpreted" that:

The myth started two years after the death of Iqbal's death, when the Pakistan resolution was passed in 1940..... After Pakistan was established, the myth was given official approval by the Information department of the Government. The man in charge of this department was an ICS officer, who thought that it would give an aura of romance to the Pakistan Movement if it was projected as having had its origin in the dream of a poet. The dream of a poet realized by a statesman.<sup>2</sup>

This controversy is gaining a momentum. During the span of one year i.e. 1997, two Urdu books have been published to challenge Iqbal as the originator of the idea of Pakistan. Ch. Mohd Ashrafs books (who gave the idea of Pakistan? Some bitter truths) and Nisar Ahmed Kasanas books (who is the real creator of Pakistan?) trace the origin of the concept of Pakistan to Ch. Rahmat

Ali, who came to lime-light as a young devotee of Iqbal in 1933. Earlier in 1995 appeared a book entitled (Chaudhry Rahmat Ali and the Pakistan Movement) by Abdul Hamid.

The authors of all the three Urdu publications have attempted to project Chaudhry Rahmat Ali as the real originator of the idea of Pakistan at the popular level. Following the footprints of K.K. Aziz, they claim that the concept of Pakistan has wrongly been attributed to Allama Iqbal. None of them has a claim on originality or scholarship. They are neither historians, nor political scientists, nor even professional writers. All the three books are the first and the lone publications of the writers. There is another striking similarity in these books i.e. all the three writers started their professional careers as clerks in government or semi-government organisations and rose to prominent positions through hard work and perseverance in legal profession or administrative set-up of non-academic autonomous bodies.

The nature and scope of all the three books is Journalistic. They draw heavily on the writings of K.K. Aziz. The following statement made by Abdul Hamid in the preface of his book is true in respect of all the three books:

(Dr. K.K. Aziz is the only historian who has projected the services of Chaudhry Rahmat Ali in the correct perspective. The younger generation is indebted to him. He inspired me to write something about Chaudhry Rahmat Ali and derived the material from his book: Rehmat Ali: A biography).

Like, K.K. Aziz, all the above-mentioned books take into consideration only one writing of Iqbal i.e., his Allahabad Address of 1930.

I have sought to clear the confusion by tracing the origin and development of the concept of Pakistan in Iqbal's poetic as well as prose writings and philosophic discourses from the year 1907 to 1938, the year in which he breathed his last in chapter two.

Chapter three deals with the universally acclaimed image of Iqbal as the spiritual father of Pakistan in modern historiography. In this chapter I have drawn on the writings of some of the most eminent Pakistani, European, American and Russian historians, political scientists and orientalists.

In chapter four I have tried to explore the fallacy relating to the concept of Pakistan, created by K.K. Aziz in his books entitled "Rahmat Ali: A Biography" and "Complete Works of Rahmat Ali". By a critical study and an analytical approach I have presented a

comparative study of the writings of Iqbal and Rahmat Ali in totality. Thus I have been able to prove that the assertions of K.K. Aziz are based on misreading of Iqbal's writings on the question of a separate Muslim nationhood in India.

Chapter five presents Rahmat Ali's concept of Pakistan as reflected in his writings from 1940 onwards.

Chapter six contains the conclusion of my study. It highlights the conflicting nature of the two concepts of Pakistan and maintains that the movement for Pakistan was inspired by Iqbal's concept of Pakistan and Allama Iqbal is rightly acknowledged as the spiritual father of Pakistan.

\*\*\*

#### REFERENCES

1. Aziz, K.K., *A History of the Idea of Pakistan*, Lahore, 1987, p. 185.
2. Khairi, Saad, R., *Jinnah Reinterpreted*, Karachi, 1995, p. 335.
3. Abdul Hameed, *Chaudhry Rahmat Ali Aaur Tehrik-i-Pakistan* (Urdu) Lahore, 1995, p. 18.

## EVOLUTION OF THE IDEOLOGY OF A SEPARATE MUSLIM NATIONALISM

Allama Muhammad Iqbal unfolded his concept of a separate Muslim nationalism in India in his presidential address delivered at the annual session of the All-India Muslim League at Allahabad on the 29th December, 1930. This concept was evolved and crystallised during a long period of time spread over quarter of a century. Iqbal himself has confessed in his interview with the Bombay Chronicle (17 September – 31 December 1931) that:

There is no doubt that my ideas about nationalism have undergone a definite change. In my college days I was a zealous Nationalist that I am not now. The change is due to a mature thinking. It is unfortunate that my later writings are all in Persian which is little understood in this country.<sup>1</sup>

Iqbal's Urdu poetry before 1906 and specially poems such as *Nayā Shivala* (The New Temple) and *Tarana-e-Hindi* (The Indian Anthem) bear ample testimony to the fact that during his student days Iqbal was an adherent of the concept of a composite Indian Nationalism. The gradual transformation of Iqbal's political beliefs started during his stay in Europe as a student of philosophy. It was particularly due to Iqbal's insight into the nature of the conflict and strife between the European nation states, which he could foresee, was leading Europe to world wars, and partially due to the developments within India, such as the Hindu fundamentalist agitation against the purely administrative partition of Bengal in 1906. His Urdu poem "Abdul Qadir Ke Nam" (To Abdul Qadir) signifies his renunciation of the concept of Indian nationalism and his adoption of a new concept of *Millat* i.e Muslim unity:

Arise! see that a new darkness has engulfed the Eastern horizon,  
Let us spread light with the flames of our voice  
Look! In the holy land, the lovers way of life has been renounced.  
Let us inspire other Qais (the lover) with new dreams.

A ghazal written in the same year (1907) gives utterance to the same sentiments:

The time of unveiling has come, The Beloved will be seen by all,  
that secret which was veiled by silence shall become manifest.  
That cycle has gone of cupbearer when they drank in hiding.  
The whole world shall become a tavern, and all shall drink.  
Those who wandered insane shall return to dwell in cities,  
their feet shall be naked as before, but those meadows shall be new.  
The lion which came out of the wilderness and upset the Empire of  
Rome,  
I hear from angels that he shall awaken once again.  
Even the frail petal of a rose will be made into a boat,  
but it will safely cross the angry seas.  
I shall lead my weary caravan in the darkness of the night,  
my sighs shall emit sparks and my breath shall create flames.

One of the main motivating passions in his poetry from 1908 onward is to establish and strengthen a separate and distinct Muslim identity. Now he ventures upon composing *Tarana-e-Milli* (the Anthem of the Islamic Community):

China and Arabia are ours, India is ours.  
We are Muslims, the whole world is ours.  
Gods unity is held in trust in our breasts.  
It is not easy to erase our name and sign.  
Among the idol temples of the world the first is the house of God.  
We are its keepers, it is our keeper.  
Brought up in the shadow of the sword, we have reached maturity;  
the scimitar of the crescent moon is the emblem of our community.  
In the valleys of the West our call to prayer resounded  
our onward flow was never stemmed by anyone.  
We, O heaven, are not to be suppressed by falsehood!  
A hundred times you have tested us.  
Oh garden of Andalusia! Do you remember those days,  
when our nest was in your branches?  
O waves of Tigris! You also recognize us.  
Your river still relates our story.  
O land of purity! We fell and died for your honour.  
Our blood still courses through your veins.  
The Lord of Hijaz is the leader of our community.  
From this name comes the peace of our soul.  
Iqbal's songs are like the bell of the caravan.  
Once more our caravan measures the road.

(Translation : D.J. Mathews)

In the next poem entitled "*Wataniat*" (Territorial Nationalism) Iqbal rejects the prevalent concept of territorial nationalism. He

identifies this concept as a modern form of idolatry and hence incompatible with Islam:

This era has a different cup, different wine and another Jamshed.  
The Sāqi has adopted new ways to charm the drinkers.  
Western civilisation has fashioned new idols and the Muslim has created  
a new Harem (sanctuary) where these new idols are being worshipped.  
Country is the supreme among all the contemporary idols.  
Its cloak is the shroud of Religion.  
This idol country of as fashioned by the contemporary civilisation,  
destroys the home of the prophet (Islam).  
Your arm obtains strength from the power of Tauheed (monotheism).  
Islam is your home, and you are the follower of the Prophet.  
Show to the world a glimpse of the old days? O followers of Mustafa  
(the chosen one i.e the Prophet of Islam)! Crush this idol in the dust.  
If one were bound with a place, the result will be utter destruction.  
You should live like a fish in the ocean independent of country.  
In the parlance of politics "country" means some thing different.  
And according to the saying of the Prophet country is something else.  
The nations of the world are at odds with each other  
because of the concept of territorial nationalism.  
The aim of commerce has become the conquest of  
other nations because of territorial nationalism.  
Because of this concept politics has divorced itself from truth and the  
destruction of the house of the poor is justified by the idea of  
territorial superiority. God's creation is divided into nations by  
territorial nationalism. The roots of Islamic nationality is destroyed  
by it

This forceful and moving poem presents Iqbal's main arguments against the modern western concept of territorial, racial or linguistic nationalism as well as arguments in favour of a separate Muslim nationalism which springs from the spiritual homogeneity and a common world-view. In his *Stray Reflections* which he penned down in the year 1910, Iqbal has observed:

Islam appeared as a protest against idolatry. And what is patriotism but a subtle form of idolatry. A deification of a material object. Islam could not tolerate idolatry in any form. It is our eternal mission to protest against idolatry in all its forms. What was to be demolished by Islam could not be made the very principle of its structure as a political community. The fact that the Prophet prospered and died in a place not his birthplace is perhaps a mystic hint to the same effect.<sup>2</sup>

Exploring the nature of Muslim Solidarity he wrote in the same notebook, in the same year:

Our solidarity as a community rests on the religious principle. The moment this hold is loosened we are nowhere. Probably the fate of the Jews will befall us. But our educationists are still groping in the dark: they are perhaps too much dazzled to realise the difference between Islamism which constructs nationality out of a purely abstract idea, i.e. religion and "Westernise", the very life blood of whose concept of nationality is a concrete thing, i.e. country.<sup>3</sup>

This difference between Islamism and westernism on the question of nationality is further elaborated by Iqbal in his detailed analytical essay entitled "Political Thought in Islam", which appeared in *Hindustan Review* (Vols. XXXII and XXIII, 1910-1911). Iqbal asserted:

The Law of Islam does not recognise the apparently natural difference of race, nor the historical differences of nationality. The political ideal of Islam consists in the creation of a people born of a free fusion of all races and nationalities. Nationality, with Islam, is not the highest limit of political development. For the general principles of the law of Islam rests on human nature, not on the peculiarities of a particular people. The inner cohesion of such a nation would consist not in ethnic or geographic unity, nor in the unity of language or social tradition, but in the unity of the religious and political ideal. Or, in the psychological fact of "like-mindedness". The membership of this nation, consequently, would not be determined by birth, marriage, domicile or naturalisation. It would be determined by a public declaration of "like mindedness", and would terminate when the individual has ceased to be like minded with others. The ideal territory for such a nation would be the whole earth. The Arabs, like the Greeks and the Romans endeavoured to create such a nation or the world-state by conquest, but failed to actualise their ideal, the realisation of this ideal, however, is not impossible. For the ideal nation does exist in germ.<sup>4</sup>

Once the ideal became crystallised, he started transmitting it through the powerful medium of his Urdu and Persian poetry. In his poem "Jawab-i-Shikwah" (Answer to the complaint), Allah commanded to the faithful to realise that:

Religion is the basis of nationalism.

If the stars are not bound to each other,  
there is no star-lit sky.

Arise! emancipate the wretched of the earth by the power of Ishq  
and enlighten the world with the name of Muhammad.

Be you faithful to Muhammad, and we yield ourself to you;  
not this world alone – the Tablet and the pen your prize shall be.

In this short poem entitled "Mazhab" (Religion) he addressed his fellow Muslims on the subject of nationalism in a moving melodious tone:

Do not compare your nation with the nations of the west  
because the nation of the Prophet of Islam is of a different mould.  
Western nationalism is based on territory or race  
but your nationalism gets its strength from the power of religion.  
With the loosening of the religious  
hold your unity as a distinct nation will be lost.

In his Persian Masnavies entitled: *Asrar-i-Khudi* (Secrets of the Self) and *Rumooz-i-Bekhuudi* (Mysteries of selflessness), first published in 1915, Iqbal rejected the political creed of territorial nationalism by citing examples from the teaching and practice of the Holy Prophet:

Our Master, migrating from his fatherland,  
Resolved the knot of Muslim nationhood,  
His wisdom founded one community -  
The world its parish.  
Those who adopted country as  
the basis of nationalism have shattered  
the fabric of human fraternity.  
By making country an object of veneration  
they have divided human unity into tribes.  
Your nation is above the considerations of colour and blood;  
the price of one black man is a hundred red men.  
Reject blood relationship as a principle of human superiority  
and follow the way of Salman Farasi who had exclaimed:  
I am the son of Islam. Become a destroyer of Idol like Abraham.  
If racial pride is the basis of nationalism  
then forget about the concept of human brotherhood.  
I do not belong to Rome and Arabia,  
nor I take pride in the concept of racial superiority.  
Follow the way of your Prophet and get united.  
Love of the Prophet is the source of your unity.  
Make this love as the cementing force of your nationhood.

It was for his religious ideals that the Prophet of Islam migrated from the land of his birth and adopted Madina as his permanent abode. The Muslims of India must follow this example from the life of Prophet Muhammad by their refusal to sacrifice their religious identity on the alter of the territorial nationalism i.e. Composite Indian nationalism. In his historic presidential address, delivered at the annual session of the All-India Muslim League at Allahabad on the 29<sup>th</sup> December, 1930 he rejected the Western concept of a

composite Indian nationalism in a unapologetic manner. He argued with the full emphasis on his command:

The Religious ideal of Islam is organically related to the social order which it has created. The rejection of the 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. —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 appears to me the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India —I therefore demand the formation of a consolidated Muslim State in the best interest of India and Islam.<sup>5</sup>

Assuring full cooperation to other nations of the Indian-subcontinent, Iqbal observed:

And as far as I have been able to read the Muslim mind, I have no hesitation in declaring that if the principle that Indian Muslim is entitled to full and free development on the lines of his own culture and tradition in his own Indian homelands is recognised as the basis of a permanent communal settlement, he will be ready to stake his all for the freedom of India— the idea need not alarm the Hindus or the British. The life of Islam as a cultural force in this country very largely depends on its centralisation in a specified territory.<sup>6</sup>

This total rejection of the concept of composite Indian nationalism and the most unambiguous articulation of the concept of a separate Muslim nationalism annoyed the Hindus as well as the British. The British Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald "was highly displeased with the views expressed by Iqbal."<sup>7</sup> A despatch from London, published in the *Leader*, Allahabad, stated that "the British as well as Indian circles in the Round Table Conference expressed resentment against what is called an assault made by Iqbal on the idea of an all-India Constitution being worked out there."<sup>8</sup> The Muslim leadership of the day did not even dare to discuss the philosophical foundations of the concept of a separate Muslim nationhood in India. But Iqbal was emphatic in the defence of his line of thinking. Addressing the National League of London on December 10, 1932, he asserted:

The point of Muslims of India is that, as a people representing a distinct historical tradition and homogeneity, which is not possessed by any other community in India, as such people they want to live, and develop on their own cultural lines. This is the principle that underlies their demands.

On account of these demands our countrymen say we are Pan-Islamic and not patriotic enough and they also say that we are communalistic. Now with regard to communalism and Pan-Islamism I want to say a few words to you. If a man belongs to a cultural community, he feels that it is his duty to protect that culture. In that case I appeal to you whether you will look upon such a man as unpatriotic. I think it is the duty of every Briton to protect his country if his country is in danger. In the same way it is the duty of every Musalman to protect his culture, his Faith, if he finds that things due to him as not safeguarded. After all it is a mans faith, his culture, his tradition, which are worth living for and dying for.

Islam does not recognise the differences of race, of caste or even sex. It is above time and above space, and it is in this sense that mankind are accepted as brothers.

We are 80,000,000 in India and we want to protect our own culture and our own historical tradition.<sup>9</sup>

When Muhammad Ali Jinnah returned from London and initiated the task of the reorganisation of All-India Muslim League, Iqbal extended his total support to Jinnah and worked as his loyal soldier. This was the time of the closest political cooperation between these two greatest leaders of Muslim India. Referring to Pundit Jawaharlal Nehrus address to the All-India National Convention, Iqbal suggested to Jinnah that:

You should immediately hold an All-India Muslim Convention in Delhi to which you should invite members of the new Provincial Assemblies as well as their prominent Muslim leaders. To this convention you must restate as clearly and as strongly as possible the political objective of the Indian Muslims as a distinct political unit in the country. It is absolutely necessary to tell the world both inside and outside India that the economic problem is not the only problem in the country. From the Muslim point of view the cultural problem is of much greater consequence to most Indian Muslims. At any rate it is not less important than the economic problem. If you could hold this convention, it would test the credentials of those Muslims Legislators who have formed parties contrary to the aims and aspirations of Indian Muslims. It would further make it clear to the Hindus that no political device, however subtle, can make the Indian Muslim lose sight of his cultural entity.<sup>10</sup>

In another letter to Jinnah dated 28th May, 1937, Iqbal dwelt at length on the question of Muslim poverty with special reference to Pundit Nehrus atheistic socialism. In view of the importance of the letter, I am tempted to give a long extract, which is as follows:

The League will have to finally decide whether it will remain a body representing the upper classes of Indian Muslims or Muslim masses

who have so far, with good reason, taken no interest in it. Personally I believe that a political organisation which gives no promise of improving the lot of the average Muslim cannot attract our masses. Under the new constitution (of 1935) the higher posts go to the upper classes; the smaller ones to the friends or relatives of the ministers. In other matters too our political institutions have never thought of improving the lot of Muslims generally. The problem of bread is becoming more and more acute. The Muslim has begun to feel that he has been going down and down during the last 200 years. Ordinarily he believes that his poverty is due to Hindu money-lending or capitalism. The perception that it is equally due to foreign rule has not yet fully come to him. But it is bound to come. The atheistic socialism of Jawaharlal is not likely to receive much response from the Muslims. The question therefore is ; how is it possible to solve the problem of Muslim poverty? And the whole future of the League depends on the Leagues activity to solve this question. If the League can give no such promises I am sure the Muslim masses will remain indifferent to it as before. Happily there is a solution in the enforcement of the Law of Islam and its future development in the light of modern ideas. After a long and careful study of Islamic Law I have come to the conclusion that if this system of Law is properly understood and applied, at least the right to subsistence is secured to very body. But the enforcement and development of the Shariat of Islam is impossible in this country without a free Muslim state or states. This has been my honest conviction for many years and I still believe this to be the only way to solve the problem of bread for Muslims as well as a peaceful India. If such a thing is impossible in India the only other alternative is a civil war which as a matter of fact has been going on for sometime in the shape of Hindu-Muslim riots. I fear that in certain parts of the country, e.g. N.W. India, Palestine may be repeated. Also the insertion of Jawaharlals socialism into the body politic of Hinduism is likely to cause much bloodshed among the Hindus themselves. The issue between social democracy and Brahmanism is not dissimilar to the one between Brahmnism and Budhism. Whether the fate of socialism will be the same as the fate of Budhism in India I cannot say. But it is clear to my mind that if Hinduism accepts social democracy it must necessarily cease to be Hinduism. For Islam the acceptance of social democracy in some suitable form and consistent with the legal principles of Islam is not a revolution but a return to the original purity of Islam. The modern problems therefore are far easier to solve for the Muslims than for the Hindus. But as I have said above in order to make it possible for Muslim India to solve these problems it is necessary to redistribute the country and to provide one or more Muslim states with absolute majorities. Dont you think that the time for such a demand

has already arrived? Perhaps, this is the best reply you can give to the atheistic socialism of Jawaharlal Nehru.<sup>11</sup>

It is obvious from the content as well as the rationale of the letter that Iqbal attempted to persuade Jinnah to adopt the creation of separate and sovereign Muslim homelands as the political programme of the Muslim League, which Jinnah did finally adopt in less than three years.

Iqbal's letters to Jinnah had become the only medium of communication between the two leaders because of the ill health of Iqbal. Iqbal was an acute and sensitive observer of the rapid and dramatic pace of events on the political horizon of Muslim India. He had pinned all his hopes on Jinnah. Hence the constant flow of his letters— marked "Private and confidential"— to Jinnah from his deathbed.

It was again from his death bed that Iqbal responded to the statement of Maulana Hussain Ahmed published in the daily newspaper— *Ehsan* on the 9<sup>th</sup> of March 1938. The Maulana had advised the Muslims to accept the creed of Indian nationalism because "nations are formed by lands". Iqbal felt extremely grieved to read the statement made by the leading light of the Ulama. His poetic response was immediate and spontaneous:

*The Ajam has not yet mastered the secrets of the faith; otherwise we would*

*not have seen the strange spectacle of Deoband producing a Hussayn Ahmed.*

*He sermonised from the top of the pulpit that it is the territory that makes a nation;*

*How ignorant he is of the standpoint of Muhammad of Arabia!*

*You must reach out to Muhammad the chosen one, for he personifies Islam;*

*If you do not reach out to him, you follow the Father of the Flame*  
(*Abu Lahab*).

The publication of this short, illuminating poem created an unprecedented commotion in the length and breadth of Muslim India and the Maulana had to defend himself in public rallies. This generated a controversy on the question of Islam and nationalism in the context of Muslim demand for the creation of separate Muslim homelands. It was the destiny of Iqbal to pronounce the final verdict on this religio-political issue. His last political statement was published just a few days before he breathed his last. During the course of this statement he invited the religious devines of Muslim India to follow the footprints of the holy Prophet:

Those who accepted Muhammad's leadership, became part and parcel of the Muslim community, irrespective of the fact whether they belonged to his own nation or other nations. Formerly they had been slaves of land and race, but land and race now became their slaves:

(Translation: Any one, who attached himself to his "country" or "pedigree", could not understand the real spirit of Islam. If a nation could exist only by the love for one's country, Muhammad would not have invited "Bu-Lahab" to the faith of Islam).

It was a very easy course for Muhammad to tell Abu Lahab, Abu Jahl, or the unbelievers of Mecca that they could stick to their idol-worship while he himself would hold fast to the worship of God and that they could together form an Arabian unity by virtue of the factors of race and land common to them both. God forbid, but if he had adopted this course, it would certainly have done him credit as a patriot but not as the last Prophet. The ultimate purpose of the Prophetic mission of Muhammad is to create a form of society, the constitution of which the Prophet received from God. The object is to purify the nations of the world of the abuses which go by the name of time, place, land, nation, race, genealogy, country, etc., although the differences of nations, tribes, colours and languages are at the same time acknowledged. It is thus to bestow upon man the spiritual idea which at every moment of his life remains in constant contact with eternity. This is where Muhammad stands and this is the ideal of the Muslim community.

The new ideas concerning the destiny of Muslim India, in particular, and Muslim world in general, which had stirred the mind of young Iqbal, way back in the year 1907 continued to grow over the years and finally culminated into a clear cut ideology in 1938.

Notwithstanding the advocacy of Indian nationalism on the basis of Islam by the leading Ulema, the overwhelming majority of the Indian Muslims adopted the path of a separate Muslim nationalism as the only way leading to their salvation. Less than two years after the death of Iqbal, All India Muslim League resolved to struggle for the creation of separate Muslim homelands on the ideological foundations laid down by their poet-philosopher, Allama Muhammad Iqbal.

\*\*\*

#### REFERENCES

1. Dar, B. A (ed.) *Letters and Writings of Iqbal*, pp. 58, 59, Karachi 1967.
2. Iqbal, Javed (ed.) *Stray Reflections*, p. 41, Lahore, 1961.
3. Iqbal, Javed (ed.) *Stray Reflections*, p. 44, Lahore, 1961.

4. Vahid, Syed Abdul, (ed.), *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, pp. 59, 60, Lahore, 1964.
5. Ibid., pp. 171, 173.
6. Ibid., pp. 169, 171.
7. *Indian Daily Mail*, Bombay, December 31, 1930.
8. Letter, dated January 4, 1931. Cited by Khurshid, Abdussalam, *History of the Idea of Pakistan*, Islamabad, 76.
9. Speech delivered on Dec. 15, 1932 before National League London, included in Dar, B.A, *Letters and Writings of Iqbal*, Lahore, 1967.
10. Jinnah, M. A, *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah*, Lahore, 1941, pp. 13, 14, - Letter dated 2<sup>nd</sup> March, 1937.
11. Ibid, pp. 16-20. Letter dated May, 1937.

## UNIVERSAL ACCLAMATION OF IQBAL AS THE SPIRITUAL FATHER OF PAKISTAN

It was none other than the Quaid himself who was the first to acknowledge Allama Muhammad Iqbal as the spiritual father of Pakistan. In his foreword to "Letters to Jinnah" he has stated:<sup>1</sup>

The letters which form part of this booklet were written to me by the sage, philosopher and national poet of Islam, the late Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, during the period May 1936 to November 1937, a few months before his death. This period synchronises with a very eventful period in the history of Muslim India. —It was a great achievement for Muslim League that its lead came to be acknowledged by both the majority and minority provinces. Sir Muhammad Iqbal played a very conspicuous part, thought at the time not revealed to public, in learning about this consummations —I think these letters are of very great historical importance, particularly those which explain his views in clear and unambiguous terms on the political future of Muslim India. His views were substantially in consonance with my own and had family led me to the same conclusions as a result of careful examination and study of the constitutional problems facing India, and found expression in due course in the united will of Muslim India as adumbrated in the Lahore resolution of the All-India Muslim League, popularly known as the "Pakistan Resolution" passed on 23<sup>rd</sup> March, 1940.

Earlier in his statement on the death of Allama Iqbal, the Quaid-i-Azam had described him as his "friend, philosopher and guide". In his statement issued on April 21, 1938, the Quaid said that Iqbal stood like a rock with him during the darkest periods of Muslim League. He did not waver even for a moment during the times of trial and turbulence. The Quaid described his death as an irreparable loss to Muslim India.<sup>2</sup> In his various lectures on different functions organised on the occasion of Iqbal's death anniversary as well as on the occasions of his visits to the tomb of Allama Iqbal, the Quaid asserted that Iqbal was not only a great poet-philosopher but also a great politician whose contribution to practical politics is

no central government in the sub-continent and that the provinces should be autonomous and independent dominions.<sup>8</sup>

By the foregoing survey of historiography it is clear beyond any doubt that the generally held belief that Iqbal is the spiritual father of Pakistan is a historical fact. Orientalists and Islamists of repute regard Iqbal as the patron saint and spiritual godfather of two such scholars — one from the United States of America and the other from Russia. Freeland Abbott is of the view that Iqbal's idea animated the movement to found Pakistan:

After the partition of India, Iqbal, who as the president of the Muslim League in 1930 had expressed a demand for "the formation of a consolidated Muslim state in the best interest of India and Islam" was elevated to some thing like the patron saint of Pakistan. His ideas were highly publicised and his writings were extensively quoted — by almost everyone. — Sir Muhammad Iqbal, searching to ensure Muslim solidarity in his time, urged the creation of separate Muslim state in north west India. Such a step, he argued in his presidential address before the annual meeting of the Muslim League in 1930, will give Islam "an opportunity to rid itself of the stamp the Arabian imperialism was forced to give it, to mobilize its law, its education, its culture, and to bring them into closer contact with its original spirit and with the spirit of modern times." It would also remove the Muslims from the Hindu political sphere in which, as he carefully pointed out, if India should become a democratic state, they would always be a minority.<sup>9</sup>

The famous Russian scholar of Islamic studies, L. R. Gordon-Polonskaya concludes her paper on "Ideology of Muslim Nationalism" on the assertion that:

Iqbal's philosophical conceptions led him to the conclusion that his ideals of equality and freedom could be embodied only in an Islamic state, and that consequently the Muslims of India had no other course but self-determination and the creation of Pakistan. Was a logical outgrowth of his concept of Muslim nationalism. It was most fully reflected in the political speeches, letters, and political tracts of his last period of activity (the 1930s).<sup>10</sup>

As is obvious from the above narration, citing a wide range of authors, historian and political scientist, orientalist and Islamist all trace the origin of the concept of Pakistan to Allama Iqbal's Allahabad address of 1930. Chaudhri Muhammad Ali, a former Prime Minister of Pakistan has observed in his book entitled "The Emergence of Pakistan":

In December, 1930, the Muslim League held its annual session in Allahabad. The Muslim League at that time was not remarkable for its activity, and the session would have passed unnoticed but for the unusual fact that it was presided over by a poet who delivered an

unusual address. Muhammad Iqbal is by common consent the greatest poet-philosopher that Muslim India has produced. In his presidential address, Iqbal surveyed the political scene and illuminated it with philosophic insight. In striking words he indicated the goal toward which the conscious and unconscious strivings of the Muslim community were taking them. For the first time a person with high intellectual stature and prestige propounded a scheme for the establishment of a Muslim state from an authoritative platform. A new angle of vision has transformed the picture. Instead of looking upon themselves as a minority, desperately seeking safeguards for their cultural, economic, and political interests, Muslims saw themselves as a nation entitled to build a just social order on the basis of Islam in their own homeland.<sup>11</sup>

The main point that Chaudhri Muhammad Ali has aptly highlighted has often been ignored by the historians and the political scientists. The revolutionary change that was brought about by Allama Iqbal was the transformation of a helpless and leaderless Muslim minority into a well-defined and a determined nation. This was the historic turning point in Muslim India. From now onward the Muslim struggle was aimed at the establishment of a separate homeland. Instead of seeking safeguards from the Hindus and the British they sought to get their right to national self-determination. This is the real significance of Iqbal's Allahabad address of 1930. This is what made him the spiritual father of Pakistan — a fact that was recognised by Richard Simons, among others, in his book entitled "Making of Pakistan". Published within two years of the creation of Pakistan. Elaborating upon the theme of the Muslim Renaissance, he writes:

Muhammad Iqbal is to day universally recognised in Pakistan as the great poet and prophet of the nation. There can hardly be a school or college in the country where his poems and his philosophy are not part of the prescribed curriculum. Iqbal was a Muslim first and last, who was concerned with the transformation of Islamic society, irrespective of national boundaries, rather than with creating a nation. But his prestige was so great and his enthusiasm so boundless that became a political leader. In two important speeches towards the end of his life he appeared to foresee the development of Pakistan. In 1930 in his presidential address to the Muslim League, ten years before the League adopted the programme of Pakistan, he demanded a separate Muslim state. It was his policy of the mass contact which Jinnah was to adopt with such success a few years later, and which converted the Muslim League from a middle class to a popular party.<sup>12</sup>

There are, however, some individuals in Pakistan, who hate to associate the prestige of Allama Iqbal with the concept of Pakistan.

Hence the recent attempts to draw into dispute the universally acknowledged fact of the origin of the concept of Pakistan. Books have been published, both in English and in Urdu, denying Iqbal and glorifying Chaudhry Rahmat Ali instead. These books and the nascent controversy woven around these books is the subject of the next chapter.

\*\*\*

#### REFERENCES

1. Jinnah, Muhammad Ali, (ed.) *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah*, Lahore, 1942, pp. 3-7.
2. *Monthly Sub Ras* Iqbal Number, Hyderabad Deccan, June 1938, p. 67.
3. For details please see: Ahmed Saeed, *Iqbal Aur Quaid-e-Azam* (Urdu), Lahore, 1977, pp. 86-117.
4. Ahmed Saeed: *Writings of the Quaid-e-Azam*, Lahore, 1976, p. 31.
5. Saeed, K. B. *Pakistan: the Formative Phase*, Oxford, London, 1960, pp. 103-105.
6. *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan*, Oxford, London, 1967. pp. 158-162.
7. *Towards Pakistan*, Lahore, 1978 (third edition) pp. 143-145.
8. 4<sup>th</sup> edition, Karachi, 1979, pp. 117-119, first published in 1965.
9. *Islam and Pakistan*, New York, 1968, pp. 163.165.
10. Malik, Hafeez, (editor) *Iqbal-Poet-Philosopher of Pakistan*, New York, 1971, p. 132.
11. Published by Columbia University Press, New York, 1967, p. 25.
12. First published by Faber and Faber, London in 1949. Citation is from the third edition, Karachi, 1976, pp. 38-41.

## THE NEW CONTROVERSY

It is ironic to note that the official historian of Pakistan, during the Z. A Bhutto regime, was the first historian to deny Iqbal the status of the spiritual father of Pakistan and credit Chaudhry Rahmat Ali with the authorship of the concept of Pakistan instead. In his preface to "Complete Works of Rahmat Ali" Dr. K. K. Aziz, the then Chairman of the National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research, Islamabad, highlighted Chaudhry Rahmat Ali's role in the development of the idea of Pakistan in the following words:

As a thinker he laid down and propounded certain principles which the All India Muslim League borrowed from him without acknowledgement. He argued for the two-nation theory with conviction and skill. He was the first to make a clear cut demand for a separate and independent Muslim state in South Asia and to make out a persuasive case for it.<sup>1</sup>

According to K. K. Aziz:

The most remarkable feature of Rahmat Ali's demand is the unmistakable manner in which he proclaimed the Muslims to be separate nation. None before him had announced this so clearly, so insistently and so rationally. When, later, the Muslim League came to advocate its Pakistan plan, it could not think of any new argument and was content to repeat and elaborate his points. Iqbal did not believe in the two-nation theory; on the contrary, he had set out to create an Indian nation and an Indian unity.<sup>2</sup>

This view is based on stark ignorance of Iqbal's poetic as well as political formulations on the concept of a separate Muslim nationhood. Since most of our historians and political scientists do not go beyond the famous Allahabad address of 1930, let us refer to this basic political document of the Pakistan movement. Expressing dismay on the results of the first Round Table Conference Iqbal observed:

The Prime Minister of England apparently refuses to see that the problem of India is international and not national. Obviously he does

not see that the model of British democracy cannot be of any use in a land of many nations.<sup>3</sup>

Again Iqbal asserts in a warning tone:

no Muslim politician should be sensitive to the taunt embodied in that propaganda words —communalism —expressly devised to exploit what the Prime Minister calls British democratic sentiments, and to mislead England into assuming a state of things which does not exist in India. Great interests are at stake. We are 70 millions and far more homogeneous than any other people in India. Indeed the Muslims of India are the only Indian people who can fitly be described as a nation in the modern sense of the world. The Hindus, though ahead of us in almost all respects, have not yet been able to achieve the kind of homogeneity which is necessary for a nation, and which Islam has given you as a free gift.<sup>4</sup>

Two things are absolutely clear from the above extracts from the Allahabad address of 1930. Iqbal had asserted in an unambiguous and unapologetic manner that: a) India is not a country; it is a continent (“Asia in miniature.”) and therefore a constitution based on the notion of a united India is not at all a democratic constitution. b) the Muslims of India are a separate nation whose final destiny is a separate national homelands.

The concept of a separate Muslim nationalism was crystal clear in Iqbal’s writings as early as 1911. Iqbal’s lecture on “Muslim Community” as printed in the Report on the Census of India, 1911, Vol. XIV, pp. 162-164 is an ample testimony to the fact. During the course of the lecture, Iqbal stated categorically that:

The essential difference between the Muslim Community and other communities of the world consists in our peculiar conception of nationality. It is not the unity of language or country or the identity of economic interest that constitutes the basic principles of our nationality. It is because we all believe in a certain view of the universe, and participate in the same historical tradition that we are members of the society founded by the Prophet of Islam: . . . . . The point that I have tried to bring out in the above remarks is that Islam has a far deeper significance for us than merely religion; it has a peculiar national meaning so that our communal life is unthinkable without a firm grasp of the Islamic principle. The idea of Islam is, so to speak, our eternal home or country in which we live, move, and have our being. To us it is above every thing else as England is above all to the Englishman and “Deutschland Uber Alles” to the Germans.<sup>5</sup>

This idea of a separate Muslim identity continued to grow and was formally presented in 1930 from the platform of the All India Muslim League. Unfolding the ideology of a separate Muslim

nationalism, Iqbal warned the delegates of the annual convention of the League:

Nor should the Muslim leaders and politicians allow themselves to be carried away by the subtle but placid arguments that Turkey and Iran and other Muslim countries are progressing on territorial national line. The Muslims of India are differently situated. The countries of Islam outside India are practically wholly Muslim in population. The minorities there belong, in the language of the Quran, “to be people of book.” A Jew or a Christian or a Zoroastrian does not pollute the food of a Muslim by touching it, and the law of Islam allows intermarriage with the people of the book.” Indeed the first practical step that Islam took towards the realisation of a final combination of humanity was to call upon peoples possessing practically the same ethical ideal to come forward and combine. To-day it is being gradually realised in the countries of Islam in the shape of what is called Muslim Nationalism.<sup>6</sup>

In his book entitled “Pakistan, The Fatherland of the Pak Nation”, first published in 1947, Rahmat Ali has maintained that Iqbal has used the word state in his Allahabad address of 1930, 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.”<sup>7</sup> Here, Rahmat Ali and his followers conveniently ignored the words “outside British Empire” as well as several passages of the address, most notably the following:

I cannot conceal from you the feeling that in the near future our community may be called upon to adopt an independent line of action, in such a crisis. And an independent line of action, in such a crisis, is possible only to a determined people, possessing a purpose. Is it possible for you to achieve the organic wholeness of a unified will? Yes, it is. Rise above sectional interests and private ambition, and learn to determine the value of your individual and collective action, however directed on material ends, in the light of the ideal which you are supposed to spirit. Matter is diversity. Spirit is light, life and unity. One lesson I have learnt from the history of Muslims. At critical moments in their history it is Islam that has saved Muslims not vice versa. If to-day you focus your vision on Islam and seek inspiration from the ever-vitalising idea embodied in it, you will be only reassembling your scattered forces, regaining your lost integrity, and thereby saving your self from total destruction.<sup>8</sup>

Thus, according to Iqbal, it is total and unshakable commitment to Islam that can save the Indian Muslims from “total destruction”. They can only manifest this commitment in a separate and sovereign Muslim state. The creation of this consolidated Muslim State is:

in the best interest of Islam. For Islam it means an opportunity to rid itself of the stamp that Arabian imperialism was forced to give it, to mobilize 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.<sup>9</sup>

Needless to say that Islam can get this opportunity of rediscovering its original spirit and of bringing it "into closer contact with the spirit of modern times" only in an independent and sovereign Muslim state. Iqbal himself has put the record straight during the course of his presidential address delivered at the annual session of the All-India Muslim Conference at Lahore on 21<sup>st</sup> March 1932. While criticising the "rather hesitating behaviour of" the Muslim delegates "at the final stage of the Round Table Conference" Iqbal asserted:

In my address to the All-India Muslim League I raised my voice against the idea of an all-India federation ..... I have reasons to believe, and had suspected this some days before I dissociated myself of our delegation, that our spokesmen were badly advised by certain English politicians.<sup>10</sup>

Thus, it is clear beyond any doubt, that in his Allahabad address of 1930 Iqbal had put forward a demand for the creation of a separate Muslim State. To confuse the concept of this state with an autonomous province within India is a tragic lack of understanding of both the letters and spirit of the Allahabad address.

"Historians and journalists" who are of the opinion that the circular entitled "Now or Never," circulated in the name of four students, namely Mohd Aslam Khan, Rahmat Ali, Sheikh Mohd Sadiq, and Inayat Ullah Khan from Cambridge on 28<sup>th</sup> January, 1933, is "no more than an exaggerated echo of Iqbal's 1930 suggestion"<sup>11</sup> sound correct. It is rather a restatement of the basic ideas embodied in Iqbal's Allahabad address in the slightly changed circumstances.

#### Who is the Real Author

of

#### "Now or Never"

Some of the historians, K. K. Aziz most noted among them, have tried to project Chaudhry Rahmat Ali as the sole author of the circular letter entitled "Now or Never", on the basis of the belated self-statement of Chaudhry Rahmat Ali. Several Pakistani, Indian, British and American historians and political scientists have maintained that "Now or Never" was the brain child of the four Muslim students whose signatures had appeared at the end of this declaration.<sup>12</sup>

Chaudhry Rahmat Ali not only proclaimed himself the author of "Now or Never" but also claimed that way back in 1915 he had given the idea of a separate Muslim State in India, in the inaugural address he delivered before the Bazm-i-Shibli, a student organisation in Islamia College, Lahore. K. K. Aziz has made the following observation on his claim:

So far it has not been possible to trace the original of this inaugural address, nor has any contemporary witness come forward to confirm the substance of Rahmat Ali's claim ..... Whatever the facts of the case, the curious thing is his long silence on the issue after this date. If he felt so strongly about a separate Muslim entity that he went to the extent of founding a society and giving the benefit of his thoughts, he should have continued his interest in the idea and spoken or written about it when he was living in Lahore ..... We have no means of knowing what happened to Rahmat Ali during this time.<sup>13</sup>

Rahmat Ali's self statement regarding the parentage of "Now or Never" is also disputed by several authors, including Mian Amir-ud-din, who has stated on the authority of a co-worker of Rahmat Ali that:

when Iqbal came to attend the Round Table Conference in 1931, some Muslim students at Cambridge including Rahmat Ali and Khawaja Rahim called on Iqbal, Iqbal was ill and, therefore, confined to bed in his apartment. The boys managed to reach him and told him that they had worked out a name for the Muslim state he had proposed in his Allahabad address of 1930. Then Rahmat Ali and Khawaja Abdur Rahim told him that it was Pakistan. Iqbal suggested to them that they should write each letter separately and place it in front of his eyes. The students did as they were told. They visited Iqbal again on the following day and Iqbal approved the name.<sup>14</sup>

The above statement has been made on the authority of Khawaja Abdur Rahim, who was a personal friend of Rahmat Ali and who "possesses about thirty letters of Rahmat Ali."<sup>15</sup> In his book *Taassurat wa Tassawwurat*, Abdul Waheed Khan has referred to his meeting with Iqbal in Bhopal in the year 1935, and has reminisced that when I asked Iqbal about the coinage of the word Pakistan, Iqbal answered that:

when I was in London for attending the Round Table conference, Chaudhry Rahmat Ali came to see me once and asked me by what name the government established under my Allahabad scheme would be called. On this I told him that if you take the first word of each province in north west India and the tan of Baluchistan, you get a meaningful and nice world Pakistan. That will be the name of the government.<sup>16</sup>

It appears to me that the word PAKISTAN was in Iqbal's mind more than twenty years before his famous Allahabad address. In his poem *Tarana-i-Milli* (The Anthem of the Islamic Community) he celebrates the spread of Islam in the East as well as in the West and concludes the anthem with an inspiring reference to the glorious past and the bright future of Muslim India:

O land of purity; we fell and died for your honour. Our blood still courses through your views.

The Lord of Hijaz is the leader of our community. From this name comes the peace of our soul.

Iqbal's song is like the bell of the caravan. Once more our caravan measures the road.

According to D. J. Matthew, the translator of the above quoted anthem, this "poem was composed in 1910 and expresses Iqbal's changing view on nationalism. At this stage of life, Iqbal began to think in terms of Islamic internationalism rather than more narrow Indian nationalism, expressed in his earlier poems." <sup>17</sup> What concerns us here, is that as far back Arz-i-Pak for the separate Muslim state in India, which at that time was in the realm of possibility. Rahmat Ali came under the influence of Iqbal when joined Islamia College Lahore in 1915 as a student. During his stay at Lahore (1915-1930), he worked on the editorial staff of a number of newspapers and journals owned and edited by Iqbal's closest friend, Munshi Muhammad Din Faug. S.M. Ikram narrates that:

Iqbal, was able to make some valuable contacts during his stay in England. He had, for one thing many meetings with Muhammad Ali Jinnah, whom he was able to interest in his scheme for the future of India and who was to make this "poetic dream" a living reality. Another person who met him in England was Chaudhry Rahmat Ali, a Cambridge student, who had been greatly attracted by Iqbal's political proposals ..... The writer of these pages was in England from 1931 - 1933 and had frequent opportunities not only to meet Iqbal during his visits to the Round Table conferences but also met Chaudhry Rahmat Ali and in fact worked with him in connection with Iqbal Literary Association. At this time Chaudhry Rahmat Ali's attitude was that of an admirer of Iqbal, who was greatly impressed with Iqbal's proposal and had enthusiastically taken it up to give it a more concrete shape. A small group photograph of Iqbal with Rahmat Ali, Khawja Abdur Rahim, Pir Ahsan-ud-Din and three others who were closely interested in the scheme was taken at the time. Rahmat Ali was an enthusiastic member of Iqbal Literary Association which arranged functions in honour of Iqbal, and it was in his insistence that the second reception

was presided over by Sir Umar Hayat Tiwana, with whom Rahmat Ali used to stay during his visits to London. All the time Rahmat Ali was an enthusiastic admirer of Iqbal but, as stated by his contemporary and co-worker Mian Abdul Haq, President of Pakistan National Congress organised by the Muslim students at Cambridge, later his attitude changed. In July 1935, Rahmat Ali circulated another leaflet in which he proclaimed himself the founder of Pakistan National Movement. Mian Abdul Haq has described at length (*Nawa-i-Waqt*, Lahore, 1 July 1964) the changes in Rahmat Ali's mental make up from a study of major Nazi works, of which he knew many passages by heart, his criticism of the Quaid-i-Azam and his severe condemnation of the final arrangements for the division of the sub continent.<sup>18</sup>

This piece of unchallengeable contemporary evidence is an ample proof of Chaudhry Rahmat Ali's ascination of Iqbal. Another contemporary of Rahmat Ali is N. M. Khan who has thrown light on the activities of the Iqbal Literary Association. Says he:

Iqbal came to London in the winter of 1931, as a delegate to the round Table Conference. When I first came to learn that Iqbal was expected to participate in the Round Table Conference, I held consultations with some of my friends and we formed ourselves into what came to be known as Iqbal Literary Association. Our association decided to present an address of welcome to the great poet of the East, and I was commissioned to approach him with the request to accept our address. He expressed himself very much averse to publicity. I argued that the move had been spontaneously initiated by Indian young men resident in England without anyone from outside urging them to do so and that he should not do anything to damp their enthusiasm. He did finally agree. "Javid Nama" had not yet been published when I had come away from India. I asked Iqbal what the book contained. He said: I can give you an outline of the poem if you can manage to write down the words as I utter them. He started dictating the words which I reproduce below. It took me nearly an hour to take down his words. They came out without effort and Iqbal had to pause only to give me time to write them down in my long-hand. When he came toward the end, he broke down and it was not until 15 minutes later that he became his normal self."<sup>19</sup> This afternoon reception in honour of Iqbal was held at the Waldorf Hoel and was attended by, among others, Mahatma Gandhi, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, His Highness Agha Khan and Sir Umar Hayat Khan Tiwana. N. M. Khan incorporated the four page summary of Javed Nama as dictated by Iqbal into his own address of welcome, which he presented on the occasion but later on published it in the *Morning News*, Calcutta (End Number 1944) as an article of Iqbal on *Javed Namah* with his own note explaining the back-ground in which he had the honour to take the dictation by Iqbal on his greatest Persian work. Is not it possible that likewise the 4 page leaflet entitled: "Now or Never!" was

also dictated to a group of undergraduate students in London, on whose name it was first circulated? Before reaching on any conclusion on this question we must have a pause to glance through Iqbal's philosophical discourses on Muslim politics as well as his political activities during the period between his Allahabad Address (29<sup>th</sup> December, 1930) and the publication of "Now or Never" (28<sup>th</sup> January 1933)

The bitterest reaction on the religio-political formulations of Iqbal on the question of a separate Muslim nationalism leading to establishment of separate Muslim homelands in South Asia, came from the British Prime Minister, who:

was highly displeased with the views expressed by Iqbal. The British as well as Indian circles in the Round Table Conference expressed resentment against what it called an assault made by Iqbal on the idea of an all-India constitution being worked out there ..... the delegates at the Allahabad session of the All India Muslim League listened to the address but neither discussed it nor expressed any opinion in favour or otherwise..... Three student workers from Calcutta, namely, Raghbir Ahsan, Fazal Rasul Khan Afridi and S.M. Saleem, issued a joint statement in support of Iqbal's address and suggested the initiation of a "Muslim Ideal Fund" in order to finance a vigorous propaganda drive in support of Iqbal. The Hindu press maligned Iqbal on a very large scale. Throughout the sub-continent, Hindu papers carried on a tearing and raging campaign against him and even attributing statements which he never made.<sup>20</sup>

This, in brief, was the immediate reaction of the Allahabad address. Both the British and the Hindu leadership was up in arms against Iqbal. But the Muslim political elite was dumbfounded. Only the younger generation of the Muslim community responded enthusiastically to the inspirational leadership of Iqbal. Hence his prayer:

Make intellect free of slavery. Make the youth the teachers of the old.  
Bestow upon the young the burning of the heart. Bestow upon them my love and my sight.

(Translation: D.J. Mathews)

Iqbal's presidential address, delivered at the annual session of the All-India Muslim Conference at Lahore on the 21<sup>st</sup> of March 1932, opens with the pertinent questions agitating the minds of the Muslim youth. This address is, in fact, in continuation of his Allahabad Address of 1930. In the meantime he had an opportunity to participate in the second Round Table Conference. On 15<sup>th</sup> of November he dissociated from the Muslim delegation because the members of the Muslim delegation "were badly advised by certain English politicians". Dismayed by the slavish attitude of the Muslim

delegates as well as the imperial arrogance of the British authorities, Iqbal concentrated his energies on moulding British public opinion in favour of Muslim India's demand and transmitting his message to Muslim students who used to flock around him during his stay in London.

The National League, London, invited members of the House of Lords and Commons to meet Iqbal. During the speech on this occasion, Iqbal said:

I suggested as a possible solution the formation of a large West Indian Muslim State while this suggestion of mine was not embodied in the demands of Muslims of India, my personal opinion still is that this is the only possible solution.<sup>21</sup>

Iqbal urged the Muslim Conference in his presidential address of 1932:

to construct a fresh policy now that the premier's announcement at the last London conference has again necessitated a careful survey of the whole situation. Your immediate duty is to prepare the who community for the kind of self-sacrifice without which no self-respecting people can live an honourable life. The most critical moment in the history of India has arrived. Do your duty or cease to exist.<sup>22</sup>

This appears to me in continuation of the concluding remarks in the Allahabad address of 1930, in which he had observed:

I cannot conceal from you the feeling that in the near future our community may be called upon to adopt an independent line of political action to cope with the present crisis. And an independent line of action, in such a crisis is possible only to a determined people possessing a will focussed by a single purpose.<sup>23</sup>

In the course of fifteen months, the crisis had deepened beyond expectations. Consequently, Iqbal illuminated political avenues of Muslim India in a more determined tone:

Asia cannot comprehend modern Western capitalism with its undisciplined individualism. The faith that you represent recognises the worth of the individual, and disciplines him to give away his all to the service of God and man. Its possibilities are not yet exhausted. It can still create a new world where the social rank of man is not determined by his caste or colour, or the amount of dividend he earns, but by the kind of life he lives; where the poor tax the rich, where human society is founded not on the equality of spirits, where an untouchable can marry the daughter of a king, where private ownership is a trust and where capital cannot be allowed to accumulate so as to dominate the real producer of wealth. This superb idealism of your faith, however, needs emancipation from the medieval fancies of the theologians and legislators.<sup>24</sup>

It reminds me of his magnum opus, Javed Namah. During his ascent to beyond the spheres under the leadership of Rumi, during this heavenly journey, Iqbal had a poetic discourse on the nature and dynamics of the ideal Islamic state with the spirits of Jamal al-Din Afghani and said Halim Pasha. The above quoted passage is a beautiful summary of the poetic discourse in prose. It is pertinent to note that Javid Namah appeared in the same year in which Iqbal delivered his Presidential Address to the Muslim Conference. Iqbal went on in the same prophetic tone:

The whole community needs a complete overhauling of its present mentality in order that it may again become capable of feeling the urge of fresh desires and ideals. The Indian Muslim has long ceased to explore the depths of his own inner life. The result is that he has ceased to live in the full glow and colour of life, and is consequently in danger of an unmanly compromise with forces which, he is made to think, he cannot vanquish in open conflict.<sup>25</sup>

Thoroughly disappointed with the un-imaginative and coward politicians of Muslim India, he suggested among other things, the formation of youth leagues and gave a call to Muslim Youth:

to rouse the progressive forces of the community and to organise their hitherto dormant energies. The flame of life cannot be borrowed from others; it must be kindled in the temple of one's own soul. Let then the fire of youth mingle with the fire of faith in order to enhance the glow of life and to create a new world of actions for our future generations.<sup>26</sup>

Iqbal had unshakable faith in the personal integrity and the political genius of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, whom he used to write letters marked "private and confidential" on various aspects of the political crisis. Apart from him he saw only disillusionment and despair from the one end to the other on the political horizon. Young Muslim student provided him the only ray of hope. Writing on the origin and achievements of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation, Abdus Salam Khurshid has stated that:

Some of us met Dr. Muhammad Iqbal a number of times and discussed with him the political and organizational matters. While framing the constitution, we were on the horns of a dilemma – whether to tow the line of the Muslim League or to chalk out an independent course. When consulted on the point, Iqbal advised us to set a goal before us in regard to the Muslim destiny in the sub-continent ..... He came out with the proposal that we set as our goal the establishment of a Muslim National State based on the Muslims' right of self-determination and comprising the Punjab, N.W.F.P., Sind and Baluchistan and Kashmir. We readily agreed – rather welcomed it, and within a couple of days called a meeting of the executive, secured its approval and incorporated

it in the constitution of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation. There was a certain amount of hesitation on our part to advocate the goal publically, because the Muslim League leaders of the province other than Iqbal, would not talk of the subject because they stood for a united India.<sup>27</sup>

Iqbal was both a visionary and a pragmatist. The pragmatist in him looked for ways and means to translate his vision into a living actuality. Spreading his name and fame was not his concern. Spreading his ideas relating to the future destiny of Muslim India in particular and to Islamic renaissance in general was one of his most vital and abiding concerns. So it did not matter who drafted the four-page declaration entitled "Now or Never", what did matter was that the message embodied in it. Its circulation in the name of four students was a brilliant strategy in the prevailing circumstances.

Read together with the Allahabad address (1930) and the Presidential address at the annual session of Muslim Conference (1932), "Now or Never" is a restatement of the basic ideas and core arguments of Iqbal, embodied in these two foundational documents of a separate Muslim nationalism in India. Naturally the restatement was cast in the sentimental and agitational tone of young students. The purpose was to create a necessary alarm both in Muslim India and in British.

The thrust of the argument in "Now or Never" is against the idea of a federal constitution based on the concept of an all-India federation whose foundations were being laid in the Round Table Conference in progress in those days in London. Iqbal had rejected this idea and had dissociated from the Muslim delegation in the Minorities Committee of the conference. The subtitle of "Now or Never" is as follows:

Are we to Live or Perish for ever? It brings to my mind the following lines of Iqbal's presidential address delivered at the annual session of the all-India Muslim Conference in 1932. Iqbal had sounded the warning:

your immediate duty is to prepare the whole community for the kind of self-sacrifice without which no self-respecting people can live an honourable life. *The most critical moment in the history of the Indian Muslims has arrived. Do your duty or cease to exist.*<sup>28</sup>

In his Allahabad address of 1930 Iqbal had asserted: Religion is a power of the utmost importance in the life of individuals as well as states. Islam is itself Destiny and will not suffer a destiny. Do not think that the problem I am indicating is a purely theoretical one. It is a very living and practical problem calculated to affect the very

fabric of Islam as a system of life and conduct. On a proper solution of it alone depends your future as a distinct cultural unit in India. Never in our history has Islam had to stand a greater trial than the one which confronts it to day.<sup>29</sup>

The declaration entitled "Now or Never" raised the same question:

what safeguards can prevent the catastrophe of Muslim nation smarting and suffering eternally at the frustration of its every social and religious ideal? What safeguards can compensate our nation awakened to its national consciousness for the destruction of its distinct national status?<sup>30</sup>

The declaration highlights the fact that:

The ideals which move our thirty million brethren in faith living in the five Northern Provinces of India to make the highest sacrifices are fundamentally different from those which inspire the Hindus. These differences are not confined to the broad basic principles far from it. They extend to the minutest details of our lives. We do not inter-dine; we do not inter-marry. Our national customs and calendars, even our diet and dress are different.<sup>31</sup>

This is a simple version of the following argument in favour of a separate Muslim Nationhood in India, presented by Iqbal in his Allahabad address of 1930:

The Muslims of India are differently situated. The countries of Islam outside India are practically wholly Muslim in population. The minorities there belong "to the people of the Book". There are no social barriers between Muslims and the "people of the Book". A Jew or Christian does not pollute the food of a Muslim by touching it, and the law of Islam allows inter-marriage with the people of the book.<sup>32</sup>

During the course of his Allahabad address, Iqbal had assured that:

The idea (of a separate Muslim homeland) need not alarm the Hindus or the British. India is the greatest Muslim country in the world. The life of Islam as a cultural force in this country very largely depends on its centralisation in a specified territory. This centralisation 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 .... The North-west Indian Muslim will prove the best defenders of India against a foreign invasion, be the invasion one of ideas or of bayonets.<sup>33</sup>

The views expressed in "Now or Never" on the above theme are identical with that of Iqbal's views, both in letter and spirit. The declaration assures that:

The Muslim Federation of North-West India would provide the bulwark of a buffer state against any invasion either of ideas or of arms from outside.<sup>34</sup>

Unlike the post-1935 writings of Rahmat Ali, the declaration contained in "Now or Never" ignores Bengal as well as Muslim princely states. Like Iqbal it concentrates only on the North-western provinces of British India.

The vocabulary, language and the prose style of "Now or Never" has a marked difference with the vocabulary, language and the style of Rahmat Ali's post-1935 writings published in 1947 with the title: "Pakistan: the Fatherland of the Pak Nation." In fact it is the replica of the main arguments underlying Iqbal's presidential address as of 1930 and 1932.

K. K. Aziz has stated that:

Considering that he passed both university examinations in the third division and took over 12 years to be admitted to the Bar, it appears that he was not a particularly good student.<sup>35</sup>

He was an ardent admirer of Iqbal but unfortunately came under the spell of fascism in 1935. One of his biographers, Nisar Ahmed Kisana has given a description of his visit to Germany and his detailed close door meeting with Adolf Hitler in 1938. Mr. Kisana has disclosed in his book *Mutaliba-i-Pakistan Aur Chaudhry Rahmat Ali* (Urdu) that Rahmat Ali was accompanied by Mirza Muzaffar Beg and Chaudhry Rahmat Khan but he alone was granted a prolonged audience by Hitler. It is further claimed by the author that Rahmat Ali had convinced Hitler that the people of all the regions of Pakistan are Aryan in origin.<sup>36</sup> It was sometimes during this period of his fascistic inclination that he started formulations on his concept of Pakistan, which is fundamentally different from Iqbal's concept of Pakistan. He felt the urge of transmitting his ideas through the medium of English prose. But he was not confident about his ability to write. K.K. Aziz informs us that:

Rahmat Ali suspected that quality of his written English was not good enough. He inquired about the facilities available for coaching in the language, and on the recommendation of the secretary of the Cambridgeshire High School, arranged with one Leonard Nollingworth to correct his written work and guide him in the intricacies of grammar and syntax.<sup>37</sup>

Both the content and the style of "Now or Never" bears ample testimony to the fact that it is the product of the same mind which had earlier produced two of the most important documents of the movement for Pakistan, namely, the Allahabad address of 1930 and

the Presidential address of 1932. Iqbal was busy moulding public opinion in London in favour of his concept of separate Muslim homelands in the Indian sub-continent at the time of the circulation of Now or Never. Iqbal impressed upon members of the House of Lords and Commons as well as foreign diplomats the significance of Muslim demands on December 15, 1932. During the course of his speech he argued:

The point of Muslims of India is that, as a people representing a distinct historical tradition and homogeneity, which is not possessed by any other community in India, as such people they want to live their own lives, and develop on their own cultural lines. On account of these demands your countrymen say we are pan-Islamic and not patriotic enough and they also say that we are communAli'stic. Now with regard to communAli'sm and Pan-Islamism I want to say a few words to you. If a man belongs to a cultural community, he feels that it is his duty to protect that culture. In that case I appeal to you whether you will look upon such a man as unpatriotic. It is the duty of every Muslim to protect his culture, his faith, if he finds that things due to him are not safeguarded. After all, it is a mans faith, his culture, his traditions, which are worth living for and dying for.<sup>38</sup>

At the same time he was in contact with Muslim students of various universities of England. In all likelihood, he dictated the 4 page circular entitled "Now or Never" to a student or to a group of students in the same manner in which he had dictated the contents of the write up on Javed Namah to N. M. Khan. As far as the self-statement of Rahmat Ali regarding the parentage of "Now or Never" is concerned it appears to be un-sound. Rahmat Ali's concept of Pakistan as it was unfolded in his post-1935 writings is the concept of a Pakistan as integral part of an all-India federation renamed as Dinia. Obviously this is in direct negation of concept of Pakistan as a separate and sovereign Muslim state.

\*\*\*

#### REFERENCES

1. Aziz, K.K. (editor) *Complete Works of Rahmat Ali*, Vol. 1, Islamabad, 1978, p.1.
2. *Ibid*, Introduction, p. xxii.
3. Vahid, Syed Abdul (editor), *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, Lahore, 1973, p. 188
4. *Ibid*, pp. 189-190.
5. *Ibid*, pp. 378-379.

6. *Ibid*, p. 190.
7. Chaudhry Rahmat Ali, *Pakistan: The Fatherland of the Pak Nation*, Cambridge, 1947 p. 217.
8. *Thoughts and Reflections*, pp. 193-194.
9. *Ibid*, p. 173.
10. *Ibid*, pp. 200-201.
11. Aziz, K.K. (editor) *Complete Works*, introduction, p. xvii.
12. The writers who attribute the circular to Muslim "under-graduates" or "students" (in the plural) of Cambridge: Guy Wint, in G. Schuster and Guy Wint, *India and Democracy* (London, 1941). P. 181; R.C. Kingsburz, James I. McPherson. *et. Al.*, *Pakistan: A Compendium* (editor-in-chief, Raze R. Platt, American Geographical Society, New York, June 1961). P. 18 (mimeo, for limited distribution only); Holden Furber. "India" *Encyclopaedia Americana*, 1961 ed., Vol. XV. P. 28g; Aziz Ahmad, "Remarques sur les origines du Pakistan". *Orient*, no. 26 (1963). P. 22; Khalid b. Sayeed. *Pakistan: The Formative Phase, 1857-1948* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London, 1968=, p. 105; Jahanara Shah Nawaz, *Father and Daughter: A Political Autobiography* (Lahore, 1971), p. 77; M.E. Chamberlain, *Britain and India: The Interaction of Two Peoples* (Newton Abbot, 1974), p. 215; and Muhammad Munir (former Chief Justice of Pakistan), *Quaid-i-Ayam Muhammad Ali Jinnah* (Lahore, 1876), pp. 7-8.
13. Aziz, K. K. (editor) *Complete Works of Rahmat Ali*, op. cit, p xiv.
14. Amiruddin, Mian, *More about the Forgotten Hero*. The Pakistan Times, 10<sup>th</sup> May 1964.
15. *Ibid*.
16. Cited in Aziz, K. K. *Rahmat Ali, A Biography*, Lahore, 1987, p. 332.
17. *Iqbal*, op. cit., p. 154.
18. Ikram, S. M., *Modern Muslim India And the Birth of Pakistan*, first published in 1950, third edition, Lahore, 1977, pp. 177-178.
19. *Javid Nama with A Note by N. M. Khan* included in Syed Abdul Vahid: *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, op. cit, pp. 225-226.
20. Khurshid, Abdus Salam, *History of the Idea of Pakistan*, Islamabad, 1976, pp. 77-80.
21. Dar, B.A. (ed.) *Letters and Writintgs*, op. cit, p. 75.
22. Vahid, (ed.) *Thoughts and Reflections*, op. cit, pp. 197-206.
23. *Ibid*, p. 193.
24. *Ibid*, pp. 212-213.
25. *Ibid*, p. 213.
26. *Ibid*, pp. 214-216.
27. Khurshid, Abdus Salam, *History of the Ideal of Pakistan*, op. cit., pp. 94-95.
28. Vahid (ed.) *Thoughts and Reflections*, op. cit., p. 206.
29. *Ibid*, p. 165.
30. Aziz, K. K. (ed.) *Complete Works of Rahmat Ali*, op. cit., p. 8.

31. Ibid, p. 6.
32. Vahid (ed.) *Thoughts and Reflections*, op. cit., p. 190.
33. Ibid. op. cit, pp. 171-172.
34. Aziz, K. K. (ed.), *Complete Works of Rahmat Ali*, op. cit, pp. 7-8.
35. Ibid. Introduction p. xii.
36. Kisana, Nisar Ahmed, *Mutaliba-i-Pakistan Aur Chaudhry Rahmat Ali (Urdu)*, 1977, pp. 244-2446.
37. Aziz, K.K. *Rahmat Ali*, op. cit. P. 24.
38. Dar, B. A., *Letters and Writings of Iqbal*, op.cit., pp. 71, 75.

## RAHMAT ALI'S PAK PLAN

In the later half of the year 1935 Chaudhry Rehamt Ali's ideas and attitudes underwent a sudden change. Until now he was an enthusiastic follower of Iqbal and a zealous member of Pakistan National Congress organised by the Muslim students at Cambridge. In July 1935, Rehamt Ali proclaimed himself the founder of Pakistan National Movement. His co-worker and President Pakistan National Congress, Mian Abdul Haq has attributed this abrupt change to his study of major Nazi works.<sup>1</sup> Shaukatullah Ansari is of the view that this change in the mental make up of Rehamt Ali is the result of British patronage:

At this time it was generally believed among Indian students at Cambridge that Chaudhry Rehamt 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 for his some what luxurious entertainments of celebrities and propagandists activities derived his inspiration and funds from India Office.

In spite of this "general belief" and his strong links with the more loyal than the King Unionists, Tiwanas in particular, Rahmat Ali appears to be an honest crusader. Once converted to the fascist ideology of Adolf Hitler, he had to depart from the liberal, democratic and equalitarian movement for Pakistan visualised by Iqbal and lead by Jinnah. Rehamt Ali's Pak Plan as well as his strong denunciation of the Quaid-e-Azam are a natural outcome of his Nazi orientations. Khalid Hassan has given an accurate description of Rehamt Ali's Pak Plan in the following words:

Rahmat Ali's concept of Pakistan was nebulous, impractical and fantasz-ridden, comprising as his state did the whole of Northwestern India, including Kashmir, the Kathiawar peninsula and Kutch, several enclaves deep within the present-day Uttar Pradesh, including the Palanpur agencz and the cities of Delhi and Lucknow. There were to be two independent states: Bangistan, made up of the entire provinces of Bengal and Assam and Osmanistan in the south, that being the Hzderabad state. These two states in the east and south

were to form a federation with Pakistan in the northwest. Then there were the 243 principalities or smaller princely states or rajwaras, which were to become tributaries of Pakistan, as if Pakistan was an imperial power extracting tribute from lesser entities.

And what was going to happen to the Hindus, the majority population of India, which Rahmat Ali was carving up at in the town of Cambridge? He had decided to divide the Hindus neatly into two categories: caste Hindus and others. They were to be herded together as if they were no better than cattle and pushed into a ghetto he called Hanoodia. The Sikhs were to be relegated to a concentration camp-like enclave called Sikhia. As for other races and religions, they were to be pushed into an encampment called Hanadika. All these hundreds of millions of Hindus, Sikhs, Christians, Buddhists and animists were to remain utterly subservient to the chosen race that he called The Paks. The Muslims who were to find themselves living in any of the concentration enclaves were to be allotted six regions across the India main land. Why they were not to be sent to Pakistan, Bangistan or Osmania, Rahmat Ali did not say. Nor did he explain how precisely India was going to be carved up and its majority population turned into virtual slaves without any political or human rights. India was also going to be renamed Dinia.

According to K.K. Aziz, Rahmat Ali:

sees no alternative to a conversion of the whole of India to Islam and the creation of new Muslim Asia in which the old but never forgotten Islamic heritage would live again in yet greater splendour."<sup>4</sup>

In his pamphlet entitled *The Millat and the Mission: Seventh Continent of Dinia*, first published in 1942, he has given a detailed outline of his Pak Plan. The seven commandments are as listed below:

avoid minorityism; avow nationalism; acquire proportional territory; consolidate the individual nations; coordinate them under a Pak Commonwealth Nation; convert India into Dinia; and organize Dinia and its dependencies into a Pakasia.<sup>5</sup>

Obviously, Rahmat Ali's Pak Plan seeks to establish seven Muslim strongholds within India and is in negation of the concept of separate Muslim homelands in areas where Muslim are already in majority. Rahmat Ali aims at the recreation of a Muslim empire through fascist tactics. That is why he condemned Muslim Leagues democratic approach to India's political crisis in the meeting of the Supreme Council of the Pakistan National Movement held in Karachi on 23 March 1940, one day before the Lahore Resolution was moved and when the session had already begun its deliberations. Rahmat Ali rejected the Lahore Resolution and denounced Muslim plans for the establishments of two separate Muslim states outside

India on the basis of a separate Muslim nationalism. After the acceptance by the All India Muslim League of the 3<sup>rd</sup> June Plan, which was to create the state of Pakistan 10 weeks later, Rahmat Ali denounced the Quaid-i-Azam in an extremely intemperate and extravagantly abusive language. In his pamphlet entitled "*The Greatest Betrayal*" he has attempted to make a savage attack on the Quaid-i-Azam says he:

In accepting the British Plan Mr. Jinnah has acted the Judas and betrayed, bartered, and dimembered the Millat.

Not as it was betrayed by Miss Janki in 712, for her act, motivated by personal revenge, involved only Marshal Muhammad Qasim and Pakistan.

Not as it was bartered by Mir Jaafar in 1757, for his act, impelled by lust for recognition as a provincial Quisling, gave away only Siraj-ul-Daulah and Bangistan.

Not as it was dismembered by most of the *Jalalatmaabs* in 1857, for their act, prompted by an urge for recognition as princely Quislings, affected only some of its sections and strongholds.

But it has now been wholly betrayed, bartered, and dismembered by Mister Jinnah, whose act, animated by ambition for recognition as the *Quisling-i-Azam* of Pakistan and Bangistan, shatters the foundations of all its nations and countries, and sabotages the future of all its 100 million members living in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

In view of this grim tragedy, it is the sacred duty of every Muslim in the Continent to grasp the terrible significance of Mr. Jinnah's acceptance of the British Plan and to counteract it at once in the consciousness that, unless repudiated and nullified quickly, it will forever cripple the life of the Pak nation in Pakistan, blight the existence of the Pak Millat in Dinia and compromise the freedom of the Fraternity throughout the world.

To prevent the verdict of History, Mr. Jinnah is making desperate attempts to whitewash the betrayal. In fact, he is trying to do something more than that. He is befouling the Muslims into hailing their miserable fate as good fortune, and their betrayal by him as a blessing. In other words, to escape the wrath of his immediate victims, the accusing finger of the Millat, and the verdict of History, he is asking the Muslims to treat "*Marg-e-Millat*" as "*Jashn-e-Jinnah*."<sup>6</sup>

Jerming the creation of Pakistan the blackest and the bloodiest treachery of our history, Rahmat Ali called upon the Muslims of Dinia to join the movement for the liberation of Muslim India under the banner of the All-India Dinia Milli Movement, which he had launched, a couple of years ago, as a rival to the Movement for

Pakistan. Needless to say that Rahmat Ali's call proved to be of no consequence at all. His Dinia Milli Movement was only a movement on paper. As opposed to that that Pakistan movement was a popular democratic movement. Rahmat Ali's desperate call to dismember the state of Pakistan created by the people under the liberal democratic leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam of Muslim India also fell on deaf ears.

\*\*\*

#### REFERENCES

1. *Nawa-i-Waqt*, Lahore, July 1, 1964.
2. Quoted in Kirpal Singh, "The Origin of Pakistan", *The Spokesman*, New Delhi weekly. Anniversary Number 1970.
3. Khalid Hassan, The Quaid's Detractor, *The News International*, April 14, 1998.
4. Aziz, K.K., *Compleat Works of Rahmat Ali*, op.cit, p. xxxv.
5. Ibid, p. xxxiii.
6. Rahamt Ali, *Pakistan: The Fatherland of the Pak Nation*, Lahore, 1978 edition, pp. 354-358.

#### CONCLUSION

The Gujjar Community to which Rahmat Ali belonged started its attempts to add Chaudhry Rahmat Ali to the pantheon of political heroes of the Pakistan movement soon after his death in 1951. The Anjuman-i-Markazia (Central Council) of the Gujjars of Pakistan held a meeting in Lahore on 27<sup>th</sup> May 1951 to chalk out a programme for honouring and perpetuating his name and memory. Another meeting took place on 4 January 1953 and decided to create a "Rahmat Ali Memorial". A Memorial Trust Committee was appointed under Chaudhri Abdur Rashid. The memorial was to take four forms: A Rahmat Ali Academy to conduct research on "Pyam-i-Rahmat", "his message; buildings at various places, like a Rahmat Ali Hall, a Rahmat Ali Library, etc; Rahmat Ali scholarships and economic institutions named after him. The Gujjar magazine reminded the community of its duty in this direction and hoped that it would discharge its trust with devotion.<sup>1</sup> But as stated by K.K. Aziz, nothing happened.<sup>2</sup>

Clan loyalty, no doubt, is a noble sentiment. But distortion of history for the sake of creation of new myths is a useless exercise. Rahmat Ali's career can easily be divided into two distinct phases. During the pre-1935 phase he was an ardent admirer of Iqbal. He played an active role in Iqbal Literary Association in England and worked vigorously for propogation of Iqbal's political ideas relating to the destiny of Muslim India. During the post-1935 phase Rahmat ali drifted away from the democratic ideal and embraced fascism as a social and political creed. His political formulations during this period are overshadowed by an immperialistic vision of a united India renamed as the continent of Dinia. Although he prefers to use the word Pakistan, but his concept of All-Dinia federation has nothing to do with the concept of Pakistan as unfolded by Allama Iqbal in the year 1930. According to S.M. Ikram::

Iqbal whose contribution, made long before Rahmat Ali appeared on the scene, is a simple matter of printed record. He put forward the scheme in a concrete, tangible form at the principal political platform of Muslim India, gave the proposal the prestige of his illustrious name, and worked for its success. Not only he put forward the

scheme and encouraged all who worked for it, but in the course of his stay in England, during informal conversation with the people he met, explained and argued for it. Naturally details of his informal conversations are not on record, but there are enough indications about the lines on which he was working. For example, in a letter addressed to the Quaid he refers to Lord Lothians remarks made to him that his "scheme was the only possible solution of the troubles of India but it would take 25 years to come." This remark, made before the end of 1932, would show that by then Iqbal had won over a man of Lord Lothians calibre. Nearer home he had taken more active measures. At Lahore even before his address at Allahabad he got editorials written in the daily *Inqilab* urging that a conference to consider the problems of Muslim majority provinces should be held. For holding this conference a reception committee was organised, with Iqbal as chairman.<sup>3</sup>

Iqbal was a pragmatic statesman with poetic vision. He articulated and formally presented the ideology of a separate Muslim nationalism at Allahabad in 1930. From 1930 to his very last breath, Iqbal never missed an opportunity to enlighten and inspire Muslim youth for translating his vision into reality. Chaudhary Rahmat Ali was one of the most prominent young students in England who were attracted to Iqbal's ideas relating to the future of Muslim India.

It goes to the credit of Rahmat Ali that uptill the first half of 1935, he worked selflessly for propagation of Iqbal's concept of Pakistan with a missionary zeal. But afterwards, swayed by the Nazii ideology, he was led astray. Iqbal passed away in 1938. The All India Muslim League was finally led to adopt Iqbal's concept of Pakistan as its political programme in 1940, launched the movement for Pakistan, created Pakistan in 1947, and acclaimed Iqbal as the spiritual father of Pakistan.

\*\*\*

#### REFERENCES

1. *Gujjar Gazette*, 4-18 March 1954, p.4, cited by K.K. Aziz: *Rahmat Ali - A Biography*, Lahore 1987, p. 399.
2. *Ibid*, p.399.
3. Ikram, S.M. *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan*, Lahore, 1977, p. 179.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

##### a): Books:

1. Allama Muhammad Iqbal, *Kulliyat-i-Iqbal* (Urdu) Lahore 1973
2. *Ibid.*, (Farsi) Lahore 1989.
3. *Ibid. Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Lahore 1992.
4. *Ibid. Stray Reflections*, Lahore 1989. Edited by Javed Iqbal.
5. *Ibid. Speeches and Statesments of Iqbal*, Lahore 1973.
6. *Ibid. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, 1977.
7. M.A. Jinnah, *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah*, Lahore, 1941.
8. Rahmat Ali, *Pakistan: The Fatherland of the Pak Nation*, Lahore, First Pakistani Edition, 1978.
9. *Ibid, Complete Works of Rehmat Ali*, edited bz K.K. Aziz. Islamabad, 1978.
10. K.K. Aziz *Rahmat Ali : A Biography*, Lahore 1987.
11. Muhammad Sharif Baqa, *Chaudhry Rahmat Ali Aik Mukhtasar Taaruf* (Urdu), Lahore 1981.
12. *Ibid, Chaudhry Rehmat Ali Ne Kaha*, (Urdu) Lahore 19984.
13. Abdul Hamid, *Chaudhry Rehmat Ali Aur Tehrik-e-Pakistan* (Urdu) Lahore 1995.
14. Chaudhry Muhammad Ashraf, *Mussawar-e-Pakistan Kaun? Talkh Haqaiq*, (Urdu), Islamabad, 1997.
15. Nisar Ahmed Kasana, *Mutaliba-e-Pakistan Aur Chaudhry Rahmat Ali*, (Urdu), Faisalabad, 1977.
16. B.A. Dar, *Letters and Writings of Iqbal*, Karachi 1967.
17. Ahmed Saeed, *Iqbal Aur Quaid-e-Azam* (Urdu), Lahore 1977.
18. Ahmed Saeed, *Writings of Quaid-e-Azam* Lahore, 1976.
19. Khalid Bin Sayeed, *Pakistan : The Formative Phase*, Lahore 1967.
20. Waheed Uzzaman, *Towards Pakistan*, Lahore 1978.
21. Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, *The Struggle for Pakistan*, Karachi, fourth edition, 1979.
22. Aziz ahmed, *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan*, London 1967.
23. Freeland Abbot, *Islam and Pakistan*, New York 1968.
24. Chauudhry Muhammad Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, New York 1967.
25. G. Schuster and Guy Wint, *India and Democracy*, London, 1941.

26. Jahanara Shahnawaz, *Father and daughter : A Political Autobiography*, Lahore, 1971.
27. Muhammad Munir, *Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah*, Lahore 1976.
28. Abdus Salam Khurshid, *History of the Idea of Pakistan*, Lahore 1987.
29. K.K. Aziz, *A History of the Idea of Pakistan*, Lahore, 1987.
30. Saad, R. Khairi, *Jinnah Reinterpreted*, Karachi 1995.
31. S.M. Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan*, Lahore 1959.
32. J.O. Mathew, *Iqbal*, London 1996.
33. Kirpal Sindh, *The Origin of Pakistan*, New Dehly.
34. M.A. Khan, *Iqbal Ka Siyasi Karnama* (Urdu), Karachi, 1952.
35. Shafique Ali Khan, *Two Nation Theory*, Hyderabad, Sind, 1973.

#### b): Magazines and Newspapers

1. *Bombay Chronical*
2. *Leader*, Allahhabad
3. *Indian Daily Mail*, Bombay
4. *Nawa-i-Waqt* Lahore
5. *Morning News*, Calcutta
6. *The Pakistan Times*, Lahore
7. *The Spokesmann*, New Dehly Weekly
8. *Gujjar Gazette*, (weekly) Lahore