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Iqbal's
EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY

BY

K. G. SAIYIDAIN, B.A., M.ED. (Leeds)

Director of Education, Jammu & Kashmir State

(formerly Principal, Training College, Muslim University, Aligarh)



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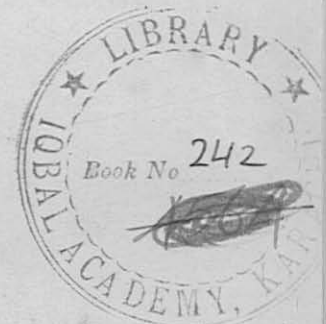
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TO THE DEEPLY LOVED AND REVERED MEMORY

OF

IQBAL

GREAT POET, GREAT PHILOSOPHER, GREAT

EDUCATIONIST, GREAT HUMANIST

AND GREAT MUSLIM

I DEDICATE THIS BOOK—WITH THE HAUNTING

REGRET THAT I WAS NOT DESTINED TO

PRESENT IT TO HIM PERSONALLY,

THOUGH HE HAD READ AND

APPROVED OF ITS

SYNOPSIS



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INTRODUCTION

IN THIS BOOK I propose to examine the educational implications of the philosophical ideas of Sir Muhammad Iqbal whom I consider to be one of the greatest poets and thinkers of the present age. His remarkable genius as a poet has received an adequate measure of recognition and has won the enthusiastic admiration of the younger generation in this country, primarily amongst those who are conversant with Urdu and Persian, the two languages which he utilizes with equal grace and facility for the expression of his poetic ideas. Through Nicholson's translation of his well-known *masnavi Asrar-i-Khudi* ("Secrets of the Self") and some portions of *Payam-i-Mashriq* ("Message of the East") as well as his *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, he has become known to a wider circle including the interested academic people in the West. In his poetry he combines the elucidation of the eternal values with a discussion of the current problems, and issues so happily that one can confidently prophesy an increasing popularity and influence for his work.

But I do not think sufficient attention has so far been given to an elucidation of his philosophical thought and the working out of the practical implications of his stand-point. To many people this attempt may even savour of a utilitarianism in bad taste. They hold that poetry like other fine arts, has no "message" to impart; it is a lyrical expression of the poet's emotional experiences and moods and does not lend itself to philosophical discussion or analysis. It is its own sufficient justification and does not need the surgeon's knife or the psychologist's ruthless examination. There may be something to be said for this delicate æsthetic point of view, but Iqbal himself has no patience with it. For him poetry, like all fine arts, is genuine and significant only when it impinges dynamically on life, deepening its appreciation, quickening its pulses, interpreting its fundamental purposes. Art not for the sake of Art, but for the sake of a fuller and more abundant Life:

اے اہل نظر ذوقِ نظر خوب ہے لیکن
جو شے کی حقیقت کو نہ سمجھے وہ مہنر کیا
مقصود مہنر سوزِ حیاتِ ابدی ہے
یہ ایک نفس یا دو نفسِ مہنر کیا

جس سے دل دریا مستلاطم نہیں ہوتا
اے قطرہ نیساں وہ صدف کیا وہ مہنر کیا
بے مسرکہ دنیا میں اُبھرتی نہیں تو ہیں
جو ضربِ کلیبی نہیں رکھتا وہ مہنر کیا

Moreover, we have to remember that Iqbal is not just a lyrical poet transforming into beautiful verse his wayward whims and fleeting emotions. He is primarily a thinker and a philosopher in the best sense of the word, concerning himself not with abstract and remote issues and speculations which have no bearing on the living problems of the present, but bringing the wealth of his keen intelligence and trained mind to bear on these problems and to suggest their solutions. It will be a poor and partial recognition of his great genius if we allow ourselves to be lost in merely contemplating the visible beauty of the garden which his poetry conjures up before our vision. In his case, an examination and understanding of the content is at least as important as the appreciation of the form— if such a division of thought into form and content is at all warranted, except as a temporary practical expedient adopted for the sake of convenience.

But all this may, at best, be taken as a plea for the study of Iqbal's *philosophical* thought, and one

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may concede the point but still wonder: why should one undertake a study of Iqbal's *educational* philosophy, when Iqbal is not an educationist in the limited everyday-meaning of the word and has not been engaged—except for a comparatively brief period—in teaching? Nor has he put forward anywhere, in a consistent and closely knit argument, any comprehensive educational theory. The answer to that objection, which will provide adequate justification for undertaking such a study as this, is twofold. Firstly, we should understand clearly the meaning and scope of the term Education. It is usually narrowed down to mean the process of teaching and learning which goes on somewhat tamely and mechanically within the precincts of schools and colleges. But that is obviously an unsatisfactory and fragmentary view, since it does not take into account all those formative, social and personal influences which shape and modify the ideas and conduct of groups and individuals. Education, in its correct signification, must be visualized as the sum total of all the cultural forces which play on the life of a person or a community. It follows from this that the emergence of an outstanding creative thinker who has a distinct message to impart and new values to present before the world is a phenomenon of the greatest interest for the educationist; and, the more his ideas catch the

INTRODUCTION

imagination, the understanding and the enthusiasm of his contemporaries, the greater must be his influence as an educative force. Secondly, every philosophy of life, in so far as it throws light on the problems of human life and destiny, implies and postulates a philosophy of education, since both are concerned—with somewhat different motives, no doubt—with similar issues and problems: the meaning and purpose of human life, the relation of the individual to the environment, the problem of values, the general structure of the universe. Any coherent system of ideas, therefore, which provides guidance in facing these problems or offers a critique of existing institutions, culture, social practices and ways of thought must necessarily modify (in so far as we accept that school of thought) the basis of our educational theory and practice. For, education is, after all, engaged in the process of critically evaluating and effectively transmitting the cultural heritage, knowledge and ideals of a social group to its growing members, thereby securing the continuity of their collective life and ensuring its intelligent, creative reconstruction. How can the educational worker be indifferent, then, to the philosophical ideas of a thinker like Iqbal who is constantly struggling with just those problems of human development and its proper orientation which engage his own attention?

It is with the strong conviction that Iqbal has a valuable contribution to make to the solution of these ever recurring but ever fresh problems—particularly as they impinge on the modern mind—that I have endeavoured to elucidate some of the most important and significant trends of his thought and to work out their implications for education in India. As one ponders over the deeper implications of his philosophy, as one watches him unravelling the meaning of the great drama of human evolution and the creative rôle played by man in it, one is apt to catch one's breath in wonder and fascination at the prospect so revealed. And then one turns with impatience and dismay, equalling Iqbal's own, to the pitiful, groping and often misdirected efforts made by education to fit man for his great and glorious destiny! A radical, thorough-going reconstruction of educational aims and methods seems imperatively called for, and although Iqbal does not provide—as we cannot reasonably expect him to do—a fool-proof educational technique or a text-book on educational methodology, he does what is far more valuable and significant: he directs our attention to those basic and fundamental principles of education which underlie all sound educational practices. And it is interesting to note that if we work out the practical implications of these educa-

tional principles, they often turn out to be in full agreement with the views which many great modern educationists have expressed on the problems of schooling, although their line of approach is entirely different and remote from that of Iqbal. This is but another proof of the important fact that there are certain urgent forces and characteristics of modern civilisation which, no matter how they are viewed, demand a certain type of education for modern men and women.

I may add that the task of interpreting his thought is rendered peculiarly difficult—yet pleasant—on account of the fact that it is mainly enshrined in his poetry. With the exception of his recently published *Lectures* all his other works consist of Urdu and Persian poetry; and poetry is by its nature a much more flexible and sensitive medium of expression than prose. It has greater emotional fervour, it can convey subtler shades of emotions and ideas, but it does not possess the same objectivity or precision of thought as a piece of careful and lucid prose. It lends itself to a greater variety of interpretation, which may yield greater appreciation but is apt to obscure intellectual clarity. In interpreting his poetry, I cannot claim to have rid myself of my subjective point of view and my sympathies and, therefore, the meanings that I have been able to read into it may be

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unconsciously somewhat biassed. But I have always exercised one important caution: I have been careful to attach to his verses the meanings which the *general* trend of his ideas seem to justify. For, unlike other poets, Iqbal's poetry possesses a coherence and unity of its own; it does not register the wayward and fleeting whims and moods of the moment. With them a certain verse may mean one of several possible things, sometimes nothing at all. With Iqbal every important verse has a definite meaning and it can, if properly understood, be fitted into the general system of his ideas. Thus his poetry is not like a mechanically put together cross-word puzzle; it has a unity of emotional and intellectual outlook and springs from deep, fundamental sources of conviction, faith and understanding. Its careful perusal will amply repay the students of philosophy as of education, to say nothing of the seeker after beauty of poetic expression, who will discover in it inexhaustible sources of delight and enjoyment.

PART I
THE EDUCATION OF INDIVIDUALITY



CHAPTER I

THE CONCEPT OF INDIVIDUALITY

NO ONE can develop any intelligent theory of education without consciously or unconsciously postulating some conception of the nature of the individual who is to work out his destiny. For the essence of the educative process, reduced to its most elementary terms, is the fact of a living human organism in constant inter-action and contact with a vast and complex environment, changing and growing as a result of this continuous intercourse. Like the philosopher, the educator must necessarily inquire into the characteristic nature of these two terms of his activity which ultimately determine the solution of all his problems.

Let us first examine Iqbal's conception of the nature and the function of the individual who is the object of the educator's attention. In order to grasp this, we must try to elucidate his concept of "individuality" which is the central idea of his philosophy and on which the rest of his thought-structure is based. This was first presented by him in a forceful but popular exposition in his Persian

masnavi, Asrar-i-Khudi ("The Secrets of the Self") and it has been subsequently developed in a more coherent form in his *Lectures*. And, of course, it recurs like a constant refrain in all his poetical works, whether Urdu or Persian. It is necessary to examine his doctrine of Individuality at some length not only because of its intrinsic importance in his system of thought but also because modern psychology, biology and educational theory have laid special stress on it and recent mass movements and dictatorships have given it increased political significance. Modern political, industrial and scientific movements have tended to suppress individuality in various ways and, therefore, social thinkers who are concerned about the preservation of the values of human personality are naturally preoccupied with the problem of re-asserting the primacy of Individuality in life. Iqbal, as a humanist, sensitive to all the possibilities of growth and expansion open to the human spirit, must inevitably devote a great deal of his attention to this problem.

To him *Khudi* (self-hood, individuality) is a real and pre-eminently significant entity which is the centre and the basis of the entire organisation of life. Many other schools of thought, philosophical and religious, have strenuously sought to deny the reality of the Self, but Iqbal considers all these pseudo-mystic or pantheistic movements of thought

to be dangerous in their practical consequences and misleading as intellectual hypotheses. The Hindu and the Buddhist philosophy regarded the Ego or the Self (individuality) as a mere illusion of the mind possessing no abiding reality of its own. Pantheism and pseudo-mysticism, as it developed both in the East and the West, looked upon it as a mere fragment of the Eternal Mind. The English disciples of Hegel, as well as those who believed in the doctrine of Pantheism, were also of opinion that the highest objective and ideal of man is to lose his individual identity in the Absolute like the drop which slips into the ocean and ceases to exist as an individual entity. This view is definitely rejected by Iqbal, who says that the negation of the Self, or its absorption into some Eternal Self, should not be man's moral or religious ideal; he should rather strive to retain his precious individuality and to strengthen it by developing greater originality and uniqueness in it. "The End of Ego's quest is not emancipation from the limitations of individuality; it is, on the other hand, a more precise definition of it."¹ The true interpretation of human experience, he explains (discussing the words of Hallaj, "I am the creative truth"), "is not the drop slipping into the sea but the realization and bold affirmation

1. *Lectures*, p. 187.

... of the reality and permanence of the human ego in a profounder personality".¹

This movement towards the achievement of a profounder individuality is not confined to the life of man: Iqbal finds it clearly expressed in the development of all living organisms. "Throughout the entire gamut of being", he says, "runs the gradually rising note of ego-hood till it reaches its perfection² in man".³ Like Bergson, Nunn and some leading biologists of the day he believes that all living organisms are struggling to achieve a more or less complex individuality; in man the creative impulse has triumphed and he has developed powers which have opened up before him possibilities of unlimited growth and freedom.

ہر چیز ہے عجزِ خود نمائی
ہر ذرہ شہیدِ کبرِ باری
بے ذوق نمودِ زندگی موت
تعمیرِ خودی میں ہے خالی

1. Lectures, p. 91.

2. "Perfection" should, in the context of Iqbal's thought, be interpreted here as *relative* perfection.

3. Lectures, p. 68.

رائی زورِ خودی سے پرت
پر بت ضعفِ خودی سے رائی
اک تو ہے کہ حق ہے اس جہاں میں
باقی ہے نمودِ سیمائی

This is, in fact, his criterion of the degree of reality of any living organism; the extent to which it has achieved the feeling of a distant ego-hood. "Only that truly exists which can say 'I am'. It is the degree of the intuition of I-am-ness that determines the place of a thing in the scale of being."¹ Thus he agrees with Bergson that "individuality is a matter of degrees and is not fully realized even in the case of the apparently closed-off unity of the human being". In his *Asrâr-i-Khudî*, he reverts to this theme again and again and discovers the meaning of the evolutionary process in this striving towards the achievement of a fuller and richer individuality. Thus he says:

چوں حیاتِ عالم از زورِ خودی است
پس بقدر استواری زندگی است

1. Lectures, p. 53.

قطره چوں حرفِ خودی از بر کند
 هستی بے مایه را گوهر کند
 سبز چوں تاب دمیڈ از خویش یافت
 ہمت او سینہ گلشن شکافت
 چوں زمین بر هستی خود محکم است
 ماہ پابند طوافِ پیہم است
 هستی ہمد از زمین محکم تر است
 پس زمین مسحورِ چشمِ خاور است
 چوں خودی آرد ہسم نیرئے زلیت
 می کشاید قلزم از جوئے زلیت

In as much as the life of the Universe comes from the
 strength of the self

Life is in proportion to this strength;
 When a drop of water gets the self's lesson by heart
 It makes it worthless existence a pearl.
 As the grass discovered the power of growth in its self,
 Its aspiration clove the breast of the garden.
 Because the Earth is firmly based on self-existence,
 The captive moon goes round it perpetually.

The being of the Sun is stronger than that of the Earth,
 Therefore is the Earth bewitched by the Sun's eye.
 When Life gathers strength from the self,
 The river of life expands into an ocean.

Man, he holds, has achieved the highest measure of individuality and is most conscious of his own reality, for "the nature of the ego is such, that, in spite of its capacity to respond to other egos, it is self-centred and possesses a private circuit of individuality excluding all egos other than itself"—a view which is directly in opposition to all pantheistic doctrines about the nature of the self and the Universe. So strong and emphatic is his belief in the value and permanence of the human individuality that he rejects unhesitatingly the view that the highest ambition and bliss for the finite individuality of man is to be lost or immersed in the Infinite or the Absolute—the doctrine of Nirvana, or the ideal consummation of the Şüfi. "It is with the irreplaceable singleness of his individuality that the finite ego will approach the Infinite ego to seek for himself the consequences of his past actions".¹ Thus, according to him, neither education nor other social and cultural institutions can have any higher aim than that of strengthening the individuality of the educands for the realization of their limitless possibilities.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

Before discussing how this development of individuality can be facilitated, we must enquire into the causes which have been responsible for directing Iqbal's thought into this particular channel. He finds an emphatic sanction for it, in the first place, in the basic teachings of Islam. The Quranic view of the human ego, he points out, stresses in its simple and forceful manner "the individuality and uniqueness of man and has... a definite view of his destiny as a unity of life".¹ Even in the *higher* Sūfism of Islam "unitive experience is not the finite ego, effacing its own identity by some sort of absorption into the Infinite Ego; it is rather the Infinite passing into the loving embrace of the finite..."² But Iqbal is at the same time alive to the fact that the doctrine of the negation of the Self has crept into and profoundly coloured Muslim thought—mainly and originally through the study of Greek philosophy—although it is essentially repugnant to the spirit of Islam which is anti-classical.

The Quran is empirical in its attitude and holds that "in the domain of Knowledge, scientific or religious, complete independence of thought from concrete experience is not possible". Thus it had sought to give a feeling of reverence for the actual,

1. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

and ultimately made the Muslims the founders of modern science. But the slow permeation of the classic spirit of the Greek culture tended to obscure their true vision of the Quran. Socrates and Plato despised sense preception which, according to them "yielded mere opinion and no real knowledge", but Iqbal points out that the development of an active individuality is impossible except in contact with its dynamic environment. He impeaches Plato as "that old philosopher of sheep", because he deprecated a life of active striving in this world of varied forces and phenomena, which he refused to accept as a challenging and stimulating scene for human activity, and advocated instead a life of contemplation and pure thought for all the free citizens who could afford it.

منکر انلاطوں زیاں را سود گفت
 حکمت او بود را نابود گفت
 بس که از ذوق عمل محرم بود
 جان او وارفتہ معدم بود
 منکر ہنگامہ موجود گشت
 خالق اعیان نامشہود گشت

زنده جاں را عالم امکان خوش است
 مرده دل را عالم اعیان خوش است
 راهب ما چاره غیر از رم نداشت
 طاقت خوفائے این عالم نداشت
 قوم ما از سکر او مسموم گشت
 سخت و از ذوق عمل محروم گشت

The thought of Plato regarded loss as a profit
 His philosophy declared that being is non-being.
 Since he was without any taste for action
 His soul was enraptured by the non-existent.
 He disbelieved in the material universe
 And became the creator of invisible Ideas.
 Sweet is the world of living phenomena to the living
 spirit,

Dear is the world of ideas to the dead spirit.
 The peoples were poisoned by his intoxication,
 They slumbered and took no delight in action.

It was a profound study of the general decadence which has characterised most of the Eastern nations and the Muslims in particular during the last few centuries, which has made him concentrate so strongly on the doctrine of Individuality. He was driven to the conclusion that this feeling of defeat and despair, this loosening of the fibres of national

life was due to the adoption of the paralysing doctrine of self-negation. He seeks to give a new orientation and a dynamic quality to their thought and conduct by preaching the fullest and freest affirmation of the Self in this real world of material forces and phenomena which can, and should, be utilized to serve the increasing purposes of the human spirit. Man, he points out in the words of the Quran, is the "trustee of a free personality which he accepted at his peril", and which can be fully realized only if he throws himself wholeheartedly into the troubles and turmoils, the joys and sorrows of the world which surrounds him. The unceasing reward of man consists, he says, in his "gradual growth in self-possession in uniqueness and intensity of his activity as an ego".¹ He, therefore, preaches the doctrine of the fullest development and affirmation of the Self in this world with all its material forces and phenomena and all its cultural and spiritual riches. This Self, which is always in the making, is a reservoir of yet untapped powers and unsuspected possibilities which demand that the individual should throw himself open to all kinds of formative and challenging experiences. If he withdraws from the world of strife his individuality will shrink and wither and his powers will

1. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

remain unrealized. Even for the poet—generally looked upon as an emotionalist and sentimentalist living in a world of his own artistic moods and sensibilities—his message is one of strenuous striving, and he protests against the poet's normal attitude of relaxation and impotent whimperings against Fate:

اے میان کیسہ ات فستد سخن
 بر عیارِ زندگی او را بزن
 مُد تے غلطیڈہ اندر حریر
 خو بہ کر پاس درشتے ہم بگیر
 خویش را بر ریگ سوزاں ہم بزن
 غوطہ اندر چشمہ زرم بزن
 مثل ملبس ذوق شیون تا کجا
 در چمن زاراں نشین تا کجا
 اے ہما از مین دامت ارجمند
 آشیانے ساز بر کوہ بلند

تا شوی در خورد پیکار حیات
 جسم و جانم سوزد از نار حیات

Oh! if thou hast the coin of poesy in thy purse,
 Rub it on the touchstone of life!
 For a long time thou hast turned about on a bed of silk:
 Now accustom thyself to rough cotton!
 Now throw thyself on the burning sand
 And plunge into the fountain of Zamzam.
 How long wilt thou fain lament like the nightingale?
 How long make thine abode in gardens?
 O thou whose auspicious snare would do honour to
 Phœnix,

Build a nest on the high mountains,
 That thou mayst be fit for life's battle
 That thy body and soul may burn in life's fire!

This note of bold and fearless self-realization runs right through his poetry and philosophy, and he considers the cultivation of Individuality to be the highest goal of all social and educational efforts.





CHAPTER II

THE GROWTH OF INDIVIDUALITY

THIS brings us naturally to the question: How does individuality grow? What are the conditions, external and internal, which favour its development? The answer given by Iqbal to this problem, which is of vital importance for the educationist, has been already suggested in passing. We must now examine it in greater detail.

It will be readily conceded—and Iqbal frequently stresses this point—that this Self or individuality is *not* a datum but an achievement, the fruit of constant, strenuous effort and struggle both against the forces of the environment and against the disruptive tendencies within man himself. “The life of the Ego” explains Iqbal, “is a kind of tension caused by the Ego invading the environment and the environment invading the ego”¹ and it is therefore essential that the living intimacy of the relationship between the individual and his environment should be preserved. Through give—and—take between the individual and his manifold environment and establishing as many intensive

1. *Lectures*, p. 97.

THE GROWTH OF INDIVIDUALITY

and fruitful contacts with the surrounding reality as possible, the individual evolves the inner richness of his being. A life of solitary, self-sufficient contemplation which cuts him off from the stimulus and energising currents of social life is apt to make him egocentric and limited in his interests and sympathies. Iqbal takes a dynamic view of the process of adjustment that is constantly going on between the individual and the environment and points out that “it is the lot of man to share in the deeper aspirations of the Universe around him and to shape his own destiny as well as that of the Universe, now by adjusting himself to its forces now by putting the whole of his energy to mould its forces to his own end and purpose. And in this process of progressive change, God becomes a co-worker with him, provided man takes the initiative:

‘Verily, God will not change the condition of men, till they change what is in themselves’ (Quran)

‘If he does not take the initiative, if he does not evolve the inner richness of his being, if he ceases to feel the inward push of advancing life, then the spirit within him turns into stone and he is reduced to the level of dead matter.’¹

1. *Lectures*, p. 12.

It will be observed from the above quotations that Iqbal's attitude towards the problem of relationship between the individual and the world differs radically from the traditional concept. For him the development of individuality is a *creative* process in which man must play an active role, constantly acting and re-acting purposefully on his environment.

Iqbal also defines the nature of the environment which is congenial to the growth of the Self. True self-expression, whether of the individual or the community, can be secured only when the self feeds on, and draws its inspiration from, one's own cultural heritage and achievements. He is keenly aware of the value of a community's culture for the education and right development of the individual. The continuity of the cultural life of the community therefore demands on the part of the individuals a critical appreciation of, and a steadfast adherence to the highest of its cultural values and traditions. They must have the capacity for the active understanding, assimilation and reconstruction of the existing culture and thereby forging for themselves an individuality which is both original and persistent. Any form of education which ignores this fundamental truth is foredoomed to superficiality—perhaps utter futility—because it will fail to gain any foothold in the depths of the

people's psychology. That is why Iqbal has repeatedly stressed the point that *su'al* (asking, dependence on others, the slavish imitation of their ideas and culture) always weakens the self and unless the individuals as well as the community develop self-reliance and evolve the inner richness of their own being, their potentialities will remain warped and repressed. Iqbal's poetry gives this message again and again in a variety of beautiful forms:

دلا نارائی پر روانہ تا کے،
 نگینہ شیبہ مروانہ تا کے
 بچے خود را بسوز خوشین سوز
 طواف آتش بیگانہ تا کے

And:

از سوال آشفته اجزائے خودی
 بے تجلی نخل سینکے خودی
 از سوال افلاس گردد خوار تر
 از گدائی گدیہ گر نادار تر

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Asking disintegrates the self
And deprives of illumination the Sinai-bush of the self.

By asking poverty is made more abject.
By begging the beggar is made poorer.

On the positive side his exhortation is:

سحر در شاخسارے بوستانے
چہ خوش می گفت مرغ نغمہ خوانے
بر آرد ہر چہ اندر سینہ داری
سرودے ، نالہ ، آہ ، فغانے!
ز خاک خویش طلب آتشی کہ پیدائیت
تجلی دگرے در خور تقاضائیت!

Look into thy own clay for the fire that is lacking
The light of another is not worth striving for.

Of the self reliant individual he says, speaking in the first person singular:

نہ کرم از کے در پوزہ چشم
بہاں را جز بہ چشم خود ندیم

Applying this general principle to the conditions prevailing in the East generally and in India in

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particular, he explains how the slavish imitation of the West by the East has warped the true nature of the Eastern peoples and repressed their creativity. His advice to his own son Javid, as the representative of the rising generation, is:

اٹھانہ شیشہ گران فرنگ کے آسماں
سفال ہند سے مینا و جام پیدا کر

In his *Javid-Nama* Iqbal reviews, through the mouth of Ahmad Shah Abdali, the present relations of the East and the West, and shows how the East has been content, generally speaking, with a cheap and indiscriminating imitation of Western culture and practices. Under the existing political circumstances—in which their contact is corrupted by the sense of inferiority on one side and superiority on the other—imitation is naturally confined mostly to the superficial and non-significant aspects of Western culture and institutions. The East is thereby deprived both of its own individuality and the genuine advantages of its contact with the West. Thus Ahmad Shah Abdali:

شرق را از خود برد تقلید غرب
باید این اقوام را تنقید غرب

قوتِ مغرب نہ از چنگ و رباب
 نے زرقصِ دخترانِ بے حجاب
 محکمئی او نہ از لادینی است
 نے فروغش از خطِ لاطینی است
 قوتِ اسزنگ از علم و فن است
 از ہمیں آتشِ چراغش روشن است

He draws a vivid and truthful picture of how our youth have become de-nationalized through an education which ignored their past history and culture and did nothing to strengthen their individuality or stimulate their originality:

علمِ غیسرِ آموختی، اندوختی؛
 روئے خویش از غازه اش افزودی
 از جندی از شطارش می بری
 می ندانم تو تویی یا دیگرئی!

عقل تو زنجیری افکار غیر
 در گلوئے تو نفس از تار غیر
 بر زبانت گفتگو با مستعار
 در دل تو آرزو با مستعار
 تا کجا طوف چرخ محفلے
 ز آتش خود سوز اگر داری فلے
 فرد فرد آمد که خود را او شناخت
 قوم قوم آمد که جز با خود ساخت

Then follows a scathing criticism of those who, without appreciating the true values of Western civilization, seek to approximate to it by copying its externals:

علم و فن راے جوان شوخ و شنگ
 مغز می باید نہ لبوسِ سزنگ

اندریں رہ جز نگہ مطلوب نیست
 این کلمہ یا آں کلمہ مطلوب نیست
 فکر چالا کے اگر داری بس است!
 طبع درا کے اگر داری بس است!

He reverts to the theme again:

گر کسے شب ہا خورد دود چراغ
 گیرد از علم و فن و حکمت سراغ
 ملک معنی کس حدے اورانہ بست
 بے جہادے پیہے ناید بدست
 بندۂ اشترنگ از ذوق نمود
 می برد از عنبریاں رقص و سرود
 نقد جان خویش در بازو بہ لہو
 علم دشوار است می سازد بہ لہو

از تن آسانی بگیزد سہل را
 فطرت او در پذیرد سہل را
 سہل را جستن دریں دیر کمن
 این دلیل آں کہ جاں رفت از بدن!

Thus he would not, out of prejudice or narrow-mindedness, reject the valuable contributions of the West. He would rather welcome their spirit of research, their sciences, their strenuous striving to gain control of their environment. But he would certainly repudiate the superficial and sensational side of their activities because they weaken our self-respect and give us a false sense of being modern and progressive. He desires to see the educated youth courageous and self-reliant and, therefore, condemns, in no uncertain terms, those who—like certain "leaders" of to-day—have adopted the shameful attitude of a mendicant which is an insult to human dignity and weakens individuality irreparably:

تا بجے در یوزہ منصب کنی
 صورت طفلان زنی مرکب کنی
 فطرتے کو بر فلک بندو نظر
 پست می گردد ز احسان دگر

گر چه باشی تنگ روز و تنگ دست
در ره سیل بلا افکنده رحمت
رزق خویش از نعمت دیگر جو
موج آب از چشمه خاور جو

How long wilt thou sue for office
And ride like children on reeds?
A nature that fixes its gaze on the sky
Becomes debased by receiving benefits.
Albeit thou art poor and wretched
And overwhelmed by affliction,
Seek not thy daily bread from the bounty of another
Seek not waves of water from the fountain of the
Sun.

The educational and political implications of this situation which Iqbal has criticised and condemned are only too obvious. Our educational system, with but few exceptions, is mainly based on borrowed ideas, on the intellectual resources of a foreign culture, on the slavish and cramping use of a foreign language—in a word on “asking”. We have been made accustomed—though political forces are fast breaking the spell now—to look upon the world not only through borrowed glasses

but almost with the eyes of others. Education has in its turn complacently worked towards this consummation, not realizing that it was undermining all national self-respect and blocking up the release of the nation's creative impulses. When education is organized under the inspiration of a new and healthy ideology it will aim at the strengthening of people's individuality, at the re-vitalizing of the sources of their national culture and using its resources to quicken their creative activity.

The third condition which Iqbal postulates as being essential for the education of true individuality is Freedom. He believes that life cannot unfold all its possibilities, nor can the individual develop all his latent powers, except in an atmosphere of freedom which allows for unchecked experimentation with the environment, for the exercise of choice and discrimination in the use of methods and materials and for learning by direct personal, first hand experience. He would have the schools bring up free, daring and creative individuals not emaciated hot-house plants, not youths who have been kept in leading strings:—

زندگی میں گھٹ کے رہ جاتی ہے اک جتنے کم آب
اور آزادی میں بحر سیکراں ہے زندگی

Imprisoned life is reduced to a small rivulet
Free, it is like the boundless ocean!

He exhorts us to cast off our chains:

تا کجا در تہ بال دگراں می باشی
در ہولتے چمن آزادہ پریدن آموز

How long wilt thou abide under the wings of others?
Learn to wing thy flight freely in the garden breeze.

In fact, like Bergson, he sees in the tremendous drama of human evolution a clear trend towards the securing of an ever increasing freedom for man—with all its attendant advantages and perils. He gives an original and interesting interpretation of the legend of the Fall of Man. "Its purpose" he elucidates "is to indicate man's rise from a primitive state of instinctive appetite to the conscious possession of a free self, capable of doubt and disobedience".¹ *Jannat* or Paradise in the Quranic sense of the word and with reference to the legend of the Fall is to him "the conception of a primitive state in which man is practically unrelated to his environment and consequently does not feel the sting of human wants, the birth of which alone

1. *Lectures*, p. 80.

marks the beginning of human culture".¹

Driven from *Jannat*, man takes his abode on Earth and, educationally as well as philosophically, the view that we take of man's life on Earth is of the greatest significance. Christianity as well as other schools of religious and philosophical thought have tended to look upon the Earth where man is to work out his chequered destiny as "a torture hall where an elementally wicked humanity is imprisoned for an original act of sin".² Iqbal's view—which is the distinctive standpoint of Islamic teaching—is that the Earth is a stage where man, equipped with the power of intelligent thought and choice, carries on a continuous experiment in living. This freedom of choice is a distinctive gift vouchsafed to man alone; it is because of this thrilling capacity that in the case of man, Individuality—which in a more or less rudimentary form is common to all living organisms—deepens into Personality opening up, on the one hand, possibilities of wrong-doing and enabling him, on the other hand, to "participate in the creative life of his Maker". This freedom however implies a great risk: "Freedom to choose good involves also the freedom to choose what is the opposite of

1. *Lectures*, p. 80.

2. *Lectures*, p. 80.

good. That God has taken this risk shows his immense faith in man; it is for man now to justify this faith"¹ by a wise and constructive use of the gift of freedom which has been given to him.

This gift of a Free Personality is described by the Quran as a "trust" which was offered to the Heavens and the Earth who refused the great burden but man was daring enough to undertake to bear it. In doing so he also accepted inevitably all the grave and challenging risks and imperfections which are associated with it and which deepen the sense of the tragedy of life. "Perhaps", adds Iqbal, "such a risk alone makes it possible to test and develop the potentialities of a being who was 'created of the goodliest fabric' and then brought down to be the 'lowest of the low'".² It gives him the highest status amongst all created beings and infinitely greater responsibility and confers on him the dignity of God's viceregency on Earth. "Endowed with the power to imagine a better world and to mould what is into what might be, the ego in him aspires in the interest of an increasingly unique and comprehensive individuality to exploit all the various environments on which he may be called upon to operate."³

1. Lectures, p. 81.

2. Lectures, p. 81.

3. Lectures, p. 69.

Now the contention of Iqbal—as of many other great thinkers of the age—is that this unfolding of the latent possibilities can best take place in an atmosphere of freedom. Iqbal further makes the significant point that *creativity*—which is the highest attribute of man and links him up with God—and *originality*, which is a condition precedent for all progressive change, demand freedom for their cultivation. Deprived of freedom man becomes a slave whom Iqbal characterizes, in a happy inspiration, as one incapable of original, creative activity.

نکتمی گویت روشن چو در
تاشناسی امتیاز عبد و حر
عبد را تحصیل حاصل فطرت است
واردات جان او بے ندرت است
دم بدم نو آفرینی کار حر
نغمہ پیسم تازه ریزد تار حر

فطرتش زحمت کوش تکرار نیست
 جاده او حلقه پرکار نیست
 عبد را ایام زنجبیر است و بس
 بر لب او حرف تقدیر است و بس
 همت حر با قضا گردد مشیر
 حادثات از دست او صورت پذیر

It would be interesting to work out the implications of Iqbal's views on freedom and creativity for problems of intellectual and moral education. Since the environment of man is growing and changing as a result of his own creative activity, it is necessary to awaken and cultivate his intelligence if he is live to his life fully and adequately in this complex and challenging environment. Iqbal is keenly alive to the role of knowledge, experimentally acquired, for modern life. "The life of a finite ego in an obstructing environment depends on the perpetual expansion of knowledge based on actual experience. And the experience of a finite ego to whom several possibilities are open expands only by the method of trial and error. Therefore error which may be described as a kind of intellectual evil is an indis-

pensible factor in the building up of experience." It is through a spirit of intellectual adventure, through trial and error, through a fearless exploration into new realms of thought that we can make our original and valuable contribution to the enrichment of knowledge and consequently of life. Iqbal is constantly exhorting his readers not to be intellectually timid but to go out boldly to conquer new domains of knowledge, unafraid of the pitfalls and dangers that beset the way or the threat to established institutions and authority which freedom of thought always holds out:

تراش از نیش خود جاده خویش،
 براه دیگران رستن عذاب است
 گر از دست تو کار نادر آید
 گناهی هم اگر باشد ثواب است

And this freedom and originality of thought and action, if quickened in groups or individuals, will bring great triumphs in its wake:

ندرتِ فکر و عمل کیاشتے ہے، ذوقِ انقلاب
 ندرتِ فکر و عمل کیاشتے ہے، اُلت کا شباب
 ندرتِ فکر و عمل سے محبتِ نواتِ زندگی
 ندرتِ فکر و عمل سے سنگِ خارہ لعلِ ناب

Such a view of intellectual education would point to the rejection of all those elaborate, fool-proof, strictly logical and graded methods of teaching which will seek to eliminate from the path of students' learning all possibility of exercising their intellectual initiative and ingenuity, of making mistakes, and of learning from them. It would, on the other hand, favour methods of self-activity and learning by doing—methods which confront the students with new situations and problems, compelling them to work purposefully with the resources of their environment, to fit means to ends, to rely on their own groping but intelligent efforts, to overcome their difficulties. It would be a far cry indeed from Iqbal's philosophy to, say, the Project Method—each being unaware of the other—but it is no undue stretching of the point to say that they imply a somewhat similar interpretation of the psychology of learning and experience. "The movement of life", he explains, "is determined by ends,

and the presence of ends means that it is permeated by intelligence. Thus ends and purposes, whether they exist as conscious or unconscious tendencies, form the warp and woof of our conscious existence."¹ Compare this statement with the authoritative view of education as envisaged by an advocate of experimentalism:

"The experimentalist sees man living in a world that is a mixture of regular and the changing, of the fixed and the uncertain, of the stable and the precarious. In short, man lives in a world in which the character of experience is such that *intelligent, purposeful activity is demanded if he is to achieve a satisfying experience* . . . [and] the necessary condition for learning to behave intelligently is the freedom to engage in purposeful activity."²

Thus intellectual education can become an effective influence in our life only when it takes into account the intelligent and purposeful character of life and experience. The Project Method, in so far as it is based on purposeful activity, is likely to provide the right kind of intellectual training. The object of this intellectual education, therefore, should be the awakening of the critical and questioning attitude which would refuse to take everything

1. Lectures, p. 50.

2. Childs, *Education and the Philosophy of Experimentalism*, p. 81.

on trust. That is why intellectual curiosity and search for truth are more important in this domain than Truth itself:

ہماتے علم تا افتد بدامت
یقین کم کن گرفتار شکے باش

And:

زیرکی بھروش و حیرانی بخر
زیرکی نطن است و حیرانی نظر!

But while he is keenly conscious of the significance of intelligence and knowledge, Iqbal is not betrayed into that blind worship of the intellect which has, on the one hand, given a one-sided view of the Reality to the Western thinkers and, on the other, minimized the value and importance of Action in the eyes of many of the thinkers of the East. With Bergson he believes that the Intellect has been evolved in, and for the service of, Action, and its function is that of a hand-maiden for the achievement of Life's purposes. "We do not live in order to think; we think in order to live." Iqbal says:

علم از سامان حفظ زندگی است
علم از اسباب تقویم خودی است
علم و فن از پیش خیزان حیات
علم و فن از خانہ سازان حیات

Science is an instrument for the preservation of life,
Science is a means of establishing the Self.
Science and Art are servants of life
Slaves born and bred in its house.

If it is not allied to, and acquired through, action, it cannot be transformed into power, and man cannot use it for the reconstruction of his environment. Iqbal is, therefore, sceptical of the value of mere bookish, academic knowledge which often saps vitality. He is not, therefore, prepared to regard it as the end of the educative process:

من آل علم و ہنر را با پر کاہے نمی ازرم
کہ از تیغ و سپر بیگانہ سازد مرو غازی را!

It is the active quest, the yearning for achievement which gives vitality to knowledge and wings to life. Listen to the instructive conversation between the moth and the bookworm—the one burning for action, the other buried in the study of books:

شنیدم شبے در کتب خانہ من
 بہ پروانہ می گفت کرم کتابی
 باوراق سینا نشین گزشتم
 بسے دیدم از نسخہ ساریابی
 تفہمیدہ ام حکمت زندگی را
 ہماں تیسرہ روزم ز بے آقبابی
 نکو گفت پروانہ نیم سوزے
 کہ این نکتہ را در کتابے نیابی
 پیش می کند زندہ تر زندگی را،
 پیش می دہد بال و پر زندگی را!

That is why he is at one with those modern thinkers who sound a note of warning against an "over-intellectualistic" conception of education and favours a more balanced view which would give due weight to all the elements of experience which make up, in their developed form, the variegated texture of life.

For proper moral education also, the implications of the doctrine of freedom are very important. The traditional conception and methods of moral training have demanded a passive conformity of the individual to a rigid, superimposed moral code and they have tended to belittle the role of thought and intellect in the process of achieving a moral personality. Iqbal, however, takes a different view: "Goodness is not a matter of compulsion; it is the self's free surrender to the moral ideal and arises out of a willing co-operation of free egos. A being whose movements are wholly determined cannot produce goodness. Freedom is thus seen to be a condition of goodness."

This quotation brings out two very important principles underlying moral education. Firstly, education can not produce or stimulate genuine moral behaviour by teaching a set of ready-made moral maxims which the students are to carry out mechanically and without question. Morality involves choice and free will. It is only through personal experience which is guaranteed a reasonable degree of freedom that one can work out, thoughtfully and often laboriously, a code of effective personal morality. Without such a background of experience, gained in the give-and-take of every day social intercourse, theoretical moral maxims cannot be transformed into persistent motive forces of

conduct. Secondly, the quotation brings out the significant relationship of moral to social behaviour. Morality cannot be taught or learnt in isolation; it arises out of the "willing co-operation of free egos" which implies that the schools must provide opportunities for social life and social experience and must utilize in their teaching the healthy motives which operate in community living.

Another factor which Iqbal considers important in the development of individuality is the formation of ever new purposes and desires which determine the direction of our activity and colour the evolution of the Self. It is the ceaseless quest for new and greater creative purposes which adds zest and meaning to life and disciplines the powers and actions of the individuals:

زندگانی را بخت از مدعا است
 کاروانش را در از مدعا است
 زندگی در جستجو پوشیده است
 اصل او در آرزو پوشیده است
 آرزو را در دل خود زنده دار
 تا نگردد مشت خاک تو مزار

آرزو صید مقاصد را کند
 دفترِ افعال را شیرازه بند
 طاقت پرواز بخشد خاک را
 خضر گردد موسی ادراک را
 زندگی سرمایه دار از آرزو است
 عقل از زایندگان بست اوست

Life is preserved by purpose;
 Because of the goal its caravan tinkles.
 Life is latent in seeking,
 Its origin is hidden in Desire.
 Keep Desire alive in thy heart,
 Lest thy handful of dust become a tomb.
 Desire is a noose for hunting ideals,
 A binder for the book of deeds.
 It gives to earth the power of soaring,
 It is a *Khizr* to the Moses of perception.
 'Tis desire that enriches life,
 And the intellect is a child of its womb.

The theme recurs again and again:

گرم خول انسان ز داغ آرزو است
 آتش این خاک از چراغ آرزو است

زندگی مضمون تخیل است و بس
آرزو افسون تخیل است و بس

'Tis the brand of Desire makes the blood of man run
warm,

By the lamp of Desire this dust is enkindled.
Life is occupied with conquest alone
And the one charm for conquest is Desire.

Therefore, he exhorts us by saying:

اگر ز رمز حیات آگهی بجزو و گمیر
دلے کہ از خلش خار آرزو پاک است

Dost thou know the secret of life?

Do not, then, seek and accept a heart which is not
pricked by the thorn of desire.

In the poet, for example, he sees this ceaseless quest after beauty and self-realization, this unceasing creativity inspired by new visions and purposes. This yearning for the unattainable and *striving for it* is the mark of the true artist. The poet says:

چه کنم کہ فطرت من بہ مقام در نساؤ
دل نا صبور دارم چو صبا بہ لالہ زارے

چو نظر قرار گیسود بہ نگار خوب رویے
تپد آں زناں دل من پئے خوب ترنگایے
ز شرر ستارہ جویم، ز ستارہ آفتابے
سر منزلی نہ دارم کہ بمیرم از قرارے
طلبم نہایت آں کہ نہایتے ندارد
بہ نگاہ ناشکیبے بہ دل امیدوارے

He thus epitomizes Bergson's faith in the creative urge of "desire", which he himself calls *soz*:

نہ سے از ازل آورد نہ جائے آورد
لالہ از داغ جگر سوز دوائے آورد

meaning thereby that unceasing, creative Desire is the sole capital with which the individual builds up his Self, his culture and his institutions.

It is obvious, therefore, that when the repressive forces of the environment or of a blind educational system discourage the formation of new desires, ideals and purposes or when the repressive discipline of an absolute all-powerful state imposes its own ready-made purposes on every citizens, the development of a free, creative and unique individuality becomes impossible and one of the most

important objectives of education is defeated. It is, therefore, essential in the interest of a right and effective education that it should awaken in the educands a keen consciousness of their manifold relations with the environment and should lead to the formation of new and creative purposes.

Purposes, however, are not formed in a vacuum; they grow out of dynamic, forward-moving activity which brings the individual into fruitful, manipulative relations with the environment. Mere physical contiguity does not constitute *educative* contact with the environment, which implies action and reaction, the essence of all genuine experience. Experience, as the experimentalists define it, is "primarily an active affair. It is a process of undergoing; a process of standing something; of suffering and passion, of affection in the literal sense of these words. The organism has to endure, to undergo, the consequences of its own actions."¹ Iqbal would, on the whole, agree with such a conception of experience, because it is in a line with his view of Action or Activity as the basis of all development. His entire philosophical thought is an eloquent plea for a life of strenuous activity and endeavour in which the Self interacts with its material and cultural environment and utilizes it, first to realize its

1. Dewey, *Creative Intelligence*, p. 10.

rudimentary, groping purposes and later, through this process of creative self-expression, it learns to form greater purposes and attain to new reaches of power. He condemns, as we have already seen, all life of withdrawal and passivity:

تا بر تو آشکار شود راز زندگی
خود را جدا ز شعله مثال شرر مکن
بهر نظاره جز نگه آشنا میار
در مرز و بوم خود چو غریبان گذر مکن

If thou wouldst read life as an open book,
Be not a spark divided from the brand.
Bring the familiar eye, the friendly look,
Nor visit stranger-like thy native land.

"Action" is, indeed, in his philosophy the pith of life. Man grows to his full stature and realizes his great destiny through a life of strenuous activity, not one of renunciation, of 'soft', cultural and contemplative preoccupations:

میارا بزم بر ساحل که آنجا
نوائے زندگانی نرم خمینر است
بدریا غلط و با محوش در آوینر
حیات جاودال اندرستیز است

Feast not on the shore, for there
Softly breathes the tune of life.
Grapple with the waves and dare!
Immortality is strife.

His poetry is rich with this message, expressed in a hundred different ways, each possessing its own unique beauty and aptness:

سکندر با خضر خوش نکتہ گفت
شریک سوز و ساز بحر و بر زی
تو این جنگ از کنار عصہ بینی
بمیر اندر نبرد و زندہ تر زی

Again:

بہل افسانہ آں پا چہ راغ
حدیث سوز او آزار گوش است
من آں پروانہ را پروانہ دانم
کہ جانش سخت کوش و شعلہ نوش است

He asks us to welcome all experience, not to shut ourselves in isolation, and ridicules the school-master who wants to bring up children like hot-house plants, deprived of the educative and stimulating contact with Nature:

شیخ کتب ہے ایک عمارت گر
جس کی صنعت ہے رُوح انسانی
نکتہ دل پذیر تیرے لئے
کہ گیا ہے حکیم قافی
”پیشِ خورشید بر مکش دیوار
خواہی ار صحن خانہ نورانی“

The joy of life, too, is to be found not in watching the performance from the spectator's gallery, as it were—as some artists and philosophers would have it—but is throwing oneself whole-heartedly into the affray and making every experience—painful or pleasant—contribute to the strength and enrichment of the Self:

گفتا کہ سود خویش ز جیب زیاں بیار
گل از شگاف سینہ زرناب آفرید
درماں ز درد ساز اگر خستہ تن شوی
خوگر بہ خار شو کہ سراپا چمن شوی

In Iqbal's world they do not serve who merely stand and wait. Life demands strenuous and cons-

tant effort on every one's part. His emphasis on action has sometimes led him to express his strong admiration for certain men of action, including great conquerors and rulers, with the result that his attitude towards them has been misunderstood. He does not really admire their objectives and their ethical standards but the dynamic quality in them which enabled them to overcome great obstacles by their power of will and action. This is also the reason why his favourite birds—in his poetical symbolism—are the eagle and the hawk which represent a life of ambition, of high endeavour and of perpetual struggle, leading to the development of a strong individuality. Thus the eagle to the eaglet:

نگه دار خود را و خودمند زمی
 دلیر و درشت و تنومند زمی
 تن نرم و نازک به تیہو گذار ی
 رگِ سخت چوں شاخِ آہو بیار
 ز روئے زمین دانه چیدن خطاست
 کہ پنهانے گردوں خداداد ما ست

Thus counsels one deer, wise as to the secret of a joyous life, to another who wanted to seek refuge in seclusion from the trials of life:

رفیقش گفت اے یارِ خودمند
 اگر خواہی حیات اندر خطر زمی
 دما دم خویشتن را بر فساں زن
 ز تیغِ پاک گوہر تیزتر زمی
 خطر تاب و توان را امتحان است
 عیار ممکناتِ جسم و جان است

Similarly the diamond, self-contained and concentrated, with a fully developed and perfected individuality, addresses a piece of charcoal which is still raw and soft and hence of little value:

خوارکشتی از وجود حنم خویش
 سوحستی از نرمی اندام خویش
 فایز از خوف و غم و دواس باش
 پختہ مثل سنگ شو، الماس باش
 می شود از دے دو عالم مستنیر
 ہر کہ باشد سخت کوشش و سخت گیر

در صلابت آبروئے زندگی است
 ناتوانی ناکسی ناچختگی است!

To men as well as groups, striving to realize their destiny and achieve their individuality, he says:

شریک حلقہ زندان بادہ پیما باش
 حذر ز بیعت پیرے کہ مرد غوغا نیست

And,

مرد ہمت آل رہ روم کہ پانہ گذاشت
 بہ جاوہ کہ درو کوہ و دشت و دریا نیست

Again:

دریں رباط کمن چشم عافیت داری
 ترا بہ کشمکش زندگی نگاہے نیست

From this it follows that, if education is to be a preparation for life, it must be achieved through active participation in life—a principle which (as we shall see later) has brought about the most far reaching changes not only in theory but also in the practice and technique of education. The entire philosophy of experimentalism is inspired by this idea. The experimentalist does not consider the

individual to be "a passive agent who merely absorbs sensations and ideas from his environment. The individual is a product of his own activity just as truly as he is a product of the social influences which nurture his mind."¹ Thus the growth of individuality, according to Iqbal as well as modern educational thought demands intense and manifold activity on the part of the growing child carried on in vital contact with group culture.

1. Childs, *Education and the Philosophy of Experimentalism*.



CHAPTER III

THE DUALISM OF THE REAL AND THE IDEAL

IN analysing the process of the development of individuality. Iqbal has given considerable thought and attention to the dualism between the real and the ideal which has traditionally coloured all philosophic speculation. Philosophically it is a very important issue whether the ideal and the real, the material and the spiritual, the physical and the mental are to be regarded as mutually disparate terms which exclude each other. Educationally, in order to define our objective and the process of its realization it is necessary that we should understand their mutual relationship and significance. If following the traditional philosophers and ethicists we are to regard the actual world of physical realities as either a mere illusion or as unimportant or as a hinderance to the development of the spirit, we shall have to work out a corresponding theory of education. If, on the other hand, like the materialists of today we reduce the entire life and creative activity of man into terms of chemistry and physics and deny the distinct

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entity of the human spirit, then education will have to be shaped accordingly. Against these two alternatives there is a third view which does not regard the real and the ideal as mutually exclusive and does not consider either of them to be unimportant, but takes the real to be the starting point for the realization of the ideal. It will be obvious, from what we have so far indicated Iqbal's philosophic position to be, that he subscribes to the last of these views. In view of the intrinsic importance of the issue, it is necessary to examine his position in some detail.

We have seen that the growth of the Self requires that the individual should evolve the inner richness of his being. This cannot, however, be brought about by withdrawing from the world of matter into the seclusion of one's own contemplative activity but by establishing numerous fruitful contacts with the facts and forces of his environment. It is as a result of such contact that man has gradually won his ascendancy over the world of Nature—a great creative achievement. Thanks to this stimulating contact, he has sharpened his intellect and built up a great civilization and opened up the possibilities of still greater triumphs. To this indomitable spirit of conquest and adventure in man, he pays a stirring tribute in a recent poem entitled "The spirit of Earth welcomes the advent of Adam":

کھول آنکھ، زمین دیکھ، فلک دیکھ، نفض دیکھ
 مشرق سے اُبھرتے ہوئے سورج کو ذرا دیکھ
 اس جلوہ بے پردہ کو پردوں میں چھپا دیکھ
 ایامِ جدائی کے ستم دیکھ، جھٹ دیکھ
 بیتاب نہ ہو معرکہٴ بیم و رجا دیکھ
 ہیں تیرے تصرف میں یہ بادل یہ گھٹائیں
 یہ گنبدِ افلاک یہ خاموش فضایں
 یہ کوہ یہ صحرا یہ سمندر یہ ہوائیں
 تھیں پیشِ نظر کل تو فرشتوں کی ادائیں
 آئینہٴ ایام میں آج اپنی ادا دیکھ
 سمجھے گا زمانہ تیری آنکھوں کے اشکے
 دیکھیں گے تجھے دور سے گزروں کے تناکے
 ناپید تیرے بحرِ تخیل کے کنارے
 پہنچیں گے فلک تک تیری آہوں کے شرارے
 تعمیرِ خودی کر اثر آہ رسا دیکھ

خوشیدِ جہاں تاب کی ضو تیرے شر میں
 آباد ہے اک تازہ جہاں تیرے ہنر میں
 بچتے نہیں بخشے ہوئے فردوسِ نظر میں
 جنت تیری نہاں ہے ترے خونِ جگر میں
 اے پیکرِ گلِ کوششِ پیہم کی جزا دیکھ
 نانسدہ ترے عود کا ہر تارِ ازل سے
 تو جسِ محبت کا حسریدارِ ازل سے
 تو پیرِ صنم خانہٴ اسرارِ ازل سے
 محنت کش و خون ریز دم آزارِ ازل سے
 ہے راکبِ تقدیر جہاں تیری رضا دیکھ

In conformity with the general trend of Islamic thought in this direction, Iqbal is emphatic that, in his development, man must take account of his material conditions which set the stage for the greater part of his conscious activity. Islam, as he puts it, "is not afraid of its contact with matter" but recognizing clearly the intimate and fruitful relation of the ideal with the real says "yes" to the

world of matter and exhorts us to use its great resources for the service of the highest spiritual ends:

دلا رمز حیات از غنچہ در یاب
 حقیقت در مجازش بے حجاب است
 ز خاک تیره می روید ولیکن
 نگاہش بر شعاع آفتاب است

O heart! look for the secret of life in the bud;
 Reality is revealed in its appearance.
 It grows out of the dark earth
 But keeps its gaze towards the rays of the sun.

Thus the ideal and the real are not two opposing forces, and the affirmation of the spiritual self demands a willing acceptance of the world of matter with a view to making it an ally in the process of our development. "The relation of man to Nature must be exploited," he warns us, "in the interest, not of unrighteous desire for domination, but in the nobler interest of a free upward movement of spiritual life."¹ The rank materialist and the narrow biologist may deny all reality to what the Quran calls *Alam-i-Anfus* (Self), but they will

1. *Lectures*, p. 15.

hardly find any support for that extreme position in the more advanced thought of their own sciences which have discovered, with amazement, old respectable "matter" turning in their hands into energy, electrons, a "mere projection of the consciousness of the perceiver". There is an undeniable tendency to explain things in terms of the mind. The extreme idealist may similarly refuse to assign any reality to the *Alam-i-Afaq* (World of Matter). But for all practical purposes it does exist and has to be taken into account in any comprehensive scheme of education.

The practical question which confronts the thoughtful educator in this connection is: what is the respective value and significance of the ideal and the real in the life of man? Granted that they have both to be taken into account, should we assign supremacy to the values of the spirit or to the needs and demands of material life? Here Iqbal parts company with some progressive thinkers of the modern age who deny the primacy of the spirit. "The evolution of life shows", he remarks, "that though, in the beginning, the mental is dominated by the physical, the mental—as it grows in power—tends to dominate the physical and may eventually rise to a position of complete independence." He elucidates his position further: "The ultimate Reality, according to the Quran, is spiri-

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tual and its life consists in its temporal activity. The spirit finds its opportunity in the natural, in material and the secular. All that is secular is, therefore, sacred in the roots of its being. The greatest service that modern thought has rendered to Islam and, as a matter of fact, to all religion, consists in its criticism of what we call material or natural—a criticism which discloses that the merely material has no substance unless we discover it rooted in the spiritual. There is no such thing as a profane world. All this immensity of matter constitutes a scope for the self-realization of the spirit. As the Quran so beautifully puts it: 'The whole of this earth is a mosque'. Iqbal would, therefore, have it that the conscious purpose of education should be to see that man is not betrayed into the temptation of subordinating the mental to the physical and concentrating exclusively on the effort to gain the whole world even though he may lose his soul in the process. Iqbal finds considerable support for this attitude in certain recent developments of thought in Psychology, Education and Biology. Professor Hetherington contributed some years ago a very valuable article to the *Forum of Education*, entitled "The Incidence of Philosophy on Education". The central thought which he has worked out in this article may be briefly summarized here. He points out that there is a certain

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meeting point of the recent work in education, philosophy and social reconstruction. This is the attempt to mitigate the sharpness of the distinctions which were held to prevail between "the world of true being and the temporal and changing world of ordinary experience, between the rational intellect and other powers of the soul." It is coming to be believed more and more that wherever reality is to be found, it is not by turning away from the world of appearances but by penetrating to the full meaning of what is latent there. The practical implication of this for education, as pointed out by the writer, is that the school should attempt to elicit the intellectual, æsthetic and moral significance of the ordinary occupations and interests of life and to "find the growing point of the mind in its effort to handle the everyday, concrete problems". The reconstruction of curriculum and methods which aims at bringing the social activities and occupations of life into the work of the school and encourages methods of self-activity, problem-solving and projects may be interpreted as a recognition of this principles with which Iqbal is certainly in agreement.

Iqbal has, however, been criticised from another point of view. In his insistence on the value of the Ideal and Spiritual, he is accused of soaring so high as to lose all contact with the everyday world

of matter in which the ordinary people have their being. Some of his poetry has also been interpreted to imply a dualism between the ideal and the real world, to the detriment of the latter. A superficial interpretation of some of his poems does, indeed, lend colour to this charge. Thus, in *Bal-i-Jibrail*, he makes a clear distinction between the "world of mind" (من کی دنیا) and the "world of body" (تن کی دنیا) :

من کی دنیا بہ من کی دنیا سوز و مستی جذب و شوق
 تن کی دنیا بہ تن کی دنیا سود و سودا مکر و فن
 من کی دولت ہاتھ آتی ہے تو پھر جاتی نہیں،
 تن کی دولت چھاؤں ہے، آتا ہے من جاتا ہے من
 من کی دنیا میں نہ پایا میں نے افزگی کا راج
 من کی دنیا میں نہ دیکھے میں نے شیخ و برہمن
 پانی پانی کر گئی مجھ کو قلندر کی یہ بات
 تو جھکا جب غیر کے آگے نہ من تیرا نہ تن

But if we examine the whole trend of his thought—in his poetical works and his lectures—we shall see that the allegation is incorrect. He is emphatically opposed to those pseudo-mystics,

other worldly idealists and self-centred æsthetes who would cheerfully ignore the evils, injustices and imperfections of this world, this دنیا کی دنیا, abjure all active effort in behalf of its reconstruction and seek a cowardly compensation in cultivating their own selfish interests—intellectual, artistic or spiritual—in seclusion. He makes this clear in his *Lectures*, saying: "Such a being as man who has to maintain his life in an obstructing environment cannot afford to ignore the visible. The Quran opens our eyes to the great fact of change, through the appreciation and control of which alone it is possible to build a durable civilization." Thus his preoccupation is not with the Immutable and the Unchangeable alone but he is actively concerned with this world of changing phenomena. It is only by flinging ourselves like good crusaders into the struggle that we can fulfil the purpose of our life—not by shunning the struggle on earth because our is in the clouds! Listen to the lament of the "Indian disciple" to his saint, Rumi:

آسمانوں پر مرا فکرِ بلند،
 میں زمیں پر خوار و زار و دردمند
 کار دنیا میں رہا جاتا ہوں میں
 ٹھوکریں اس راہ میں کھاتا ہوں میں

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 تن کی دولت چھوڑ ہے آتا ہے من جاتا ہے من
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 من کی دنیا میں نہ دیکھے میں نے شیخ و برہمن
 پانی پانی کر گئی مجھ کو قلندر کی یہ بات
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 میں زمیں پر خوار و زار و دردمند
 کار دنیا میں رہا جاتا ہوں میں
 ٹھوکریں اس راہ میں کھاتا ہوں میں

کیوں مرے بس کا نہیں کارِ زمین؟
ابنہ دنیا ہے کیوں دانائے دیں؟

To this Rumi replies:

آں کہ بر افلاک رفتارش بود
بر زمین رستن چہ دشوارش بود

meaning thereby that any one who is really gifted with the intellectual and creative activity of the spirit *must* make a good job of his life here and now. It is a false and degrading "spirituality" which weakly puts up with wordly degeneration and impotence for oneself and one's fellows. The proper cultivation and strengthening of individuality is equally necessary for the conquest of the two worlds—this is what is implied in one of the verses quoted above:

پانی پانی کر گئی مجھ کو قلندر کی یہ بات
جب جھکا تو غیر کے آگے نہ من تیرا نہ تن

If one is lacking in self-reliance and self-confidence and cultivates a mendicant's mentality, one is likely to forfeit both the worlds at a single stroke.

But while duly cognisant of the claims of the material world, he is unmistakably devoted to, and appreciative of the spiritual self in man and his entire philosophical thought is imbued with a deeply religious spirit. He refuses to believe that the world of matter alone constitutes the whole of Reality and that man should concern himself exclusively with its interests and problems. The goods of the mind and the riches of the spirit, always aspiring upward in man, are far too valuable in his eyes to be sacrificed at the altar of a crass materialism. Man's creativity is not confined to the re-shaping of matter alone; he has also "the capacity to build a much vaster world in the depths of his own inner being, wherein he discovers sources of infinite joy and inspiration"—in art and poetry, literature and science, philosophy and religion. In the pursuit of these cultural and spiritual values, he should make use of the physical world as his raw material and instruments and exploit all its possibilities for strengthening the upward movement of the human spirit. Education must keep this ideal in view if it is to fulfil its great mission in modern life.



CHAPTER IV

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE COMMUNITY

THE MODERN STRESS on Individuality, with which Iqbal has expressed his agreement, naturally raises several questions. What is the nature of the relationship between the individual and society? Does the cultivation of the individuality imply that the educated men and women will be unmindful of their social obligations and their dependence on the cultural achievements of their people? What is the respective importance of the individual and the group of which he is a member? Should the development of the individual be regarded as the supreme end of the life process and the state as merely an instrument of his development? Or should we subscribe to Hegel's view that the state is a super-personal entity whose strength and integrity are far more important than the rights of individuals? Iqbal, as we have seen, attaches the highest value to individuality but—and this is a significant characteristic of his philosophic thought—he is not betrayed into an extreme, untenable position and takes a balanced view of their respective claims. He duly recognizes the importance of

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the culture-patterns of community life which some of the "New Educationists" have tended to ignore in their eagerness to stress individuality as the end of the educative process and the goal of social institutions. They have been inclined to overlook the fact that the growth of a full and free personality is impossible except when it draws its spiritual sustenance from the culture of the group to which it belongs. This extreme view has been naturally followed by a violent reaction which the various totalitarian theories represent exalting the "type" wholly subservient to the state, above the free, self-determined individual. Discussing this issue in the *Year Book of Education* (1936), with reference particularly to its bearings on education, Professor Clarke points out: "For, whatever else education may mean, it must mean primarily the self-perpetuation of an accepted culture—a culture which is the life of a determined society. This is true whether the cultural process is regarded with the individualists as the maturing of a free personality through the cultural sustenance which the life of a society can offer; or, with the totalitarians, as the affirmation of the one spiritual whole, in its temporary and partial bearers and servants, the citizens."¹ Education must, therefore, produce

1. *Year Book of Education*, p. 249.

the "type" but (he is careful to explain that) it is equally necessary that, in the words of Professor Hocking, "it must provide for growth beyond the type". Modern educational theory, therefore, must concentrate particularly upon "the critical issue of a double relation of the type to society—on the one hand the claim of the society to perpetuate itself in the type and, on the other hand, the claim of the type to become more than a type—a person—and so to react fruitfully, if critically, upon the society which has produced him".¹ In the tragic conflict of political doctrines it must seek for its anchor somewhere between the disruptive and disintegrating influences of the one and the wholly repressive and inhibitory forces of the other.

Iqbal has discussed this issue with keen insight in his second *masnavi*, *Rumuz-i-Bakhsi* ("The Mysteries of Selflessness"), the whole of which is an eloquent presentation of the intimacy of relationship between the individual and the cultural life of the community in which he lives, moves and has his being. Alone, he is weak and powerless; his energies are scattered, his aims narrow, diffuse and indefinite. It is the active and living membership of a vital community that confers on him

1. *Year Book of Education*, p. 254.

a sense of power and makes him conscious of great collective purposes which deepen and widen the scope and significance of his individual Self:

فرد قائم ربط ملت سے ہے تنہا کچھ نہیں
موج ہے دریا میں اور بیرون دریا کچھ نہیں

This is Iqbal's conception of their mutual relationship:

فرد می گیسرد ز ملت احترام
ملت از انسداد می یابد نظام
فرد تا اندر جماعت گم شود؛
قطرہ وسعت طلب متلزم شود
در دیش ذوق نمود از ملت است
احتساب کار او از ملت است
در زبان قوم گویا می شود
بر رو اسلاف پویا می شود

هر که آب از زفرم بخت نخورد
 شعله های نغمه در عودش فسرود
 فرد تنها از مقاصد غافل است
 تویش به شفقتی را مائل است
 قوم با ضبط آشنا گرداندش،
 نرم رو مهمل صبا گرداندش

Having explained how the individual's powers and purposes take their inspiration and their characteristic colour from the life of the community, he exhorts him thus:

چون گهر در رشته او صفته شو،
 ورنه مانند غبار آشفته شو

"The individual who loses himself in the community"—i.e., in the service of its great and worthy ideals and purposes—"reflects both the past and the future as in a mirror so that he transcends mortality and enters into the life of Islam which is infinite and everlasting".¹

What, it may be asked, is the right basis for the unity of a community? What is the cementing bond

1. Preface to the *Secrets of the Self*, p. XIV.
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which gives coherence to its life and links up its members into one indivisible whole? The modern age is obviously characterized by a fervent acceptance of territorial patriotism and racial fanaticism as integrating forces in the life of a people. The nationalist movements of the 18th and 19th centuries had accentuated the sentiment of a narrow patriotism and, before more recent movements of international socialism could make much headway to break down national antagonisms, the new doctrines of Fascism and Nazism, with their ideology of race-worship and hatred of foreigners, have ushered in a still more reactionary tendency. Against this gloomy background, it is refreshing to study Iqbal's point of view which is but an expression of the political philosophy of Islam. He is strongly opposed to the ideas of race and colour and narrow nationalism and narrow patriotism because they are an obstruction in the path of evolving a broad, humanitarian outlook. According to him, it is not racial or geographical unity—mere accidents of time and space—which should be made the basis of a people's coherence. It is the unity of emotions and outlook, of purposes and endeavour, a merging of individual selves in the service of great, co-operative ideals and objectives which cement a collection of individuals into a genuine community.

ملت از یک رنگی دہانتے
 روشن از یک جلوہ سیناتے
 قوم را اندیشہ ہا باید یکے
 در ضمیرش مدعا باید یکے
 جذبہ بانہ در سرشت ادیکے
 ہم عیار خوب و زشت ادیکے
 اصل ملت در وطن دیدن کہ چہ؟
 باد و آب و گل پرستیدن کہ چہ؟
 برنسب نازاں شدن نادانی است
 حکم او اندر تن و تن فانی است
 ملت مارا اساس دیگر است
 این اساس اندر دل ماضم است

And again, he defines *millat* (community) in psychological terms:

چلیست ملت اے کہ گوئی لایزالہ
 با ہزاراں چشم بودن یک نگاہ

اہل حق را حجت و دعوے یکے است
 "خیمہ ہائے ما جدا دل ہا یکے است"
 ذرہ ہا از یک نگاہی آفتاب
 یک نگاہ شو تا شود حق بے حجاب
 یک نگاہی را بہ چشم کم مہیں
 از تجلی ہائے توحید است این
 مردہ؟ از یک نگاہی زندہ شو
 بگذر از بے مرکزی پائندہ شو
 وحدت افکار و کردار آفریں
 تا شوی اندر جہاں صاحب نگیں

When such a creative unity of outlook has been achieved, it becomes, for good or evil, a source of unlimited power for individuals as well as the community. Deprived of it, the community becomes disorganized, feeble, dead:

زنده مسرد از ارتباط جان و تن
 زنده قوم از حفظ ناموس کهن
 مرگ فرد از خشکی رود حیات
 مرگ قوم از ترک مقصود حیات

Of course, this unity of outlook and emotions is by itself just a source of power which may be used for any ends. The ethical value of this power depends upon the nature of the ideas and ideals to which it is wedded. These we shall discuss in a later chapter.

Unlike some modern thinkers, who are impatient and contemptuous of the past and its cultural achievements and would gladly wipe the slate of society clean in order to write on it anew, Iqbal, as we have seen, realizes the power of the past and is keenly aware of the value of History in the education and the general evolution of a people. He realizes that a community cannot gain a true understanding of its inner self without an intelligent study of its own history and historical evolution. It is the gradual, cumulative appreciation of its manifold cultural associations which knits it into a strong unity and brings it to maturity:

تنت نو زاده مثل طفلک است
 طفلکے کو در کنار ناک است
 طفلکے از خویشتن نا آگے
 گوہر آلودہ خاک رہے
 بستہ با امروز او فرداش نیست
 حلقہ ہائے روز و شب در پاش نیست
 چشم ہستی را مثال مردم است
 غیر را بیندہ و از خود گم است
 مدگرہ از رشتہ خود داکند
 تا سہ تار خودی پیدا کند
 گرم چول اُفتد بکار روزگار
 این شعور تازہ گرود پائدار
 سرگذشت او گر از یادش رود
 باز اندر نیستی گم می شود

But the history to which he would assign a place of honour in education is not just an amusing story or a legend, recounting interesting happenings of bygone ages. It should vividly re-create the past, mirror, as in a looking glass, the sources and achievements of the people's culture and give them a true understanding of their place and function in the general march of mankind. The living assimilation of past history will give them a fresh sense of power and self-confidence and strengthen their individuality.

حیث تالیخ اے ز خود بیگانہ،
 داستانی، قصہ، افسانہ،
 این ترا از غوشتن آگہ کنند
 آشنائی کار و مردہ کنند
 ہم چو نخبہ بر فسانت می زند
 باز بر روی جہانت می زند
 شعلہ افسردہ در سوزش نگر
 دوش در آغوش امروزش نگر

شمع ادبخت اُمم را کوکب است
 روشن از روی شب و ہم ام شب است
 چشم پر کارے کہ بیسند رفتہ را
 پیش تو باز آسند رفتہ را
 ضبط کن تاریخ را پائندہ شو
 از نفس ہائے رسیدہ زندہ شو
 سرزند از ماضی تو حال تو
 خیزد از حال تو استقبال تو
 مشکمن ار خواہی حیات لا زوال
 رشتہ ماضی و استقبال و حال
 موج ادراک تسلسل زندگی است
 نے کشاں را شور فقلل زندگی است

Iqbal also observes in this connection that, particularly in periods of decadence, a people can gain new vitality by turning to the healthy sources of their past culture. By striking their feet, as it were,

firmly on the ground of this culture, they gain, like Antæus, fresh power and inspiration. In such critical periods, he deprecates excessive individualism and unchecked freedom of thought:

مضمحل گردد چو تقویم حیات
 ملت از تقلید می گیرد ثبات
 راه آبا رو که این جمعیت است
 معنی تقلید ضبط ملت است
 بحرگم کردی زیاں اندیش باش
 حافظ جوئے کم آب خویش باش
 اجتهاد اندر زمان انحطاط
 قوم را برہم ہی پیچید بساط
 ز اجتهاد عالمان کم نظر
 اقتدا بر رفتگان محفوظ تر

If these verses are taken by themselves, without reference to the general trend of Iqbal's thought, they would seem to favour a static or conservative conception of culture and an obvious discounting of the dynamic, forward-looking forces. But, as a

matter of fact, here Iqbal has, with the freedom of the poet, drawn pointed attention to *one* important aspect of the situation only. To get his position into proper perspective, it is necessary to take his ideas as a whole and evaluate them with reference to the general trend of his thinking. Such a comprehensive view would show that, like Goethe and Carlyle, he is keenly appreciative of the role of original, creative individuals in the development and progressive reconstruction of the life of a community. The social order always tends to be stable and stationary; it is such individuals, with independence of thought and originality of vision, who give it new values and bring a dynamic urge into its routine ways. When a community becomes lazy, slothful, disinclined to effort and averse to change:

سُست و بے جان تار و پود کار او
 ناکشوده غنچه پندار او
 جان او از سخت کوشی رم زند
 پنجه در دامان فطرت کم زند

some great individual is born to give it a new impetus:

تا خدا صاحب دے پیدا کند
 کو ز حرفے دفترے اِلا کند
 ساز پروازے کہ از آوازہ
 خاک را بخشد حیات تازه
 تازہ انداز منظر پیدا کند
 گلستاں در دشت و در پیدا کند
 عقل عریاں را دہد پیرایہ
 بخشد این بے مایہ را سرمایہ
 بندہ از پاکشاید بندہ را
 از خداوندان رماند بندہ را
 گویدش تو بندہ دیگر نہ
 زین بتان بے زباں کم تر نہ

This idea recurs very frequently in his poetry and is to be found as a central motif of his thought in his earlier as well as later writings:

فرد بر می خیزد از مژگن گلے
 قوم زاید از دل صاحب دے

Of such great and unique individuals, he sings with lyrical fervour:

مرد حق از آسمان افتد چو برق
 بہنیم او شہر و دشت و غرب و شرق
 ما ہمہ با سوز او صاحب دلیم
 ورنہ نقش باطل آب و گلیم

It need hardly be pointed out that Iqbal is using here the language of metaphor. He does not obviously look up to some great blood-thirsty conqueror who will be a scourge to the East and the West, the towns and the country side. As the second verse indicates, he is a man with a unique vision and intensity of feeling who broadens our outlook and our sympathies. He does certainly clear away the cobwebs of old, effete and out-worn institutions and inspires mankind with a new message of hope and creative life, making them *sahib-dil* i.e., people with hearts alive. But with Iqbal this doctrine of individuality is not a mere academic thesis.

In his later thought, at least, it is charged with an urgent practical significance. The reason appears to be twofold. On the one hand, he has a poignant realization of the general decadence that has beset the Muslim world for the last two centuries, due largely to the lack of the right kind of leadership. Secondly—and more recently—the recrudescence of certain political movements in Europe which seek to repress the freedom of the individual through the over-organization of collective life have made him doubly cognisant of the value of individuality. In his *Lectures*, Iqbal has given unambiguous expression to his attitude on the question. In an interesting and thoughtful discussion of the destruction of Baghdad in the 13th century, which brought general disintegration of the Muslim world in its wake, he points out how the conservative thinkers of the period had focussed all their efforts and attention on “the one point of preserving a uniform social life for the people by a jealous exclusion of all innovations . . . Their leading idea was social order, and there is no doubt they were partly right because organization does to a certain extent counteract the forces of decay. But they did not see, and our modern Ulema do not see, that the ultimate fate of a people does not depend so much on organization *as on the worth and power of individual men*. In an over-organized society, an individual is alto-

gether crushed out of existence. He gains the whole world of social thought around him and loses his own soul. Thus a false reverence for past history and its artificial resurrection—such as we see in many Eastern and Western countries today—constitute no remedy for the people's decay. . . The only effective power, therefore, that counteracts the forces of decay in a people is the rearing of self-concentrated individuals. Such individuals alone reveal the depths of life. They disclose new standards in the light of which we begin to see that our environment is not wholly inviolable and requires revision.”

The relevance of this argument is particularly striking with reference to certain collectivist states in Europe today where over-organization and a “false reverence for past history and its artificial resurrection” have killed the freedom of thought and arrested the forward movement of the human spirit. A quotation which Iqbal gives from a modern historian—with his own approval—is particularly apt in this connection: “The verdict of history is that worn-out ideas have never risen to power among a people who have worn them out.” In the light of such views, it would be wrong to accuse Iqbal of taking a static view of human culture. For him the development of individuality inevitably implies what he has called “the principle of move-

ment in thought" without which the wings of human spirit become clipped and it begins to feed on fruitless, "worn-out ideas".



CHAPTER V
CREATIVE EVOLUTION

EQUIPPED with a free personality and in active contact with his environment, man sets out on his career of unlimited development and conquest which is, in its essence, the process of his education. We have now to inquire as to what is Iqbal's conception of the rôle of a man in the Universe and of the nature of this Universe which surrounds him. Philosophy has always been preoccupied with this problem, and it matters profoundly for education whether one takes a mechanistic or creative, pessimistic or optimistic, fatalistic or free view of man's life and activity on earth. Iqbal definitely rejects the idea of a closed, predetermined Universe in which nothing new can ever take place, which is subject to Nietzsche's gloomy law of "eternal recurrence". Discussing the character of the Universe in the light of Quranic teachings, he points out that it is not the result of mere creative sport but is a serious and meaningful reality which must be accepted with all its opportunities and limitations. Nor is it a block-Universe given ready-made once for all—finished, immobile, incapable of change. "To my mind," he remarks,

“there is nothing more alien to the Quranic world than the idea that the Universe is a temporal working-out of a preconceived plan...an already completed product which left the hand of its Maker ages ago and is now lying stretched in space as a dead mass of matter to which time does nothing and consequently is nothing”.¹ It is really a growing Universe, capable of infinite increase and extension; for, “deep in its being lies perhaps the dream of a new birth”.² To the pessimist, doubtful of the great possibilities of man's further evolution, he says:

گماں مبر کہ بیاباں رسید کارمخاں
ہزار بادۂ ناخوردہ در رگ تاک است

And:

یہ کائنات ابھی ناتمام ہے شاید
کہ آ رہی ہے دما دم صدائے کن فیکوں

This Universe, then, which is an open, unfinished entity, constantly undergoing increase and extension, provides a stimulating field for man's free and creative activity through which, on the one hand, he conquers the world of Nature and, on the other, brings to perfection the powers of his individuality. The Universe was chaotic, rough-hewn, dominated

1. Lectures, p. 48.

2. Lectures, p. 16.

by wild beasts and untamed natural forces. It is man who has brought order, beauty and utility into it and, in his pardonable impudence, he challenges God himself and claims to have improved His handiwork beyond recognition.

توشب آنسریدی چراغ آنسریدم
سفال آنسریدی ایانخ آنسریدم
بیابان و کوهسار و داغ آنسریدی
خیابان و گلزار و باغ آنسریدم
من آنم کہ از سنگ آئینہ سازم
من آنم کہ از زہر نوشینہ سازم

Dissatisfied with the imperfect world in which he finds himself and failing to perceive that it is just this imperfection which brings out his latent creativity, he feels irritated:

صد جہاں می روید از کشت خیال ما چو گل
یک جہاں دآں ہم از خون تمنا ساختی
طح نو انگن کہ ما جدت پسند افتادہ ایم
این چه حیرت خانہ امروز و فردا ساختی!

What of the nature and destiny of man who has to play his part on this stage? In the earliest stages of man's career, visualizes him as surrounded on all sides by forces of obstruction. But he is by nature restless, inquisitive, "engrossed in a ceaseless quest after fresh scopes for self-expression". As the possessor of a free personality, he is superior to nature and all other created beings. In his innermost being, he is essentially "a creative activity", shaping his own destiny and that of his Universe now by adjusting himself to it, now by pressing its forces into the service of his increasing purposes.

In his *Payam-i-Mashriq* ("The Message of the East") he gives a fascinating, poetical account of man's spiritual evolution on earth in a poem entitled *Taskhir-i-Fitrat* ("Conquest of Nature"). In the first section, *Milad-i-Adam*, ("The Birth of Adam"), he points out how Adam, man born of passive clay but a centre of creative and dynamic energy, gifted with the powers of action, appreciation, intelligence and love, creates, in the quiet harmony and stability of the Universe, a disturbance fraught with far-reaching consequences, because he has the capacity to defeat the inertia of matter and to reconstruct the Universe to suit his aims:

نعرہ زد عشق کہ خونیں جگرے پیدا شد
حسن لرزید کہ صاحب نظرے پیدا شد

فطرت آشفست کہ از خاک جهان مجبور
خودگرے، خود شکنے، خود نگرے پیدا شد
خبرے رفت ز گردوں بہ شبستان ازل
حذر اے پر و گیساں پرده کے پیدا شد
آرزو بے خبر از خویش یا غوش حیات
چشم واکرد و جهان دگرے پیدا شد

Through his creativity he has been able to defeat his own limitations and, as Bergson has lucidly worked out, by the developments of motor mechanisms, of social life and of the plastic instrument of language, he has conquered both space and time and added immeasurably to his powers of action. As Iqbal puts it:

ز طیارہ ما بال و پر ساختیم،
سوئے آسماں رہ گذر ساختیم

In this process of active reconstruction and change he becomes a co-worker with God and often assumes the initiative in bringing about far-reaching changes in the natural as well as the social and moral world around him.

In his *Javid-Nama*, the voice of God (*Nida-i-Jamal*) addresses man in the following words, appealing to his freedom and creativity:

زندگی ہمسانی و ہم باقی است
 این ہمہ حسلتی و مشتاقی است
 زندہ بہ حنلاق شو، مشتاق شو
 ہم چو ماگیرندہ آفتاق شو
 در تنگن آں را کہ ناید سازگار
 از ضمیر خود دگر عالم بسیار
 بندہ آزاد را آید گراں
 زیستن اندر جهان دیگران
 ہر کہ او را قوتِ تخلیق نیست
 پیش ماجسہ کافر و زندقہ نیست
 از جمال ما نصیب خود نبرد
 از تخیل زندگانی بر نخورد
 مرد حق! برتندہ چو شمشیر باش
 خود جهان خویش را تقدیر باش

This is a ringing challenge to man to shatter this "sorry scheme of things entire" into bits and actively to build a new and better social order. Such a view of his destiny, recognizing its great possibilities and insisting on strenuous endeavour, avoids the temptation of a cheap, facile optimism as well as the paralysing effect of a gloomy pessimism. It is in consonance with the attitude of Islam on the relation between the individual and the Universe, if Iqbal says: "To the optimist Browning, all is well with the world; to the pessimist Schopenhauer the world is one perpetual winter wherein a blind will expresses itself in a variety of living things which bemoan their existence for a moment and then disappear for ever . . . The issue thus raised between optimism and pessimism cannot be finally decided at the present stage of our knowledge of the Universe . . . We cannot understand the full import of the great cosmic forces which work havoc and at the same time sustain and amplify life. The teaching of the Quran which believes in the possibility of improvement in the behaviour of man and his control over natural forces, is neither optimism nor pessimism. It is *meliorism* which recognizes a growing Universe and is animated by the hope of man's eventual triumph over evil."¹

1. *Lectures*, p. 78.

A further analysis of Iqbal's philosophical position shows that he is opposed both to the mechanistic determinism of the physical sciences which deny autonomy and freedom to man and believe in a rigid causality,¹ and to that false interpretation of teleology which holds that "all is given ready-made somewhere in eternity and the temporal order of events is nothing more than a mere imitation of the eternal mould". The latter view, he argues, is "hardly distinguishable from mechanism; in fact, it is a kind of veiled materialism in which fate or destiny takes the place of rigid determinism, leaving no scope for human or even divine intervention".² The world visualized as "a process realizing a pre-ordained goal" is poles apart from Iqbal's *weltanschauung* because it is not "a world of free, reposable moral agents ... [but] only a stage on which puppets are made to move by a kind of a pull from behind".³ The relevance of this discussion is that such a view, consciously or unconsciously, inspires the popular interpretation of *Taqdir* (Destiny), a doctrine which has long main-

1. More recent developments in Physics and Biology, however, are tending to shake the scientists' belief in rigid determinism (See Joad's *Guide to Modern Thought*).

2. *Lectures*, p. 51.

3. *Lectures*, p. 52.

tained a firm hold on the minds of the people of the East and has tragically paralysed their powers of action. It denies creativity to man and interprets the movement of history as "a gradually revealed photo of a predetermined order of events". If this were true, there would be "no room in it for novelty and initiation. Consequently we can attach no meaning to the word creation, which has a meaning for us only in view of our capacity for original action". Iqbal's own interpretation of Destiny, which takes its inspiration from the Quran, is significant. "The destiny of a thing is not an unrelevating fate working from without like a task master; it is the inward reach of a thing, its realizable possibilities which lie within the depths of its nature and serially actualize themselves without any feeling of compulsion."¹ It follows, therefore, that for every individual "the future exists only as an open possibility and not as a reality or as a fixed order of events with definite outlines".² It also implies that time is a creative factor and gives scope for free activity and development; it is not a "mere repetition of homogeneous moments which make conscious experience a delusion" and the idea of freedom

1. *Lectures*, p. 48.

2. *Lectures*, p. 58.

and creation a mockery. Such a view removes the oppressive weight of an inexorable Destiny from our shoulders, and we realise, with Iqbal, that "every act of a free Ego creates a new situation and thus offers further opportunities of creative unfolding . . . [that] every moment in the life of Reality is original, giving birth to what is absolutely novel and unforeseeable. That is why it is impossible to explain the creative activity of life in terms of mechanism . . . Life with its intense feeling of spontaneity constitutes a centre of indetermination and thus falls outside the domain of necessity."¹ The true interpretation of life, then, according to Iqbal (as well as Bergson) is that it is a constant process of Becoming, a progressive formation of fresh ends, purposes and values to which we subject our growing activity. "We become", says Iqbal tersely, "by ceasing to be what we are. Life is a passage through a series of deaths"²—which cannot, however, quench its surging flame!

Iqbal does not believe that the process of creative Evolution has come to an end with the emergence of man in the existing spatio-temporal order or that man's present structure, physiologi-

1. Lectures, p. 48.

2. Lectures, p. 52.

cal and mental, is the consummation of biological evolution. He has an earnest and contagious faith in the unlimited possibilities of man's development; he visualizes him as destined to win his way, through persistent efforts and struggles, to the position of God's viceroyalty on Earth and to achieve immortality. He is acutely dissatisfied with men as they now are—inferior in calibre, limited in intellect, full of meanness and cruelty—and often raises his voice in challenging lament to God against their inferiority:

نقشِ دگر طراز وہ آدمِ پنختہ تر یار
بختِ خاک ساختن می نہ سزود خدائے را

And:

ہو نقش اگر باطل نکھار سے کیا حاصل
کیا تجھ کو خوش آتی ہے آدم کی یہ ازانی؟

His qualified admiration for Nietzsche—with whose ideas he has certain superficial similarities which have misled many students of his thought—is based on the German philosopher's search for a better type of manhood, the Superman:

از سستی عناصر انسان دلش تپید
فکر حکیم پیکرِ محکم تر آسزید

But while Nietzsche despairs of men as they are and is contemptuous of all democratic movements and their possibilities and hopes for the miraculous appearance of his superman, Iqbal has faith in his fellow beings and in the power of the right ideology and right education to transform them by developing their inner richness:

عروج آدمِ خاکی سے انجم سمے جاتے ہیں
کہ یہ ٹوٹا ہوا تارہ مہ کامل نہ بن جائے

Life, as he sees it, is a perpetual motion, a continuous journey of man to new goals, undreamt of triumphs; rest spells death:

راہرو کو داند اسرار سفر
ترسد از منزل ز بہزن پیشتر
بختق در ہجرو وصال آسودہ نیست
بے جمال لایزال آسودہ نیست
ابتدا پیش بتاں افتادگی
انتہا از دلبراں افتادگی
کیش ما مانند موج تیز گام
خستیار جادۂ ترک مقام

Hence we find that a note of optimism about the future of mankind is at least as frequent in his poetry as that of disappointment with his actual achievements:

مشو نوید زین ممت غبارے
پریشیاں حبلوۂ نا پائدارے
چوں فطرت می تراشد پیکرے را
تماش می کند در روزگارے

Man is the repository of unlimited powers waiting to be exploited.

ز غبسم تا بہ انجم صد جہاں بود
خود ہر جا کہ بزد آسماں بود
ولیکن چوں بخود نگر لیتم من
کران بیکراں در سن نہاں بود

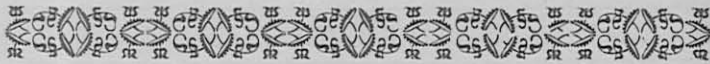
To Iqbal this terrestrial world, with its priceless asset of human personality is far more significant and valuable than the great heavens with all their suns and stars. When the Heavens taunt the Earth with its darkness and pettiness—

چوں تو در پہنائے من کوئے کجاست
جز بقند یلم ترا گورے کجاست
یا بزی با ساز و برگ دلبری
با بمیر از ننگ و عار دلبری

the Earth is saddened. But the Voice of Life cheers it up, reminding it that it is the throb of conscious and creative life in man, living in the bosom of the Earth which gives meaning to the Universe:

اے ایمنے از امانت بے خبر
غم نخور اندر غمخیز خود نگر
روزها روشن ز غوغائے حیات
نے از ان نورے کر بینی در بہات
عقل آدم بر ہماں شجخوں زند
عشق او بر لا مکاں شجخوں زند
دانہا شتوید ز داماں وجود
بے نگاہ او ہماں گور و کبود

ہر کہ عاشق شد جمال ذات را
ادست سید جملہ موجودات را



CHAPTER VI

REVOLT AGAINST INTELLECTUALISM

IN AN EARLIER CHAPTER we have considered one aspect of Iqbal's revolt against the "over-intellectualism" of modern thought—namely, his insistence on action, in the service of which (according to him as well as Bergson) the intellect has been evolved. He has emphatically expressed the belief that knowledge, divorced from activity, is apt to become dead and superficial. We have now to consider another phase of his thought—the relation between intellect and intuition or what he, in the language of poetry, calls "Love", using the word in a special and comprehensive sense.

Philosophy has always been concerned with the problem of *how* man's growing activity is to be controlled and guided. This search for what may be called the ethical principle for the guidance of conduct has led various schools of thought to different conclusions. Modern thought, deeply influenced by the development of the physical and biological sciences which represent a triumph of human intellect, has tended to regard the intellect

REVOLT AGAINST INTELLECTUALISM

as providing a wholly adequate instrument for the guidance of life activities. "Experimentally controlled experience", Childs explains, discussing the implications of experimentalism, "is an adequate means for guiding and regulating human affairs, provided men develop the attitudes and the dispositions which the critical, constructive use of this method demands".¹ Not only the pragmatists like Dewey and Kilpatrick but also Russell and other scientific philosophers hold that all the complicated tangles of the modern world—social, political, ethical and psychological—can be set right by releasing human intelligence and giving it the supreme command over our lives.

Iqbal parts here company with these thinkers and makes common cause with Bergson in impeaching contemporary thought—and civilization—for over-stressing the intellect at the expense of Intuition or Love. He reverts to this theme—the relationship of Intellect (or *Khabar*) to Intuition which in his poetry as well as his *Lectures* he variously calls *Ishq* or *Nazar*. He begins with pointing out that there are two ways of apprehending Reality, and both have their special functions in the direction and enrichment of our activity. Through reflective observation and the control of

1. Childs. *Education and the Philosophy of Experimentalism*.

the symbols of Reality, as revealed to our sense perception—which is the function of the analytic intellect—we grasp reality piece-meal fixing our gaze on its temporal aspect. Through Intuition or Love or the perception of the heart (as Eastern poets and mystics have called it) we apprehend and associate directly with Reality as it reveals itself to us in an intuitive flash in its wholeness. We arrive at metaphysical truth, Iqbal believes with Bergson, “not by exercising the intellect but by paying heed to the deliverances of a faculty called Intuition”. “The heart”, says Iqbal, “is a kind of inner intuition or insight which, in the beautiful words of Rumi, feeds on the rays of the sun and brings us into contact with aspects of Reality other than those open to sense perception... It is a mode of dealing with Reality in which sensation does not play a part [but] the experiences thus revealed to us is as real and concrete as any other experience. Thus it will be seen that the two are not essentially opposed to each other, for the one is the present enjoyment of the whole Reality; the other aims at traversing the whole by slowly specifying and closing up the various regions of the whole for exclusive observation. In fact, Intuition, as Bergson rightly says, is only a higher kind of intellect, through which we enter into and grasp the nature and meaning of reality as an

indivisible whole, even as we appreciate the meaning of a picture or a symphony.”¹

How is it, then, that Iqbal often appears to deprecate the importance of the intellect? Is he an obscurantist who, failing to understand the significant rôle played by the Intellect in individual and social evolution seeks to put back the hands of the clock of time? Why is he constantly exhorting his readers to return from the cold regions of an arid intellectualism to the warmth of Love or Intuition?

نشانِ راه ز عقل ہزار حیلہ میس
 بیا کہ عشق کماے ز یک فنی دارد
 بہ حسدِ راه عقل می پوئی؟
 بہ چراغِ آفتاب می جوئی؟
 علم اگر کج فطرت و بدگوہر است
 پیشِ حتم ما حجابِ اکبر است
 دانش حاضر حجابِ اکبر است
 بُت پرست و بُت فروش و بُت گراست

پا بزندان مظاہر بستہ
از حدودِ حس بروں ناجستہ

Again:

خرد سے راہ رو روشن بصر ہے
خرد کیا ہے چراغِ رہ گزر ہے
درونِ خانہ ہنگامے ہیں کیا کیا
چراغِ رہ گزر کو کیسا خبر ہے
گزر جا عقل سے آگے کہ یہ نور
چراغِ راہ ہے منزل نہیں ہے

A careful study of Iqbal's poetry, however, reveals that he is not an obscurantist. This belittling of the intellect is only apparent and is really a protest against the over-exaggeration of its rôle in life. Viewed in its proper perspective, Intellect and the reverent pursuit of knowledge gained experimentally, command his respect. In his *Lectures* he points out that "the intellectual effort to over-

come the obstruction offered by it [the universe] besides enriching and amplifying our life, sharpens our insight and thus prepares us for a more masterful insertion into the subtler aspects of human experience". But the real meaning of the conquest of Nature through knowledge is deeper still, for the truth is that all search for knowledge is essentially an act of prayer. The scientific observer of Nature is a kind of mystic seeker in the act of prayer. We revert therefore to the question raised earlier: Why does Iqbal protest against the current exaltation of the Intellect?

The answer to this question must be sought partly in the current philosophic tendencies and partly in the present socio-political situation which have been so overwhelmed by the triumphant materialism and by the achievements of science, as to ignore if not totally reject the values which are associated with Intuition, with Love (in Iqbal's sense of the word) and with Religious Experience. It is to redress the balance which has been upset by the civilization of modern Europe that Iqbal so strongly emphasizes the rôle of the "heart" in the understanding of life and its direction.

عصر حاضر را خرد زنجیرِ پاست
جان بے تابے کہ من دارم کجاست؟

بچشم عشق نگر تا سرخ خود گیری
 جہاں بچشم خرد سیمیا و نیرنگ است

As a philosopher concerned with achieving a complete view of Reality, he cannot remain content with the partial, one-sided, intellectualistic approach which only gives static snapshots of Reality and misses its flow and change; he is anxious to supplement that view through his intuitive approach, through the "perception of the heart". As a thinker about the problems of the contemporary world situation, he is alive to the dangers of a mental attitude which has been responsible—particularly in Europe—for unprecedented destruction and for the exploitation of man by man on an unparalleled scale. Intellect, uninspired by Love and Science, uncontrolled by faith in ethical principles (which intellect alone cannot give), have given Europe an inhuman economic system, an unjust social organization, a bitter conflict amongst groups and classes, a craze for armaments, a perpetual threat of impending wars and above all, a life of hurry, strain, frustration and an incapacity or distaste for the quiet enjoyment of the fruits of humane culture. The tendency to over-activity and over-organization has become so strong that Bertrand Russell, one of the keenest thinkers of

modern times, has been tempted to name one of his recent collection of Essays, *In Praise of Idleness*.

Iqbal's objective is to bring about a rapprochement between Power born of Knowledge, and Vision which is the fruit of Love or Intuition. "Vision without Power" he observes "brings moral elevation but cannot give permanent culture. Power without Vision tends to become destructive and inhuman. Both must continue for the spiritual expansion of humanity." He wants to bring home to his generation, drunk with godless power, the urgent need of subordinating intellect to Love in order to ensure that the tremendous powers which science has released and placed at the disposal of man will be used for humane and constructive not destructive purposes. Like Goethe, he looks upon Satan as the embodiment of pure intellect which in itself is of great value, but without the guiding hand of Love it becomes an instrument of utter destruction. For this Satan he has a certain fondness, but he realizes that unless the powers of Satan are wedded to those of Adam, humanity cannot achieve its full development. His poems *Taskhir-i-Fitrat*, *Payam-i-Mashriq*, and *Mukalima-i-Jibril-o-Iblis* (Conversation between Gabriel and Satan) in *Bal-i-Jibril*, bring out this idea very vividly and effectively.

“The modern man with his philosophies of criticism and scientific specialism” he explains “finds himself in a strange predicament. His naturalism has given him an unprecedented control over the forces of Nature but has robbed him of faith in his own future... Wholly over-shadowed by the results of his intellectual activity, [he] has ceased to live soulfully, i.e., from within. In the domain of thought, he is living in open conflict with himself, and in the domain of economic and political life he is living in open conflict with others. He finds himself unable to control his ruthless energy and infinite gold hunger which is gradually killing all higher striving in him and bringing him nothing but life weariness.” Iqbal visualizes the modern man equipped with Power but lacking in vision, in the following poem:

عشق ناپید و خردی گزدش صورت مار
عقل کو تابع مسلمان نظر کر نہ سکا
ڈھونڈنے والا ستاروں کی گذرگاہوں کا
اپنے افکار کی دنیا میں سفر کر نہ سکا
اپنی حکمت کے خم و پیچ میں الجھا ایسا
آج تک فیصلہ نفع و ضرر کر نہ سکا

جس نے سوچ کی شعاعوں کو گزفار کیا
زندگی کی شبِ تاریک سحر کر نہ سکا

This ironical position makes him deeply concerned about the future of mankind and in the preface to his latest *masnavi*, “What Should the Nations of the East Do”, he remarks:

سپاہِ تازہ برانگیزم از ولایتِ عشق
کہ در حرمِ خطرے از بغاوتِ خود است
بآں مقامِ رسیدم چوں در برمِ کردم
طوافِ بام و در من سعادتِ خود است
گماں مبر کہ خرد را حساب و میزان نیست
نگاہ بندہٴ مومن قیامتِ خود است

In response to my request to elucidate his position with reference to the meaning and relationship of knowledge gained through Intellect and Love or Intuition, Iqbal was good enough to write to me as follows:

علم سے میری مراد وہ علم ہے جس کا دار و مدار حواس پر ہے، عام طور پر میں نے

علم کا لفظ انہیں معنوں میں استعمال کیا ہے۔ اس علم سے ایک طبعی قوت ہاتھ آتی ہے۔ جس کو دین کے ماتحت رہنا چاہیے۔ اگر دین کے ماتحت نہ رہے۔ تو محض شیطنت ہے۔ یہ علم علمِ حق کی امتداد ہے، جیسا کہ میں نے جاوید نامہ میں لکھا ہے:-
 علمِ حق اول حواسِ آخرِ حنودِ آخرِ اومی نگہِ درِ شعور
 وہ علم جو شعور میں نہیں سما سکتا اور جو علمِ حق کی آخری منزل ہے۔ اس کا دوسرا نام عشق ہے۔
 علم و عشق کے تعلق میں جاوید نامے میں کئی اشعار ہیں:-

علم بے عشق است از طاغوتیاں علم باعشق است از لاہوتیاں
 مسلمان کے لئے لازم ہے۔ کہ علم کو یعنی اس علم کو جس کا مدار حواس پر ہے اور جس سے بے نیاز قوت پیدا ہوتی ہے۔ مسلمان کرے۔ "بولہب را حیدر کرار کن"۔ اگر یہ بولہب حیدر کرار بن جائے۔ یا یوں کیے۔ کہ اگر اس کی قوت دین کے تابع ہو جائے۔ تو نوع انسان کے لئے ہر اس رحمت ہے۔

Thus it is Love, the intuitive perception of the heart, which gives meaning to life and transforms the Intellect into a source of blessing for mankind:

سوزِ سخن ز نالہ مستانہ دل است
 ایں شمع را فروغ ز پردانہ دل است

ایں تیرہ خاک داں کہ جہاں نام کر وہ اند
 فرسودہ پیکرے ز صنم خانہ دل است

And:

عقلے کہ جہاں سوزِ دیک جلوہ بے باکش
 از عشق بیاموزد آئین جہاں تابی
 بگذر از عقل و بیادیز بموج یم عشق
 کہ دریں جوئے تنک مایہ گہر پیدائیت
 علم تا از عشق برخوردار نیست
 جز تماشا خانہ انکار نیست
 عقل و دل و نگاہ کا مرشد اولین ہے عشق
 عشق نہ ہو تو شرع و دین بستکہ تصورات

By their failure in bringing about a union of essentiality complementary values of *Ilm* and *Ishq*, the East and the West have both suffered in different ways. The West has forfeited its soul in the process of conquering the world of matter, the East has developed a pseudo-mystical way of thinking which has taught its people a false kind of renunciation and has for centuries made them contented with

their ignorance, their weakness and their intellectual and political slavery. The hidden sources of active, spiritual energy have become closed up in both and the soul has been impoverished:

مشرق حق را دید و عالم را نہ دید
غرب در عالم خزید، از حق ریشد
چشم بر حق باز کردن بسنگی است
خویش را بے پردہ دیدن زندگی است

Iqbal's contention is that whether we concentrate on *haq* and ignore *'alam* or concentrate on the conquest of *'alam* and ignore *haq*, the result is equally disastrous. The two cannot be separated without doing damage to the fullness of life and the only way to gain them both is to bring about a fusion of Love and Intellect. When the cold, analytic intellect is suffused by the warm, life-giving glow of Love, it becomes the greatest power for good both in the life of individuals and communities.

از محبت چوں خودی محکم شود
توتش فرمان ده عالم شود

In *Bal-i-Jibrail* it is expressed thus:—

خودی ہو علم سے محکم تو غیرت جبریل
اگر ہو عشق سے محکم تو صورت اسرائیل

and:

علم را مقصود اگر باشد نظر
می شود ہم جادہ و ہم راہبر
علم تفسیر جهان رنگ و بو
ویدہ و دل پرورش گیرد ازو
بر مصم جذب و شوق آرد ترا
باز چوں جبیریل بگذارو ترا
عشق کس را کے بخلوت می برد
او ز چشم خویش غیرت می برد
اول او ہم رسیق و ہم طریق
آخر او راہ رستن بے رفیق

In the strengthening of individuality love is a powerful element:

نقطہ نورے کہ نام او خودی است
 زیر خاک او شراب زندگی است
 از محبت می شود پائندہ تر
 زندہ تر، سوزندہ تر، تابندہ تر
 کیمیا پیدا کن از مشت گلے
 بوسہ زن بر آستان کاٹے
 عاشقی بہ محکم شو از تقلید یار
 تا کمند تو شود یزدان شکار

It is because Love brings about a concentration of powers, a heightening of their intensity and in the case of certain great individuals, complete identification of the self with God's purpose that great prophets and martyrs in the service of God transcend the limitations of ordinary mortals and achieve bewildering miracles:

می نداند عشق سال و ماه را،
 دیر و زود و نزد و دور را

عقل در کوئے شگافے می زند
 یا بگرد او طوافے می زند
 کوہ پیش عشق چون کاہے بود
 دل سیرج السیر چون ماہے بود
 عشق شب خونے زون بر لامکاں
 گور را نادیدہ رستن از جہاں
 عشق با نان جوین خیر کشاد
 عشق در اندام مہ چاکے نہاد
 چون خودی را از خدا طالب شود
 جملہ عالم مرکب، او راکب شود

In interpreting the inner significance of the tragedy of Karbala, Iqbal points out how Husain, inspired by the highest of Love—the Love for God—showed superhuman courage and endurance and was able to overcome the well-nigh insuperable forces of evil and untruth:

مومن از عشق است و عشق از مومن است
 عشق را ناممکن ما ممکن است

عقل را سرمایه از بیم و تنگ است
 عشق را غم و یقین لا ینفک است
 آن کند تعمیر تا ویران کند
 این کند ویران که آبادان کند
 عقل گوید شاد شو آباد شو،
 عشق گوید بنده شو آزاد شو

In its highest manifestations, then, Love brings about an almost incredible concentration and intensification of human powers and enables mortals to overcome death (disintegration of self), and achieve immortality. This conquest of death by love is, for Iqbal, no mere metaphor but a profoundly important fact which education dare not ignore. In a letter to me he expressed his view emphatically: "If immortality is a fact, no educational system need bother about it. If it is an achievement open to the Ego, no educational system—if it does not aim at training pure intellect only—can afford to ignore it." He points out in his *Lectures* that, according to the Quran, it is open to man "to belong to the meaning of the Universe and become immortal". It is highly improbable, he

argues, that a being whose evolution has taken millions of years should be thrown away as a thing of no use, but it is only as an *ever-growing Ego* that he can belong to the meaning of the Universe. Personal immortality, then, is not one's by right; it is to be achieved by personal effort. Man is only a candidate for it. The Ego must continue to struggle until he is able to gather himself up and win his resurrection. Thus it is our deeds which determine from day to day whether our Ego will become weaker and weaker and be ultimately dissolved and disintegrated or become more and more strengthened and disciplined for a greater career. "The unceasing reward of man", referred to in the Quran, consists in "his gradual growth in self-expressions, in uniqueness and intensity of his activity as an ego".¹ That is what gives to each action of ours an infinite significance: it is not ephemeral but matters profoundly to ourselves and to others: a view which is essential to the religious approach to life. In his *Jawid Nama* he points a vivid and stirring picture of the man (بنده حق) who achieves immortality by his forceful and courageous self-affirming ego-activity in behalf of some great purpose:

زندگی محکم ز تسلیم و رضا ست
 موت نیرنج و ظلم و ستمیا ست

1. *Lectures*, p. 111.

بندهٔ حق ضیغم و آہوست مرگ،
 یک مقام از صد مقام اوست مرگ
 می فتد بر مرگ آن مرد تمام
 مثل شاہینے کہ افتد بر حمام
 ہر نماں میرد غلام از بیم مرگ
 زندگی او را حرام از بیم مرگ
 بندهٔ آزاد را شانے دگر
 مرگ او را می دہد جانے دگر
 او خود اندیش ست مرگ اندیش نیست
 مرگ آزاداں ز آنے بیش نیست
 بگذر از مرگے کہ سازد باحد
 ز آنکہ این مرگ است مرگ دام و دوا!

It is living nobly and dying nobly, in the cause of Truth and Humanity that confers immortality.

مرد مومن خواهد از یزدان پاک
 آن دگر مرگے کہ برگیرد ز خاک
 آن دگر مرگ، انتہائے راہ شوق
 آخرین تنبیس درخشاہ شوق
 جنگ شانان جہاں غارت گری است
 جنگ مومن سنت پیغمبری است
 جنگ مومن چلیت و ہجرت سوتے دوست!
 ترک عالم، نختیار کوتے دوست!
 گرچہ ہر مرگ است بر مومن شکر
 جنگ پور مرتضیٰ، چیزے دگر
 آنکہ حرف شوق با اقوام گفت
 جنگ را رہبانی اقوام گفت
 کس نداند جز شہید این نکتہ را
 کو بخون خود حسید این نکتہ را



CHAPTER VII

THE CONCEPTION OF GOOD CHARACTER

IT IS NECESSARY for every system of educational philosophy to define clearly the type of human being which it aims at producing and the ethical value of any particular educational theory will depend ultimately on the quality and character of the individuals produced under its inspiration. In this chapter I propose to sketch briefly the portrait of the "good man" as it emerges from a study of Iqbal's writing—"the good man", formed by the education foreshadowed in his philosophy. To some of the qualities necessary for him reference has already been made in the preceding discussion; we have now merely to get a composite picture. It should, however, be borne in mind that here also Iqbal draws his inspiration from the teachings of Islam to which, however, he has given his own individual interpretation.

Firstly, the good life must be a life of active effort and struggle, not one of withdrawal or stagnation or slothful ease, for to him "an hour of crowded glory" (in his particular sense of the word "glory") is "worth a life-time without a name".

THE CONCEPTION OF GOOD CHARACTER

در سرتے ہست و بود آئی، میا
از عدم سوئے وجود آئی، میسا
در بیانی چوں شتر از خود مرد
در تلاش خرنے آوارہ شو
تاب و تب داری اگر مانند مهر
پا بنہ در وصحت آباد سپہر
سینہ داری اگر در خورد تیر
در جہاں شاہین بزی شاہین بمیر
زندگی را چہیت رسم و دین و کیش
یک دم شیریں بہ از صد سال میش

This activity must not, however, run into routine patterns; it must be creative and original; for, creativity is the most valuable and distinctive gift of man through which he has been able to transform his crude world and fill it with what order and beauty it can claim:

دم بدم مشکل گرد آساں گزار
دم بدم نو آفرین و تازہ کار

خلقتے از آب و گل پیدا کند
دست و پا و چشم و دل پیدا کند

He lives his daily life in active contact with his environment and dynamically reshapes it to suit his purposes. This quality of the good character is brought out with great power in the "Secrets of the Self":

ہر کہ در آفتاب گردد بو تراب
باز گرداند ز معرب آفتاب
از خود آگاہی یدِ الہی کند
از یدِ الہی شہنشاہی کند
حکمران باید شدن با خاک خویش
تا منے روشن خوری از تاک خویش
سنگ شوائے ہم چو گل نازک بدن
تا شوی بنیادِ دلدارِ چمن
از گل خود آدمے تعمیر کن
آدمے را عالمے تعمیر کن

گر بنا سازی نہ دیوار و درے
خشت از خاک تو بندد دیگرے
خیز و حنلقِ جهان تازہ شو،
شعلہ در بر کن خلیسل آوازہ شو
با جهان نامساعد ساختن
ہست در میدان سپر انداختن
مرد خود دارے کہ باشد پختہ کار
با مزاج او بسازد روزگار
گر نہ سازد با مزاج او جہاں
می شود جنگ آزما با آسمان
می کند از قوت خود آشکار
روزگار نو کہ باشد سازگار
در جہاں نتوان اگر مردانہ زلیت
ہم چو مرداں جاں سپردن زندگی است

زندگانی قوت پیدا سته
 اصل او از ذوق استیلا سته
 زندگانی کشت، و حاصل قوت است
 شرح رمز حق و باطل قوت است
 لے ز آداب امانت بے خبر
 خویش را از دو جہاں بہتر شمر

What an exalted, dynamic conception of the rôle of man! In the words of Baba-i-Sahrai he exhorts the Muslims of India to strengthen their Ego, abandon their dependence on others and achieve a respected and self-respecting individuality:

تو کہ از نورِ خودی تابنده
 گر خودی محکم کنی پائنده
 چوں خبر دارم ز سازِ زندگی،
 با تو گویم چیست رازِ زندگی

غوطہ در خود صورت گوہر زدن
 پس ز خلوت گاہ خود سر بر زدن
 زندگی از طوف دیگر رستن است
 خویش را بیت الحرم دانستن است

Glowing with the light of self as thou art
 Make self strong and thou wilt endure.
 Since I am acquainted with the harmony of Life
 I will tell thee what is the secret of Life—
 To sink into thyself like the pearl,
 Then to emerge from thine inward solitude;
 What is life but to be freed from moving round others
 And to regard thyself as the Holy Temple?

Secondly, the "good man" must learn to apply his intelligence increasingly to the exploitation of the forces of Nature, thereby adding to his knowledge and power and the scope of science. Without the fullest development of his intellect, he will remain at the mercy of the forces which surround him and his activity will be limited and inconsequential:

بہر خاکی و نوری پہ حکومت ہے خود کی
 باہر نہیں کچھ عقل خدا داد کی زوے

عالم ہے غلام اس کے جلال ازلی کا
اک دل ہے کہ ہر نخطہ اُبھتا ہے خرد سے

The last line gives a clue to the method which Iqbal would recommend for the use of the intellect as an instrument. He stipulates, as we have seen, that it is power conferred by science and guided and controlled by Love, which alone can ensure its constructive utilization for the good of humanity. It is not, however, a mere vague humanitarian sentiment which would satisfy Iqbal. The real motive force in the conduct of the true Believer is that, in the religious phraseology, he lives his life in the name of the Lord, dedicating all his powers to the working out of His increasing purpose on earth, thus qualifying himself for the position of "God's Vicegerency". Of such a perfect individual who has identified his will with Divine Purpose, Iqbal says:

تابع حق دینش، نا دیدنش،
خوردش، نوشیدش خوابیدنش
قرب حق از ہر عمل مقصود دار
تا ز تو گردد جلاش آشکار

صلح شر گردد چو مقصود است غیر
گر خدا باشد غرض جنگ است خیر
ہر کہ خنجر بہر غیر اللہ کشید
تین او در سینہ او آرمید

He subordinates everything to God:

His seeing and not seeing, his eating and drinking and sleeping.

Whatever thou doest, let it be thine aim therein to draw nigh to God,

That His Glory may be made manifest by thee;

Peace becomes an evil if its object is aught else;

War is good if its object is God.

Whoso shall draw the sword for anything except God,

His sword is sheathed in his own breast.

But this "fighting" in the name of the Lord is not necessarily fighting in the physical sense; in fact, it is only rarely so, in extreme cases of aggression and injustice. It is, more correctly, a struggle in all possible ways, to bring about a reign of justice and humanity and often it takes the form of striving against one's own lower nature which is *Jihad* in a very real sense:

مرد مومن زندہ و با خود بجنگ
بر خود افتد ہم چو بر آہو پلنگ

With this high ideal before him, he sets out on the arduous course of self-affirmation, self-realization, and self-development, leading a life of strenuous activity and thereby evolving his inner strength and richness. The development of the inner resources of his individuality enables him to rise to undreamt-of heights:

خودی کو کہ بلند آتما کہ ہر تقدیر سے پہلے
خدا بندے سے خود پوچھے بتا تیری رضا کیا ہے

To achieve this position, it is essential that man should rate himself high, contemptuously refusing to make compromises with evil and falsehood or to bow down before unjust earthly powers:

خودی را مردم آمیزی دلیل نارسائی ما
تو اے درد آشنا بیگانہ شو از آشنائی ما
بدگاہ سلاطین تا کجا این چہر سائی ما
بیاموز از خدائے خویش ناز کبر بای ما
محبت از جوان مردی بجائے می رسد روئے
کہ افتد از نگاہش کار و بارِ دلربائی ما

Thus equipped with a concentrated and fully developed individuality, with his faith not in the idols of gold or iron but in himself and his God, man becomes an irresistible power for good, sharing in the creative activity of his Maker:

بندۂ حق بندۂ اسباب نیست
زندگانی گردشِ دولاب نیست
مسلم استی بے نیاز از غیر شو
اہل عالم را سرا پا خیر شو
رزق خود را از کفِ دوناں گگیر
یوسف اتی حویش را ارزاں گگیر
پشت پا زن تخت کیکاؤس را
سر بدہ از کفِ مدہ ناموس را
فرد فرد آمد کہ خود را او شناخت
قوم قوم آمد کہ جز با خود نساخت
از پیامِ مصطفیٰ آگاہ شو،
فانع از اربابِ دون اللہ شو

In order to develop such a character which has both sensitiveness and strength—sensitiveness to the good of humanity and to ideal values, strength in carrying out his purposes—there are three qualities which education (as envisaged by Iqbal) should sedulously cultivate: Courage, Tolerance, and Faqr. I shall explain their implications for, and impact on, character one by one.

Iqbal, like Russel, believes that the cultivation of an attitude of courage is essential for the proper education of character which should be so planned as to eradicate those influences which tend to produce an attitude of Fear. He considers Fear to be one of the most degrading and inhibitory of emotions. Just as Love strengthens the Self, Fear (which is the negation of Love) weakens it and becomes the source of all kinds of corruption in an individual's character. The fear of the Lord, it has been rightly held, is the beginning of wisdom. But it is equally certain that every other kind of fear undermines the joy of life, weakens the forces of action, and, when greatly accentuated, inhibits them altogether. It is the parent of all the vices characteristic of the weak: deceit, hypocrisy, meanness, cowardice, and flattery:

لا بے و مکاری و کین و دروغ
 این همه از خوف می یابد فروغ

ہر شر پینہاں کہ اندر قلب تست
 اصل او بیم است اگر بینی درست

Modern psychology has also revealed the significant fact that even those manifestations which, on the surface, appear to be a parade of brute strength—*e.g.*, bullying, tyranny, display of military force—are, in reality, veiled and distorted expressions of fear. The exploitation of the weak by the strong, the suppression of new ideas, unjust legislation to protect the ill-gotten gains and privileges of the rich and the powerful, the armament race amongst the nations of the world—these and many other kindred phenomena of contemporary life reveal the fact that our entire civilization is dominated by fear and jealousy, which is fear's inevitable companion.

Courage can be cultivated as an attribute of character, Iqbal holds, by making *Tawhid* (Monotheism) an active working principle of conduct which implies a rejection of all fears except the fear of God, a surrender of our will and purposes to His increasing purpose, and an attitude of manly defiance towards all other powers which may threaten to arrest our free development and the exercise of our legitimate human rights.

عشق را آتش زن اندیشه کن
 روبرو حق باش و شیری پیشه کن
 خوف حق عنوان ایمان است و بس
 خوف غیر از شرک پنهان است و بس
 فالخ از اندیشه انبیا شو
 قوت خوابیده، بیدار شو

In his *Rumuz-i-Bakhudi* Iqbal has discussed at some length how fear, despair and cowardice are the source of most evils, including the slowing-down of the tempo of life, and how the doctrine of *Tawhid*, translated into practice, is an effective remedy against them.

اے کہ در زندان غم باشی امیر
 از بنی تعلیم کما تحزن بگیر
 گر خدا داری ز غم آزاد شو
 از خیال بیش و کم آزاد شو
 بیم غیر اللہ عمل را دشمن است
 کاروان زندگی را هزن است

تخم او چوں در بگلت خود را نشاند
 زندگی از خود نسائی باز ماند
 هر که رفر مصطفی فهمیده است
 شرک را در خوف پنهان دیده است

"The essence of *Tawhid* as a working idea", Iqbal explains, "is equality, solidarity and freedom"; and when it becomes the guiding principle of conduct, it transforms the character and life of individuals and gives them a new sense of power, courage and self-respect. Addressing the new generation, he asks them to realize the practical implications of this doctrine for character:

خوف دنیا، خوف عقبه، خوف جان
 خوف آلام زمین و آسمان
 حب مال و دولت و حب وطن
 حب خویش و اقربا و حب زن
 تا عملت لاله داری بدست
 هر طلسم خوف را خواهی شکست

ہر کہ حق باشد چو جاں اندر تنش
 خم نہ گردد پیش باطل گردش
 خوف را در سینہ او راہ نیست
 خاطرش مرعوب غمیر اللہ نیست

It does not require any extraordinary imagination or insight to perceive that the whole of our education and our social life are dominated by fear and by the worship of false idols. The children, from their earliest infancy, are terrified at home by ignorant mothers and nurses and grow up timid and apprehensive, not only of authority, but of imaginary ghosts and demons with whom they people every dark nook and corner of their home. At school the sensitive, growing child often passes through a veritable reign of terror, afraid of his teachers and of the irrational public opinion of his fellows who are generally impatient of newness and originality and often impose all kinds of silly, unnecessary taboos. In the College and the University, where these cruder forms of fear do not prevail, the youth is often under the tyranny of repressed emotional conflicts which embitter his sensitive nature and check the freedom of his self expression — conflicts that the teachers have neither the sym-

pathy nor the imagination to resolve. Add to this that, in the name of religion and politics and social conventions, the right of free criticism and independent judgement on some of the most vital issues and problems is denied to them in the interest of an unjust *status quo*, and he is taught not only to respect but to be afraid of every kind of constituted authority. Is it any wonder, then, that generations of our youth have had their character and outlook warped? They have been growing up with cramped natures lacking initiative, courage and self-reliance. They are limited in their sympathies, narrow in their loyalties, and timid in the formation of their objectives. They are fanatical, for tolerance and generosity of nature can only develop when the Self is courageous and strong. It is Love, in the sense in which Iqbal has used the word, which "casteth out fear" and, releasing its potential capacity for great deeds, gives an explosive quality to individuality.

جب عشق سکھاتا ہے آداب خود آگاہی
 کھلتے ہیں غلاموں پر اسرار شہنشاہی
 دارا و سکندر سے وہ مرد فقیر ادنیٰ
 ہو جس کی فقیری میں بوئے اسد الہی

آئین جوان مردی حق گوئی و بے باکی
اللہ کے شیروں کو آتی نہیں روباہی

Contrast the timidity and repression of our educational ideology and practice with Iqbal's defiant attitude and his counsel of "living dangerously":

سہرا این مسرمان حق دانی کہ چلیت؟
زلسین اندر خطر ہا زندگی است

This position is a standing impeachment of those who would prostitute education—and political policy for that matter—to the securing of soft jobs, who are quite willing to sell their souls for a mess of pottage and whose highest ambition is to steal their way into a life of inglorious ease and servitude. He seems consciously to have such people, traitors to the spirit of Islam, in his mind when he points out:

مرد درویش کا سرمایہ ہے آزادی و مرگ
ہے کسی اور کی خاطر یہ نصابِ زردوسیم

and he warns youth with its courageous idealism, to shun their example:

اے طائرِ لاہوتی اس رزق سے موت اچھی
جس رزق سے آتی ہو پرواز میں کوتاہی

The second quality which Iqbal considers to be an essential constituent of the good character is Tolerance. Iqbal has often been maligned by ill-informed critics for his supposed intolerance and fanaticism, and therefore the advocacy of this quality by him may seem somewhat surprising. But really there is nothing surprising in it, for true tolerance is an essential factor in any scheme of thought which lays stress on individuality. If individuality is to be developed to its fullest extent in all members of the community an absence of tolerance will lead to perpetual conflict and clashes and thus arrest the desired development. "The principle of the ego-sustaining deed", he remarks, "is respect for the Ego in myself *as well as in others*", which clearly implies that unless education strengthens in us a sense of respect for others' individuality—their opinions and beliefs, their thought and behaviour, their differences with us—our own will remain warped, distorted, incomplete. In his *Bal-i-Jibrail* he makes clear his own attitude of respect for truth instead of attachment to narrow sectarian groups and interests:

درویش خدا مست نہ شرتی ہے نہ غربی
گھر میرا نہ دلی نہ صفا ماں نہ ستمند
کہتا ہوں وہی بات سمجھتا ہوں جسے حق
نے ابلہ مسجد ہوں نہ تہذیب کا فرزند
اپنے بھی خفا مجھ سے ہیں بیگانے بھی ناخوش
میں زہر ہلاہل کو کبھی کہ نہ سکا قند
مشکل ہے کہ اک بندہ حق میں وحق اذلیش
خاشاک کے تودے کو کسے کوہ و مادند

But it must be clearly realized that this tolerance which Iqbal preaches is very different from the pseudo-tolerance of the man without strong convictions which is very common in this age and which is the result of an attitude of general scepticism and indifference, of not caring sincerely and passionately enough about any values or beliefs or ideals. His tolerance is born of strength not of weakness; it is the tolerance of a man of strong faith who, possessing fervently cherished convictions of his own realizes the value of, and respect due to, those of others. Subject to this interpretation, Iqbal considers tolerance to be the basis of true humanity and the religious spirit:

دین سراپا سوختن اندر طلب
انتہائش عشق و آغازش ادب
حرف بد را برب آوردن خطاست
کافر و مومن ہمہ خلق خداست
آدمیت ، احترام آدمی
با خبر شو از مقام آدمی
بندہ عشق از خدا گیرد طریق
می شود بر کافر و مومن شفیق
کفر و دین را گیر در پهناتے دل
دل اگر بگیرد از دل وائے دل
گرچه دل زندانی آب و گل است
این ہمہ آفاق آفاق دل است

What an inspiring gospel of tolerance do these lines preach!

The third quality, that of *Faqr* or *Istighna*, has come in for great stress in the later writings of Iqbal. It is difficult to render it into English satis-

factorily because there is no one word which could convey its full and precise significance. Its underlying idea has been familiar to the Eastern people, though in a somewhat perverted form, but it is somewhat alien to the modern thought in the West. What is this *Faqr*? We have seen that Iqbal rejects an attitude of renunciation which he attributes to the influence of Neo-Platonism and pseudo-mysticism and he advocates an active way of life which would lead men to the conquest of the world of matter. But while advocating this, he is keenly conscious of the fact that the highest aspirations of man are apt to become stifled by the weight of his material possessions, that riches often arrest the growth and expansion of the spirit.

اب ترا دور بھی آنے کو ہے اے فقیرِ غیور
کھاگئی روحِ سنہری کو ہوائے زر و سیم

He is, therefore, anxious that while man is engaged in the conquest of his world, he should retain an inner attitude of detachment and superiority to his material possessions, for only so can he guard himself against becoming a slave to them and use them for the expansion, instead of the impoverishment of his spiritual life and for the service, instead of the exploitation, of his fellow men. It is a kind of intellectual and emotional asceticism which does

not, indeed, turn away from the world as a source of evil and corruption but uses it for the pursuit of good and worthy ends. It would make of the good man a crusader of the spirit, as it were, who wields his *Faqr* as a shield to protect himself from becoming contaminated by the corruptions and temptations which undoubtedly abound in the world:

خدا کے پاک بندوں کو حکومت میں غلامی میں
زرہ کوئی اگر محفوظ رکھتی ہے تو استغنا

In power, it would save him from an attitude of arrogance and self-intoxication; in political subjection, it would enable him to spurn the temptations, bribes and snares with which a ruling power always tries cynically to corrupt the integrity and character of a subject people. Iqbal further defines this *Faqr* by contrasting it with the renunciation preached by certain religions which advocate an attitude of escape or withdrawal:

کمال ترک نہیں آب و گل سے بھجوری
کمال ترک ہے تسخیرِ خاکی و نوری
میں ایسے فقر سے لے اہل حلقہ باز آیا
تمہارا فقر ہے بے دولتی و رنجوری

نہ فقر کے لئے موزوں نہ سلطنت کیلئے
وہ قوم جنہ گنویا مستاع تیموری

This true *Faqr*—of which the history of Islam provides many remarkable examples—is very different from the false *Faqr*, born of weakness, resignation and lack of initiative:

اک فقر سکھاتا ہے صیاد کو بچیری
اک فقر سے کھتے ہیں اسرار جہانگیری
اک فقر سے قوموں میں مسکینی و دلگیری
اک فقر سے مٹی میں خاصیت اکیری
اک فقر ہے شبیری اس فقر میں ہے میری
میراثِ مسلمانی، سرمایہٴ شبیری

Hence also Iqbal's contention:

دارا و سکندر سے وہ مردِ فقیر ادنیٰ
ہو جس کی فقیر سی میں بے اسدلی

This *Faqr*, then, instead of being of the nature of renunciation in the weak, becomes the source of incorruptible idealism and effort in the strong who spurn luxury and temptation and refuse to be

caught up in their snare. It gives the right intellectual and emotional bias to individuality:

علم کا مقصود ہے پاکِ عقل و خرد
فقر کا مقصود ہے عفتِ قلب و نگاہ
چڑھتی ہے جب فقر کی سان پہ تیغِ خودی
ایک سیاہی کی ضرب کرتی ہے کار سپاہ

It should not be interpreted as a cowardly compensation for the poor, deprived of their rights and too weak to enforce their claims—for them Iqbal refers to the injunction of the Quran: "And do not forget thy share in the world"—but as a necessary saving grace for the rich and the powerful:

گرچہ باشی از حسداوندانِ ده
فقر را از کفِ ده، از کفِ ده
لے بسا مردِ حق اندیش و بصیر
می شود از کثرتِ نعمتِ ضریر
کثرتِ نعمتِ گداز از دلِ برد
نازمی آرد نیاز از دلِ برد

The significance of this exhortation will be more keenly perceived when we reflect that all great and worthy achievements in History—ancient and modern—have been due to individuals or groups inspired by this ideal of *Faqr* who sought their satisfaction, not in the accretion of material possessions for themselves but in the selfless service of some great purpose, and who imposed a life of voluntary poverty and self-denial on themselves. From the history of great religious leaders of ancient times to that of great political parties to-day, we find this principle consistently operative. But our education, on the contrary, is designed—consciously as well as unconsciously—to instil in the minds of the youth an attitude of selfish grab and to substitute for its idealism and selflessness a mean desire to fight for petty jobs and secure them at the cost of everything else, however precious; and, when in this mad struggle a few manage to gain offices or a little of the riches of the world they lose their humanity in the process and the spirit in them turns into stone. Hence Iqbal's lament:

خیر و خوبی بر خواص آمد حرام
دیره ام صدق و صفا اندر عوام

He exhorts the growing generation of Indian youth to build a fuller and worthier life for themselves in which high idealism, undaunted courage, a sense of justice and an attitude of *Faqr* find their proper expression:

شیرتوہ احسان را محکم بگیر،
پاک شو از خوف سلطان و امیر
عدل در قلم و رضا از کف مده
تصد در فقر و غنا از کف مده
حاکمی در عالم بالا و پست
جز بحفظ جان و تن نباید بدست
زندگی جز لذت پرواز نیست
آفتیای با فطرت او ساز نیست
در رہ دین سخت چون الماس زئی
دل به حق بر بند و بے وسواس زئی

We are now in a position to sum up, in educational terms, the character of the good man—the true Believer—as visualized by Iqbal. He is a man

who develops all his powers and strengthens his individuality in active contact with his material and cultural environment. This strong concentrated individuality, sharpened and steeled through a life of active experience, is to be dedicated to the service of the Lord in Whose name he is out to conquer the world. But when the world lies conquered at his feet, he is strong enough to stand aloof from, and superior to, the irresistible temptation of riches which weaken the moral fibre. His self-respect gives him courage and adventurousness; his tolerance and respect for the rights and personality of others make him sensitive to the claims which their common humanity makes on him. In the pursuit of his ideals he is strong enough to defy contemptuously the vested interests and forces which stand in the way of their achievements. This is how Iqbal himself sketches the portrait of the true Believer:

ہاتھ ہے اللہ کا بندہ مومن کا ہاتھ
غالب و کار آفرین، کارکشاکار ساز
خالک و توری نہاد بندہ مولا صفات
ہر دو جہاں سے غنی اس کا دل بے نیاز

اس کی اُمیدیں قلیل اس کے مقاصد حلیل
اس کی ادا دل سیریب اس کی نگہ دل نواز
زرم دم گفتگو، گرم دم جستجو
زرم ہو یا بزم ہو پاک دل و پاک باز

And in another poem he sums up his character even more briefly:

پیش باطل تیغ و پیش حق سپر
امر و نہی او عیار خیر و شر
عفو و عدل و بدل و احسانش عظیم
ہم بقدر اندر مزاج او کریم

So emphatic is his insistence on these qualities that, for him, the real difference between a *mu'min* (true believer, the good man) and a *kafir* (unbeliever) is not a narrow theological difference but one of fundamental attitudes towards life—namely, whether he does or does not develop all his capacities and use them for the conquest and remaking of the world in the name of the Lord:

کافر ہے مسلمان تو نہ شاہی نہ فقیری
 مومن ہے تو کرتا ہے فقیری میں بھی شاہی
 کافر ہے تو شمشیر پہ کرتا ہے بھروسا
 مومن ہے تو بے تیغ بھی لڑتا ہے سپاہی
 کافر ہے تو ہے تابع تقدیر مسلمان
 مومن ہے تو وہ آپ ہے تقدیر الہی!

He expresses one aspect of this difference in these words:

کافر کی یہ پہچان کہ آفاق میں گم ہے
 مومن کی یہ پہچان کہ گم اُس میں ہیں آفاق

In the *Jawid-Nama*, towards the very end is heard *Nida-i-Jamal* (the call of God to man) inviting him to the Good Life which demands simultaneously the full realization and appreciation of the Self and its dedication to the service of mankind:

بگذر از خاور و آفتابی اسزنگ مشو
 کہ نیرزد بجسے این ہمہ دیرینہ و نو

اُس نچینے کہ تو با اہرمناس باختہ
 ہم بجز بربیل امینے نتوان کرد گرد
 زندگی بچن آرا و نگہدار خود مست
 اے کہ در قاضیہ بے ہمہ شو باہمرد
 تو فروزندہ ترا از مسر منیر آمدہ
 اپنجاں زسی کہ بہر ذرہ رسائی پر تو

An important question would at this stage, naturally, occur to all careful students of Iqbal's thought: Is his ideal of human character practicable? Can we expect frail humanity, whose spirit is often unwilling and flesh almost always weak, to rise to the heights of selfless achievement and the nobility of character which Iqbal prescribes and predicts for it?

It may be useful to consider this question briefly. Obviously it is not possible to give any logically convincing or scientifically demonstrable proof in support of any position one may take up in this respect. It would depend ultimately on one's faith about the possibilities of human nature and one's interpretation of the tendencies that have been at work in the course of human evolution. In dealing with this question, we must remember that an

ideal is always a finger-post; it points the *direction* of our activity and measures the worth of our achievement. It is never wholly attained but provides the motive force for our progressive movement towards it. We have, therefore, not so much to decide whether all men and women can actually attain the ideal but to judge whether the ideal itself is worthy of our devotion and service—the ideal of a strenuous life which rejects self-indulgence and utilizes the resources of a fully developed individuality for the attainment of some great and noble purpose. It is only the incorrigible epicurean or the unbending determinist who would reject the ideal as undesirable or utterly impracticable. But others may have their doubts on psychological grounds—that is, whether human nature can bear the strain of living on such a high plane. Two considerations must, however, be borne in mind in deciding this issue. Firstly, great human ideals have a powerful dynamic and explosive quality which have, in the past, successfully transformed not only the character of individuals but the destinies of whole nations. The remarkable flowering and expansion of the Arab genius under the inspiration of the Prophet's teaching is one instance in point. The recent reconstruction of the entire structure of social, cultural, and economic life in Soviet Russia and their heroic efforts to produce a new type of

co-operative, community-minded human being provide another example. Both indicate how, under the impulse of a new and dynamic idea, many of the obstacles which appear insuperable to the timid reformist fall away and life takes on a new meaning and a new direction. Secondly, we must not lose sight of the tremendous influence which a planned cultural environment exerts on human nature, in comparison with which even the effect of heredity seems less important. Discussing the comparative significance of heredity and environment in the shaping of human nature, Schmalhausen in his radical book *New Roads to Progress* raises the issue: "What we want to know is whether social systems have been barbarous, predatory, fiendishly inhuman *because* 'human nature' is inherently and irremediably cruel and evil, *or* the other way around, namely, that men have proved themselves thus far in human history monsters of iniquity because the institutions that surrounded them in childhood as in maturity, superimposed upon their plastic and credulous minds a set of values, a repertory of habits, a theory of reality that limited human response, thus cultivating a type of personality that was under a cultural *compulsion* to be narrow-hearted and narrow-minded." After carefully weighing the evidence provided by the psychologists and the anthropologists, he comes to the conclusion that

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“man’s instincts and impulses, his drives and motivations, his mechanisms and goals are all profoundly affected, shaped, rearranged, given their orientation in *society*, by institutions and forces that are infinitely more potent for good and evil than can possibly be imagined to be the case if men’s private Ego is presumed to be the centre and originator of human psychology”. On the whole, this view of the part played by society in moulding the conduct of the individual is quite reasonable, though Iqbal naturally assigns to the Ego a more important place than is implied in the above remark. He would, however, agree with Schmalhausen’s further remark that “only with the *conscious* inauguration of a civilization and the culture that deliberately selects certain tendencies and dispositions for general cultivation can we ever really know what the true relation is between the range of human potentiality and a favouring social environment”. He would also whole-heartedly endorse the remark that “there is much more talent and genius in the human society than any society has (so far) provided conditions and incentives for evoking; there is immeasurably more humaneness in the human heart than any primitive or civilized environment has yet tapped.” Thus the achievement of human excellence is a matter of both the ideology inspiring individual and collective conduct and the social environment pro-

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vided for its development. Iqbal fervently believes that a progressive interpretation of the ideals of Islam in the light of modern conditions and problems can provide the motive force and inspiration for a radical reconstruction of individual and social life, and that in the social order envisaged by Islam it is possible to set into motion incentives and forces which will orient its development in the direction of the ideals in view. We shall therefore consider now the outstanding features of the Islamic social order and study their impact on Education.

PART II
EDUCATION AND THE SOCIAL ORDER
OF ISLAM



CHAPTER I

THE SOCIAL ORDER OF ISLAM

WE HAVE so far mainly concerned ourselves with the education of the individual character as envisaged by Iqbal. But the individual is only one pole of the process of education; the entire social order including the world of Nature which environs it, is the other pole and the function of education is to bring about a progressive interaction and dynamic adjustment between them. The school—including in the term all kinds of educational institutions—is only one of the numerous factors which determine the course and direction of the individual's development; it is far more powerfully and irresistibly influenced by the nature of the enviring society and the ideology which inspires its group relationships and its social, political and economic life. We have, therefore, to raise another problem of fundamental importance: What is the conception of the social order implicit in Iqbal's thought? What kind of society does he desire to organize in which his fully developed individual will be able to play his part effectively, without being frustrated at every step by adverse social con-

ditions? Or, to put the question in a more correct psychological form: What is the social order which will favour and stimulate the growth of such an individual? For, we must remember that the development of the individual does not take place in a vacuum or only under the influence of the academic atmosphere in schools; it is the result of all the various forces—natural and cultural—that play on him: in these days of radical experiments in the reconstruction of social and economic life—from Fascist Italy to Soviet Russia—this is a very controversial problem. But no account of Iqbal's educational philosophy will be complete without courageously facing this issue.

In the attempt to analyse this social order the sources of Iqbal's inspiration must be looked for in the teachings of Islam. "Holding that the full development of the individual presupposes a society," remarks Nicholson in his preface to the *Secrets of the Self*, "he finds the ideal society in what he considers to be the Prophet's conception of Islam. Every Muslim, in striving to make himself a more perfect individual, is helping to establish the Islamic kingdom of God on Earth." Before analysing the significant features of this society we might as well face here a question which has often been raised: Is Iqbal's desire to resurrect the values of Islam reactionary, a counsel of obscurantism? The question

demands an unbiassed and dispassionate examination of these social values and a mental readiness to take them on their merit—not rejecting them merely because they are old and derive their sanction from religion, nor accepting them unquestioningly on the same ground, but evaluating them with reference to actually existing social conditions and problems. While Iqbal is always stressing the fact of change and the dynamic nature of human society:

سفر زندگی کے لئے برگ و ساز
سفر ہے حقیقتِ حاضر ہے مجاز

he has a due sense of historic continuity and is neither impatient of the past merely because it is old, nor carried away by anything merely because it is new. "We should not forget", he remarks, "that life is not change pure and simple. It has within it elements of conservation also. The spirit of man in his forward movement is restrained by forces which seem to be working in the opposite direction. This is only another way of saying that life moves with the weight of its own past on its back and that, in any view of social change, the value and function of the forces of conservatism cannot be lost sight of... No people can afford to reject their past entirely; for it is their past that

has made their personal identity." This, however, is only a philosophical argument for not rejecting summarily the experience and institutions of the past; for the acceptance and affirmation of Islamic institutions as valuable for the modern age he has more positive reason to offer. When criticized for narrowing down his vision from the world of mankind to the world of Islam, he replied: "The object of my Persian Poems is not to 'plead' for Islam. Really I am keenly interested in the search for a better social order; and, in this search, it is simply impossible to ignore an actually existing social system the main object of which is to abolish all distinction of race, caste and colour." Since he is anxious to build a social order on the broadest humanistic basis in which race, caste and colour will not be dividing factors he welcomes and preaches the social values of Islam because they constitute the strongest bulwark against the rising tide of racialism and nationalism and because, in their essence, they provide the greatest guarantee and hope of a society based on the principles of equality, social justice and human brotherhood. Before an analysis of the social order which Iqbal desires to bring into being, it will be useful to get some idea of the social order which held sway in Arabia and other Eastern countries before the advent of the Prophet; for, it is only against this gloomy background that we

can properly appreciate the revolutionary nature of the social theory offered by him to a lost world. Iqbal describes the wretched condition of man before the advent of Islam in these words:

بود انساں در ہماں انساں پرست
 ناکس و نابود مند و زیر دست
 سطوت کسریٰ و قیصر رہزنی
 بندہ در دست و پا و گردنش
 کاہن و پاپا و سلطان و امیر
 ہر یک پنچیر صد پنچیر گیر
 از غلامی فطرت او دول شدہ
 نغمہ با اندر نئے او خو شدہ

A modern European historian of civilization has also given a vivid description of the state of the civilized world about the time when Islam appeared on the stage of history. Iqbal quotes him with approval:

"It seemed then that the great civilization that it had taken four thousand years to construct was on the verge of destruction and that mankind was likely to return to that condition of barbarism

where every tribe and sect was against the next, and law and order were unknown. The old tribal sanctions had lost their power... The new sanctions created by Christianity were working divisions and destruction instead of unity and order. It was a time fraught with tragedy... Was there any emotional culture that could be brought in to gather mankind once more into unity and to save civilization? This culture must be something of a new type, for the old sanctions and ceremonials were dead, and to build up others of the same kind would be the work of centuries."

The writer then goes on to argue that the salvation of the world, at that juncture, depended on the emergence of a new culture that could replace the existing "throne-cultures" whose systems of unification were based on blood-relation and he notes with amazement that such a culture should have arisen in Arabia. But Iqbal makes the illuminating observation that "there is nothing amazing in the phenomenon. The world-life intuitively sees its own needs and at critical moments defines its own direction. It is only natural that Islam should have flashed across the consciousness of a simple people untouched by any of the existing cultures and occupying a geographical position where three continents meet together."

Let us now try to understand the outstanding

features of this new social and cultural order which emerged triumphantly at this critical juncture in the history of the world. Iqbal points out that the social order of Islam "finds the foundation of world unity in the principle of *Tawhid* (faith in the unity of God) and Islam as a religion is only a practical means of making the principle a living factor in the intellectual and emotional life of mankind. It demands loyalty to God and not to the thrones. And since God is the ultimate spiritual basis of all life, loyalty to God virtually amounts to man's loyalty to his own ideal nature." The ethical and psychological change involved in this new vision is tremendously significant because it implies the recognition of the infinite worth of every individual in the Kantian sense, and the rejection of blood-relationship as the sole basis of human unity—blood-relationship which in the words of Iqbal is essentially "earth-rootedness". "The search for a purely psychological foundation of human unity becomes possible", he explains, "only with the perception that all human life is spiritual in its origin. Such a perception is creative of fresh loyalties without any ceremonial to keep them alive and makes it possible for man to emancipate himself from the earth." Thus the principle of *Tawhid*, viewed psychologically, seeks to restore to a torn and divided world its integral unity and

offers an intellectual impetus towards the resolution of those dualisms which have always tended to arrest the development of thought. It also brings in its wake, as it actually did in the early period of Islamic history, a new sense of freedom and courage and release from various kinds of irrational fears and superstitions. It provides a rallying point for the diverse interests and groups comprised within the Islamic Society. But Iqbal deplors the fact that "the pure brow of *Tawhid* has received . . . an impress of heathenism and the universal and impersonal character of the ethical ideals of Islam has been lost through a process of localization. The only alternative open to us then is to tear off from Islam the hard crust which has immobilized an essentially dynamic outlook on life and to re-discover the original verities of freedom, equality and solidarity with a view to rebuild our moral, social and political ideals out of their original simplicity and universality." In his *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*, he elucidates the implications of this principle:

آن که در صد سینه پیچید یک نفس
 سرے از اسرار توحید است و بس
 یک شود و توحید را مشہود کن،
 غائبش را از عمل موجود کن

دین ازو، حکمت ازو، آئین ازو
 زور ازو، قوت ازو، تمکین ازو
 قدرت او برگزید بنده را
 نوع دیگر آفرید بنده را
 بیم و شک میرد عمل گیرد حیات
 چشم می بینند ضمیر کائنات
 لآله سرمایه اسرار ما،
 رشته اش شیرازه افکار ما

Similarly, the extraordinary and remarkable personality of Prophet Mohammad provides a focus of loyalties for the growing polity of Islam and this concentration is a powerful means for transforming the Muslims into a vital and unified community:

از رسالت در جهان تکوین ما
 از رسالت دین ما آئین ما
 از رسالت صد هزار ما یک امت
 جزو ما از جزو او لاینفک است

ما ز حکم نسبت او ملتیم
 اہل عالم را پیامِ حمتیم
 از رسالت ہم نوا گشتیم ما
 ہم نفس، ہم مدعا گشتیم ما
 دامنش از دست دادن مردن است
 چون گل از باد خزاں افسردن است
 فرو از حق، ملت از وے زندہ است
 از شعاع مہر او تابندہ است

But the real significance of Mohammad's prophethood lies in the nature of the message which he offered to mankind, enslaved in cruel bonds of its own making—a message of freedom, social equality and human brotherhood, an affirmation for the first time in history, in unequivocal terms, of complete equality in social status and legal rights. It restored to the full status of citizenship those who had been deprived of their human rights on grounds of race or colour or sex or social and economic circumstances. It was a living faith in social democracy so far as it could be practicable at the time. To the priest-ridden, wealth-dominated

world, divided into numerous warring cliques, it gave a new set of values and offered liberation to mankind, particularly to the poor and the oppressed who had been kept under suppression by the exploiting rich and the usurpers of political power:

تا اینے حق بمقداران سپرد
 بندگان را مُسندِ خاقان سپرد
 اعتبارِ کلابندان را فنود
 خواجگی از کار فرمایان ربود
 قوتِ او ہر کہن پیکر شکست،
 نوعِ انساں را حصارِ تازہ بست
 تازہ جان اندر تن آدم میزد
 بندہ را باز از حسدِ اوندان خرید
 حریتِ زاد از ضمیرِ پاک او
 این می نوشیں چکید از تاک او
 ناشکیبِ امتیازاتِ آمدہ
 در نہاد او مساواتِ آمدہ

عصر تو کاین صد چراغ آورده است
چشم در آغوش او وا کرده است

The assertion of social equality and justice and of holding the scales even between the rich and the poor, between the powerful and the weak was largely realized in practice. It was stressed in religious observances and everyday social practice, and the history of Islam is full of incidents where the rights of the ordinary men were triumphantly vindicated against powerful adversaries. Iqbal narrates the story of Sultan Murad who had the arm of an architect amputated because his work had failed to please him. The architect filed a suit in the court of the Qazi saying:

گفت اے پیغام حق گفتار تو
حفظ آئین محمد کار تو
سفته گوش سطوت شاهان نیم
قطع کن از روتے ستار و نجوم
قاضی عادل به دندان خسته لب
کردش را در حضور خود طلب

رنگ شه از هیبت قرآن پرید
پیش قاضی چون خط کاران رسید

The Qazi observed in the course of his judgement:

عبد مسلم کم تر از اصرار نیست
خون شه رنگین تر از معمار نیست

and sentenced the Emperor to the penalty prescribed in law and thus:

یافت مورے بر سلیمانے ظفر
سطوت آئین پیغمبر نگر
پیش ستراں بنده و مولایکے است
بوریا و مسند و دیبا کیے است

Thus the social order contemplated by Islam throws the weight of its legislation and its sanctions towards redressing injustices and inequalities and tends to side with the weak against the strong. By its essentially democratic spirit and by cutting across the social and economic divisions of society it has always made for the mobility of social intercourse and arrested the stratification of society into mutually exclusive groups. Any social order which rejects or ignores these conditions of social

health militates against the social vision implicit in Iqbal's philosophy.

On the political side, this social order definitely rejects the claims of racial and geographical factors to order and de-limit people's loyalties. The recently accentuated emphasis on territorial nationalism and aggressive patriotism is mischievous because it cuts across the international outlook of Islam and disrupts the essential solidarity of mankind. It does not lead to political sanity but has, on the other hand, been responsible for the bloodshed, destruction and unjust persecutions which embitter the present political situation. Iqbal looks upon geographical and racial groupings as, at best, a temporary and intermediary form of political organization and, at the worst, responsible for all sorts of political evils, oppressions and conflicts. One of his *bêtes-noires* is Macchiavelli who raised the state into the position of an absolute deity and openly preached the subordination of moral and ethical principles to political expediency:

آن منارنساوی باطل پرست
سرمه او دیده مردم شکست

نسخه بهر شهنشاهان نوشت
در گل ما دانه پیکار کشت
بُت گری مانند آذر پیشه اش
بست نقش تازه اندیشه اش
مملکت را دین او معبود ساخت
فکر او مذموم را معبود ساخت
بوسه تا بر پائے آن معبود زد
نقد حق را بر عیار سود زد
(روزبے خودی)

The pernicious doctrine of referring all values and loyalties to the interests of a particular race or nation has been vigorously revived by the reactionary founders of modern Fascism and Nazism. Condemning such movements, Iqbal says:

آن چنان قطع اخوت کرده اند
بر وطن تمییز ملت کرده اند
تا وطن را شمع محفل ساختند
نوع انساں را قبائل ساختند

مردی اندر بہاں افسانہ شد
 آدمی از آدمی بیگانہ شد
 روح از تن رفت دہفت اندام ماند
 آدمیت گم شد و اقوام ماند

And the consequences of worshipping these idols of race, colour and nation are only too obvious:

فکرِ انساں بت پرستے بت گرے
 ہر زماں در جستجویے پیکرے
 باز طرح آذری انداخت است
 تازہ تر پروردگارے ساخت است
 کاید از خون ریختن اندر طرب
 نام او رنگ است دہم ملک و نسب
 آدمیت کشتہ شد چون گوسفند
 پیش پائے این بت نا اہمبند

As against these forces which exploit hatred and provoke antagonisms, Iqbal seeks to base the community of mankind not on the accident of

geographical situation but on the belief in one God and consequently in the brotherhood of mankind as a practical working idea. Such an idea alone, he urges, can act as a centrifugal force and break down the division of mankind into militant camps. From the political and secular point of view, Iqbal interprets the Islamic society as a social order open to all those who would renounce the worship of the race-and nation-idea and acknowledge one another's personality as sacred. Hence the categorical rejection by the internationalism of Islam of all territorial or racial patriotisms:

قلب ما از مصر و روم و تمام نیت
 مز و بوم ما بحسب اسلام نیت
 مسلم استی دل با تسلیمی مہند
 گم مشو اندر جہان چون و چند
 دل بدست آور کہ در پہنائے دل
 می شود گم این سرکے آب و گل

And again:

عقدہ قومیت مسلم کشود،
 از وطن آقائے ما ہجرت نمود

حکمتش یک ملت گیتی نورد
 بر اسس کلمہ تعمیر کرد
 تا زنجش ہائے آن سلطان دین
 مسجد ما شد ہمہ روئے زمین
 صورت ماہی بہ بحر آباد شو
 یعنی از قید مقام آزاد شو
 ہر کہ از قید جہات آزاد شد
 چوں فلک در شش جہات آباد شد
 (رموز بے خودی)

It is hardly necessary to point out that in this rejection of the idea of territorial nationalism Iqbal is at one with some of the greatest and most radical thinkers of the modern age who believe that, unless there is a re-orientation of political loyalties and the world is organized for peace, education and other social influences will fail to produce any far-reaching and fundamental change for the better.

This raises a question of considerable interest: What is Iqbal's attitude towards patriotism, which

has always been held up as a virtue which education should try to inculcate? Patriotism as an exclusive political creed which believes in "My Country—right or wrong" and which fails to give due recognition to the wider claims of humanity is obviously repugnant to the spirit of internationalism for which Islam stands and which Iqbal advocates. But patriotism as love for the best that one's own country or group has achieved, as an appreciation for one's peculiar cultural values and contributions is a sentiment worthy of great respect. Iqbal has been wrongly accused of a lack of patriotism. As a matter of fact, he values genuine patriotism so highly that in his *Jawid-Nama* he reserves the severest tortures of hell for Mir Jafar of Bengal and Sadiq of Deccan who were traitors to their country and sided with foreigners helping them to deprive it of its political liberty. Of them he says with passionate feeling:

جعفر از بنگال و صادق از دکن
 ننگِ ملت، ننگِ دین، ننگِ وطن

Hell itself is unwilling to receive them and the poet relegates them to the worst possible place—*Qulzum-i-Khunin* (Ocean of Blood) in *Falak-i-Zuhal*.

In a conversation between *Zinda Rood* (The

Living Stream) and Sultan Tipu he gives fervent expression to his burning love for his country:

باز گو از ہند و از ہندوستان
آنکہ با کاہش نیرزد بوستان
آنکہ اندر مسجدش ہنگامہ مرد
آں کہ اندر دیر او آتش فسرد
آں کہ دل از بہر او خوں کزدہ ایم
آں کہ یادش را بجاں پروردہ ایم
از غم ما کن غم او را قیاس
آہ ازاں معشوق عاشق ناشناس!

And in his *Zarb-i-Kalim*, the poet himself speaks as *Shua-i-Ummid* (The Ray of Hope):

چشمِ مہ و پرویں ہے اسی خاک سے روشن
یہ خاک کہ ہے جس کا خرف ریزہ در ناب
خاور کی امیدوں کا یہی خاک ہے مرکز
اقبال کے اشکوں سے یہی خاک ہے یارب

اس خاک سے اٹھے ہیں وہ غواص معانی
جن کے لئے ہر کجسیر پر آشوب ہے پایاب
جس ساز کے نعروں سے حرارت تھی دلوں میں
مخفل کا وہی ساز ہے اب تشنہ مضراب
بت خانے کے دروازے پہ سوتا ہے بزمن
تقدیر کو روتا ہے مسلمان تہ محراب
مشرق سے ہو بیزار نہ مغرب سے حذر کر
فطرت کا تقاضا ہے کہ ہر شب کو سحر کر!

This social order, again, does not—like the Christian ideal of education and of society—stand for an “other-worldly *Weltanschauung*, a theory of saintliness that believes in torturing the body and bedevilling the mind in behalf of soul’s salvation”.¹ It is not indifferent to the world of matter but, as we have seen already, it seeks to exploit it vigorously for its objectives and purpose. While both these social orders are indeed inspired by the desire for the “affirmation of the spiritual self in man”, the Christian theory advocates a turning

1. Schmalhausen, *New Roads to Progress*, p. 62.

away from the material world and is anxious for the "revelation of a new world in the soul of man". Islam, on the other hand, boldly says "Yes" to the world of matter and accepts it with all its limitations and risks, because for Islam, as we have seen, "the ideal and the real are not two opposing forces which cannot be reconciled". It is the "mysterious touch of the ideal that animates and sustains the real, and through it alone we can discover and affirm the ideal. The life of the ideal consists not in a total breach with the real which would tend to shatter the organic wholeness of life but in the endeavour of the ideal to appropriate the real with a view eventually to absorb it and to convert it into itself and to illuminate its whole being."¹ This difference in the outlook of the two social orders accounts for their respective attitude towards science. In the days of its unquestioned ascendancy, Christianity frowned upon science and tolerated a great deal of persecution of the scientific spirit carried on in its name with the result that in the early Middle Ages, Europe found itself plunged into intellectual darkness. The civilization of Islam, on the other hand, stimulated and encouraged the pursuit of science to a remarkable degree, so much so that, according to Briffault, the historian of

1. Lectures, p. 9.

civilization, "Science is the most momentous contribution of Arab civilization to the modern world. Nowhere is this [i.e., the decisive influence of Islamic culture] so clear and momentous as in the genesis of that power which constitutes the distinctive force of the modern world and the supreme source of its victory—natural science and the scientific spirit." It is, therefore, essential that the social order of Islam should actively exploit the forces of modern science and thereby gain effective control of its material environment or *Alam-i-Afaq*. Iqbal makes it quite clear in his *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi* that the strengthening and fulfilment of national life is impossible without the fullest development of science and its utilization for its growing and expanding purposes:

ہر کہ محسوسات را تسخیر کرد
عالمی از ذرہ تمیز کرد
کوہ و صحرا و دشت و دریا بگرد
تختہ تسلیم اربابِ نظر
اے کہ از تاثیر ایوں خفتہ
عالم اسباب را دوں گفتہ

عایش تو سب ذات مسلم است
 امتحان ممکنات مسلم است
 گیر اورا تانہ او گیسو ترا
 ہم چوے اندر سب گیسو ترا
 تاز تسخیر توئے این نظام
 ذو فتونی ہائے تو گردد تمام
 ناب حق در جہاں آدم شود
 بر عنصر حکم او محکم شود
 دست رنگیں کن ز خون کوہسار
 جوئے آب گوہر از دریا بیار
 تابش از خورشید عالم تاب گیر
 برق طاق اسدوز از سیلاب گیر
 جستجو را محکم از تدبیر کن
 انفس و آفتاق را تسخیر کن
 آل کہ برایش یاکند انداخت است
 مرکب از برق و حرارت ناخت است

And then, addressing the present generation, he adds:

اے نخت لنگ از رہ دشوار زیت
 غافل از ہنگامہ پیکار زیت
 ہمرہانت پے بہ منزل بردہ اند
 یلیٰ معنی ز محمل بردہ اند
 تو بصرہا مثل قیس آوارہ
 خستہ و واماندہ و بے چارہ

Can there be a more passionate advocacy of science as an essential factor in the organization of education and of life? Iqbal insists on it so strongly because one of the main causes which have been responsible for the later decline and decadence of the Muslim peoples is their neglect of science which has not only arrested their intellectual growth but also weakened their political and economic position which, in the present age, is mainly dependent on scientific power. Education must, therefore, endeavour to make good this deficiency.

Lastly, this social order must be a dynamic order, keenly alive and responsive to the fact of change and the formative forces that are playing on it constantly. Like some other great thinkers of

the age, Iqbal realizes clearly that life is in a state of flux; it is perpetual change or motion. He brings out this idea through the words of Tipu Sultan addressed to the river Kaveri:

لے من و تو موبے از رودِ حیات
 ہر نفس دیگر شود این کائنات
 زندگانی انقلاب ہر دے است
 زانکہ او اندر سُرُخ عالمے است
 تار و پود ہر وجود از رفت و بود
 ایں ہمہ ذوق نمود از رفت و بود
 جادہ ما چون رہسراں اندر سفر
 ہر کجا پہنناں سفر پیدا حضر
 کاروان و ناوہ و دشت و رحیل

ہر چہ بینی نالد
 ception of society follows
 of life and of the universe
 have already discussed. In
 es a full chapter to the
 the Structure of Islam",
 Ijtihad and trying to

strike the correct balance between the categories of permanence and change. "The ultimate spiritual basis of all life, as conceived by Islam," he explains, "is eternal and reveals itself in variety and change. A society based on such a conception of Reality must reconcile, in its life, the categories of permanence and change. It must possess eternal principles to regulate its collective life; for the eternal gives us a foothold in the world of perpetual change." But, he points out, "eternal principles when they are understood to exclude all possibilities of change, which, according to the Quran, is one of the greatest signs of God, tend to immobilize what is essentially mobile in its nature... The teaching of the Quran that life is a process of progressive creation necessitates that each generation, guided, but unhampered, by the work of its predecessors, should be permitted to solve its own problems."¹ This implies the right of exercising *Ijtihad*—independent judgement and interpretation of law in the light of changed and changing circumstances—which Iqbal holds to be essential for the healthy growth of the body politic. Iqbal disagrees with those legists who would deny this right to the present-day Muslims. "The closing of the door of *Ijtihad*", he contends, "is pure fiction suggested

1. Lectures, p. 140.

the age, Iqbal realizes clearly that life is in a state of flux; it is perpetual change or motion. He brings out this idea through the words of Tipu Sultan addressed to the river Kaveri:

لے من و تو موج از رود حیات
 ہر نفس دیگر شود این کائنات
 زندگانی انقلاب ہر دے است
 زانکہ او اندر سُرُخ عالمے است
 تار و پود ہر وجود از رفت و بود
 این ہمہ ذوق نمود از رفت و بود
 جادہ نا چوں رہسراں اندر سفر
 ہر کجا پنہاں سفر پیدا حضر
 کاروان و ناتہ و دشت و رحیل
 ہر چہ بینی نالہ از دود حریق

Such a dynamic conception of society follows logically from the view of life and of the universe taken by Islam which we have already discussed. In his *Lectures*, Iqbal devotes a full chapter to the "Principle of Movement in the Structure of Islam", discussing the doctrine of *Ijtihad* and trying to

strike the correct balance between the categories of permanence and change. "The ultimate spiritual basis of all life, as conceived by Islam," he explains, "is eternal and reveals itself in variety and change. A society based on such a conception of Reality must reconcile, in its life, the categories of permanence and change. It must possess eternal principles to regulate its collective life; for the eternal gives us a foothold in the world of perpetual change." But, he points out, "eternal principles when they are understood to exclude all possibilities of change, which, according to the Quran, is one of the greatest signs of God, tend to immobilize what is essentially mobile in its nature... The teaching of the Quran that life is a process of progressive creation necessitates that each generation, guided, but unhampered, by the work of its predecessors, should be permitted to solve its own problems."¹ This implies the right of exercising *Ijtihad*—independent judgement and interpretation of law in the light of changed and changing circumstances—which Iqbal holds to be essential for the healthy growth of the body politic. Iqbal disagrees with those legists who would deny this right to the present-day Muslims. "The closing of the door of *Ijtihad*", he contends, "is pure fiction suggested

1. *Lectures*, p. 140.

partly by the crystallization of legal thought in Islam and partly by that intellectual laziness which, specially in periods of spiritual decay, turns great thinkers into idols. If some of the later doctors have upheld this fiction, modern Islam is not bound by this voluntary surrender of intellectual independence. It is, therefore, necessary that the social order of Islam should not be allowed to become static, sticking to the letter that killeth and ignoring the dynamic spirit that keepeth alive."¹ And we have seen that the social order becomes static and lifeless when intellectual initiative and independent thinking become atrophied and people cling to the old and outworn ideas and forms because they have not the courage to face new ones.

1. *Lectures*, p. 169.



CHAPTER II

A CREATIVE VISION OF EDUCATION

IT IS THE DUTY of Muslims, Iqbal holds, to translate the ideals of this progressive and humane social order into actual space-time forces and thus put a stop to, or at least avoid, the insane destruction, conflicts and injustices which characterize the modern civilization of the West. He appeals to the Muslims primarily, to take the lead in this reconstruction because he believes that by virtue of their religious and philosophical tradition, they can appreciate and sympathize with these values. But he does not want them to hide this light under a bushel; he exhorts them to make it universal, for universality is a characteristic of all the creative ideas contributed by Islam for the betterment of the world:

اے کہ خوردستی زینائے خلیل
گرمیِ خونت ز صہائے خلیل
بر سر این باطل حق پیرہن
تیغِ لا موجود آلا هو بزن

جلوہ در تاریکی ایام کن
 آنچه بر تو کمال آمد عام کن
 لرزم از شرم تو چوں روز شمار
 پرسدت آں آبروئے روزگار
 حرف حق از حضرت ما برده
 پس چرا بادگیراں سپرده

How is this "word of truth" to be successfully communicated to the growing generation of Muslims and others? It is in this communication, this creation of better values that education must play a part, for it is the most powerful "telic" force at the disposal of a people for this purpose. But it must be an education which is thoroughly permeated and vitalized by the spirit and the ideals of this cultural and social order. We have already discussed the main features and principles of this education. Let us try to crystalize our discussion by building up a composite and synthetic picture of education as foreshadowed in Iqbal's philosophy.

It will be, primarily, a dynamic and creative education directed to the nurture and the release of the creative spirit in man and equipping him with

the desire and capacity to conquer ever new realms of art and science, knowledge and power—an education inspired by an optimistic faith in the destiny of man. Science will naturally occupy a prominent place in it, giving to man not only sovereignty over Nature but the control over the scientific method through which he can explore and consciously reconstruct his world. It will not, however, suffer a pseudo-scientific attitude of scepticism to reject the values of the past enshrined in History, which links it up with the present and gives a living, cultural continuity to a community:

سرگذشت او گر از یادش رود
 باز اندر نیستی گم می شود

Nor will it set up a false and mischievous anti-thesis between the values represented by science and religion. On this point Iqbal is very definite and emphatic. While keenly aware of the practical and intellectual significance of science in modern life, and consequently in education, he also realizes that science takes sectional snapshots of Reality and represents but one method of apprehending it. By itself it cannot give man a full and complete and emotionally satisfying picture of Reality. Religion, on the other hand, "demands the whole of

Reality and, for this reason, must occupy a central place in any synthesis of all the data of human experience". It is, therefore, a necessary *complement* to the view gained through science, not opposed to it. It must, on that account, be given a prominent place in education, for it is the most powerful source of that idealism and intuitive love of humanity which ensure that man will use his tremendous powers for good, not for evil:

بے ہنرواں نرو بے دین ہم مسلم ہم تیغ را
چوں نباشد دین نباشد کلک و آہن را شمن

"Experience shows", Iqbal points out, "that truth revealed through pure reason is incapable of bringing that fire of living conviction which personal revelation alone can bring. That is the reason why pure thought has so little influenced men, while religion has always elevated individuals and transformed whole societies."¹ And even today, he affirms, religion "which in its higher manifestations is neither dogma nor priesthood nor ritual, can alone prepare modern man for the burden of the great responsibility which the advancement of modern science necessarily involves and restore to him that attitude of faith which makes him capable of

1. Lectures, p. 170.

winning a personality here and retain it hereafter. It is only by rising to a fresh vision of his origin and future, his whence and whither that man will eventually triumph over a society motivated by an inhuman competition and a civilization which has lost its spiritual unity by an inner conflict of religious and political values."¹ Our education, will, therefore, be thoroughly imbued with the religious spirit. But it is also obvious that this religious education will be radically different, in form and content, from what passes under the name of "the teaching of theology" today which often has no vitalizing cultural background and shows little interest in or understanding and appreciation of modern, social, political, scientific or philosophical problems. Iqbal makes out a vivid contrast between religion which is a force of liberation and religion which is confined to mechanical forms of worship and which fetters intellectual and spiritual expansion:

یادِ سعادتِ افلاک میں تمبیرِ مسلسل
یا خاک کے آغوش میں راتوں کو مناجات
وہ مذہب مردانِ خود آگاہ و خدامت
یہ مذہب ملا و جمادات و نباتات

1. Lectures, p. 178.

It is this first conception of religion—living nobly and adventurously in the name of the Lord—and not the priest's traditional conception which Iqbal would integrate into a living system of education.

Then, as we have already seen, it will be an education to equip the child for a life of action, not one of contemplation—such as had developed in most eastern countries under the influence of some form or other of mysticism and of political decadence. Knowledge which paralyses the power of action, instead of whetting it, and which serves only as a region of escape is worse than useless because it fails to develop individuality which is the objective of all human effort and which can only realize itself in the strenuous life of action. Such knowledge is wholly repugnant to the spirit of Muslim Education. "The end of the Ego's quest", writes Iqbal, "is not emancipation from the limitations of individuality; it is on the other hand a more precise definition of it. The final act is not an intellectual act but a vital act which deepens the whole being of the Ego and sharpens his will with the creative assurance that the world is not something to be merely *seen* or *known* through concepts but something to be *made* and *re-made* by continuous action."¹ Ethically and psychologically

1. *Lectures*, p. 187.

speaking, the greater importance of the action or the deed lies in the fact that while "a wrong concept misleads the understanding a wrong deed degrades the man and may eventually demolish the structure of the human Ego. The mere concept affects life only partially; the deed is dynamically related to Reality." And in this active inter-play of his powers with the forces of his complex environment, in this process of ceaseless reconstruction, he is constantly moulding and enriching his own individuality:

ذرهٔ به از کف مده تلبے کہ هست
 پختہ گیر اندر گرہ تلبے کہ هست
 ناب خود را بر فردون خوشتر است
 پیش خورشید آزمون خوشتر است
 پیکر فرسوده را دیگر تراشش،
 امتحان خویش کن، موجود باش
 ایں چنین موجود، محمود است و بس
 در نہ تار زندگی دود است و بس!

Art thou a mere particle of dust?
 Tighten the knot of thy ego

And hold fast to thy tiny being!
How glorious to burnish one's ego
And to test its lustre in the presence of the Sun!
Re-chisel then thy ancient frame,
And build up a new being.
Such being is real being
Or else thy ego is a mere ring of smoke.

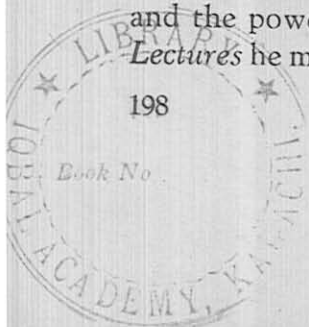
Thus we return to the conception of man with which we started—the conception of a man as an active agent, a doer, a shaper of purposes who is not only engaged in the reconstruction of his world but also in the far more significant experiment of creatively unfolding and perfecting his individuality. Hence the reaffirmation of our faith in methods of education which stimulate self-activity and cultivate the will to courageous effort in behalf of great causes.

Iqbal does not doubt stress the significance of Action because “the technique of medieval mysticism” in the East had encouraged a wrong attitude of renunciation and made people contented with their political and intellectual slavery. But he carefully avoids the mistake of paying his homage to the modern doctrine of ruthless efficiency and trivial, pointless activity which entirely ignores the part played by emotional poise and tranquillity and the power of quiet appreciation in life. In his *Lectures* he makes a thoughtful distinction between

the “efficient” and the “affective” self, which is of great significance for education. The efficient self “enters into relation with what we call the world of space and time . . . and in its dealings with the external order of things . . . it lives as if it were outside itself”.¹ The activities of this efficient self, *i.e.*, our constant absorption in the external order of things, often thrust the affective or appreciative self into the background. “In our constant pursuit after external things”, Iqbal explains, “we weave a kind of veil round the appreciative self which thus becomes completely alien to us. It is only in moments of profound meditation when the efficient self is in obedience that we sink into our deeper self and reach the inner centre of experience.” The recognition of this aspect of our nature provides the psychological justification for Prayer which, as interpreted by Iqbal, is the most effective method of establishing a fruitful communion with one's real self and with God. “As a means of spiritual illumination it is a normal, vital act by which the little island of our personality suddenly discovers its situation in the larger whole of life . . . and it must be regarded as a necessary complement to the intellectual activity of the observer of Nature.”² “It

1. *Lectures*, p. 49.

2. *Lectures*, p. 85



is an expression of man's inner yearning for a response in the awful silence of the Universe. It is a unique process of discovery whereby the searching ego affirms itself in the very moment of self-negation and thus discovers its own worth and justification as a dynamic factor in the life of the Universe."¹ Thus, in the education which Iqbal's philosophy of Action postulates there is room for that communion with Self and with Nature which prepares one for spiritual communion with the Absolute or with God. It is in these moments of quiet communion, when overt action has ceased and we allow the mysterious influence and impulses of the world of Art and Nature to play on us, that our intuition and our emotions find true self-expression and our personality gains that inner poise and repose which is a source of true happiness and joy. Iqbal is here in agreement both with Bergson and with Tagore who believe such communion to be essential for the enrichment of our intuitive capacities.

Finally, this education must be conducted in the most liberal and broad-minded spirit so as to give our youth a bias in favour of an all-embracing humanity, and a truly international outlook and to arrest the growth of narrow, political, racial or geographical loyalties. While duly appreciative of

1. *Lectures*, p. 87.

the claims of group culture and group psychology it must act as a bulwark against the modern forces of obscurantism which, under the names of nationalism, patriotism, purity of blood and race or "carrying the white man's burden" (loaded on the shoulders of the blacks and the browns) are undermining international peace and setting at naught all principles of justice and humanity. Iqbal has an "imperative vision of the Divine in man" and, unlike Nietzsche, he is anxious to use the instrument of education so as to "develop the Divine even in a plebian and thus open up before him an infinite future".¹

Can education have a higher, and dare it remain content with a lower, ideal than this of discovering God in man and building up a world worthy of his habitation?

یہ عالم یہ ہنگامہ رنگ و صوت
یہ عالم کہ ہے زیر فرمان موت
یہ عالم یہ بُت خانہ چشم و گوش
جہاں زندگی ہے فقط خورد و نوش
خودی کی یہ ہے منزل اولیں
مسافر! یہ تیرا نیشن نہیں!

1. *Lectures*, p. 184.

بڑھے جا یہ کوہ گراں توڑ کر
 طلسم زمین و سماں توڑ کر
 جہاں اور بھی ہیں ابھی بے نمود
 کہ خالی نہیں ہے ضمیر وجود
 ہر اک منتظر تیری یلعنار کا
 تیری شوخی منکر و کردار کا
 یہ ہے مقصد گردش روزگار
 کہ تیری خودی تجھ پہ ہو آشکار
 تو ہے فاتح عالم خوب و زشت
 تجھے کیا سناؤں تیری سر نوشت
 فروزاں ہے سینہ میں شمع نفس
 مگر تاب گفتار کتنی ہے بس
 اگر یک سرموئے برتر پر دم
 فروغ تجلی بہ سوز پر دم

