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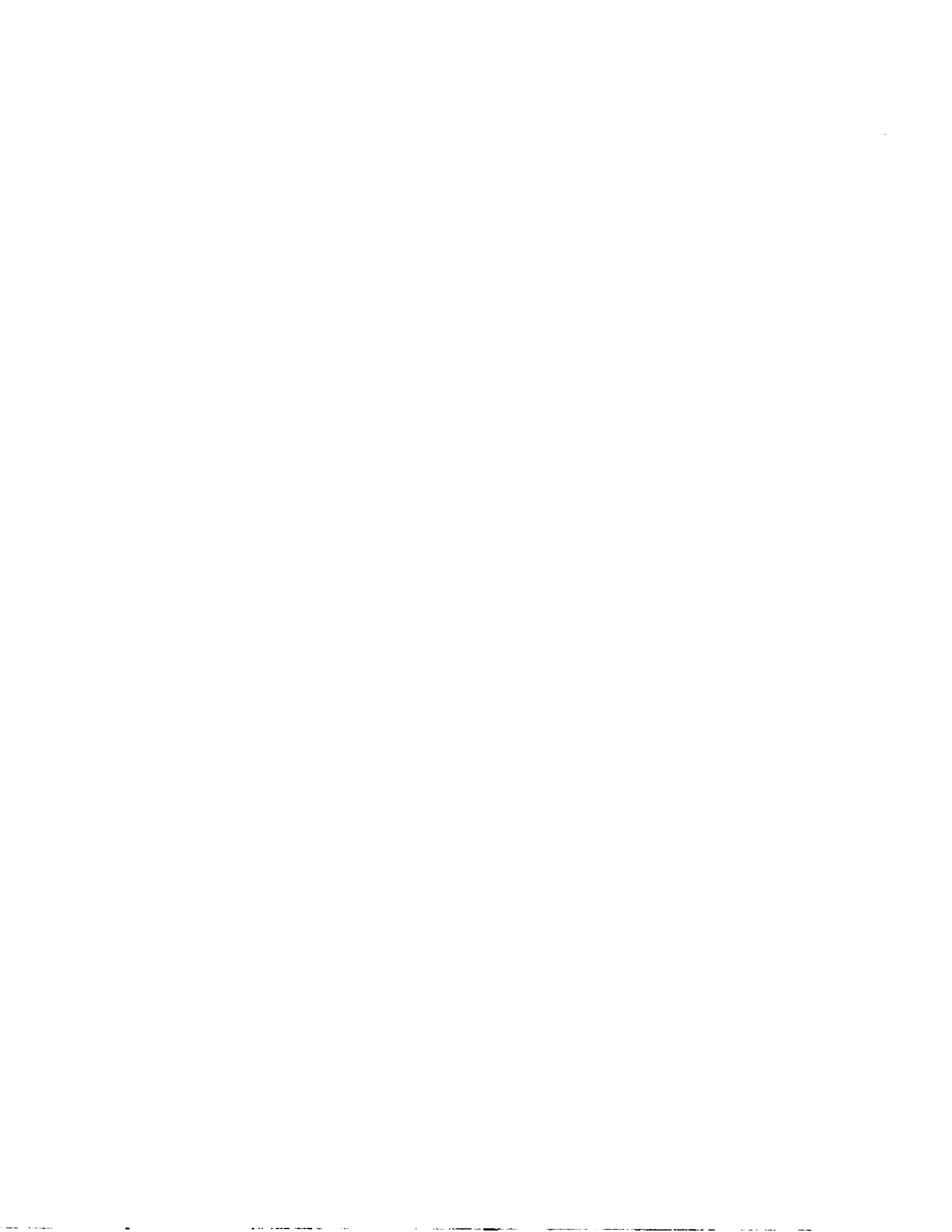
**Foundations of Pakistani nationalism: The life and times of
Allama Iqbal**

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New York University, 1988

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Foundations of Pakistani Nationalism:
The Life and Times of Allama Iqbal

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Dec 4, 1987
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A Dissertation
Submitted to the Faculty of New York University
in Partial Fulfillment of the requirement for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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December 1987

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February 1988

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INTRODUCTION

The Role of Iqbal as a Founding Father of Pakistan: Historical Background

By 1947 it had taken exactly ninety years, after the failure of the 1857 rebellion, for the Indians to dislodge the British from India. The 1857 unity between the Hindus and the Muslims had long disappeared and the bitter split between the two had resulted finally in the formation of the two sovereign states previously known as British India. The first quarter of the twentieth century saw British imperial power diminish to a degree that Indian leaders could almost feel the air of independence. However, they had long learned from intra-European rivalries that independence is never given but must be taken. In addition, the question of how India was to govern herself, once the British left, remained to be answered.

Since the British had long promoted their form of government, parliamentary democracy was probable innovation in the body-politic of India. The democratic form of government, where the majority supposedly rules, was a perfectly good system for the British Isles, but India had never been successfully ruled in democratic fashion throughout her long history. The Central Asian Muslims, who ruled India for hundreds of years, had not practiced the principles of majority rule. The Hindu elites simply did not succeed in allaying the Muslims' fear of majority rule, nor did they court that segment of the Muslim leadership which was in a position to curb the separatist tendencies. Perhaps, the high command of the Hindu-dominated Indian National Congress was convinced that the cause of the Indian Muslims was hopeless and that the Muslims would have to eventually adjust to the harsh realities of their minority

status in India!. After all, had the Muslims not adjusted to British repression after the unsuccessful rebellion of 1857, and lived quietly under infidel rule ever since? It is true that the Muslims adjusted to British rule, but the post-1857 events had also given them a feeling of greater insecurity. In fact, the seeds of Muslim nationalism were planted initially by British repression after the uprising of 1857 and subsequently by Hindu advance at the expense of the Indian Muslims.

The 'two-nation theory,' which had made almost no progress since it was first expounded by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan in the eighteen-eighties, gained respectability only after the nineteen-thirties. It was Sir Muhammad Iqbal who, in 1930, in his presidential address to the twenty-first session of the All-India Muslim League at Allahabad, first made a serious proposal for a separate homeland for the Indian Muslims. This proposal might have been solely a response by one of the Indian Muslim intellectual leaders to the intransigence of the Hindu leadership, or perhaps it was a scheme by which Iqbal attempted to arouse the Muslim masses in India. But in 1930, few political pundits in India or in Britain believed that in a short span of seventeen years, Iqbal's proposal would become a reality. Iqbal died just eight years after his famous demand for the formation of a consolidated Muslim state along the North-Western borders of India.

The political fortunes of Indian Muslims were at a low ebb in the nineteen-thirties. Muslims were not effectively organized and the All-India Muslim League was not an organization with grass-roots support of the Muslim masses. The future father of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, had retired from Indian politics and settled in England in 1931. Thus, the 'Pakistan idea' was considered by many not 'only a student's scheme'

but wholly impractical since there was hardly anyone around to implement it. Moreover, the election of 1937, held under the Government of India Act of 1935, revealed the growing strength of the Indian National Congress which made the future of the Muslim separatists rather bleak. Iqbal, the 'ideologue of Pakistan' was a man of ideas rather than deeds, and did not actually take part in the political struggle for Pakistan. He never mentioned "Pakistan," a name which was really coined by a Punjabi Muslim who was a student at Cambridge University.

Iqbal was a poet, a teacher, a philosopher, and a lawyer but never a charismatic political leader. He was an ardent Indian nationalist during his formative years, but during his stay in Europe, he seemed to have perceived correctly the dangers inherent in the doctrine of political nationalism. The man whom the Pakistanis consider the Spiritual Father of their nation foresaw the destructive nature of modern nationalism. He saw in Europe the tragedy fast approaching when narrow nationalism would wreck the tranquility of the European continent. Against nationalism, Iqbal found an answer, at least for the Indian Muslims, in the rediscovery of the spirit of Islam which would provide the basis for a loyalty and the bonds of Islamic fraternity throughout the Muslim East.

Many books, pamphlets, and articles have been written about Iqbal, more perhaps than about any other Muslim intellectual of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. In Pakistan various academies have been established bearing his name. 'Iqbal Day' is celebrated with great pomp and show throughout the land, and the 'father of Pakistani nationalism' has almost been raised to sainthood in his native country. It is understandable, for a nation seeking heroes, to ascribe to Iqbal all

sorts of ideas and events with which he had little to do. But it also distorts the record greatly. He is pronounced now a democrat and then a socialist. Some extol him as a cosmopolitan, others as the most ardent patriot. A few look upon him as a modernist, others see him as very orthodox. On the one hand he is proclaimed a pacifist, on the other he is a nationalist. One group invokes him as spokesman for Indian solidarity, another sees in him a prophet of the Pakistani national state of the future. There does not appear to exist a systematic, unbiased and critical work on Iqbal's political views. The objective evaluation of Iqbal's political thought can be made only after a thorough study and comparison of all his works, especially those dealing with the political history of Indian Muslims as far as it contained the seeds of a Muslim state in the Indian subcontinent.

The extent to which Iqbal's proposal for a separate Muslim homeland was a continuation of the 'two-nation theory' will be examined in this study. We shall also examine the relationship between the opinions of the Muslims who wished to remain within a united Indian state and the Muslims who created the ideology for the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Thus, our research will seek to elaborate fully the contribution of Iqbal to Pakistani nationalism, and to clarify his influence on the formation of the modern state of Pakistan.

* * *

To begin with, how did Islam enter India and how did a large minority of Hindustan become Muslim? The Arabs had long known the Indian shores, but only in the eighth century did the Muslim Arabs enter India for a purpose other than trade. Islam, a forceful new movement, sprang from what is now the Sa'udi Arabian Kingdom and rapidly expanded

in various directions. In 711 A.D., under the able leadership of a young warrior named Muhammad bin Kasim, it entered India via Sindh, now a province of modern-day Pakistan. Although the Muslim Arabs were responsible for establishing Islam in India through the eastern part of Iran, as they indeed were for its formulation, yet it was the Central Asian expansion which is often remembered by the Indian historians.(1) As a matter of fact, Islam had been steadily expanding towards the north-western regions of India since its inception,(2) and it was the repeated incursions of the eleventh century Ghaznavids and the twelfth century Ghurids through the Khyber Pass which has popularized the "aggressive nature" (the sword or conversion theory) of Islam in India. However, in actuality the conversion of Hindus was secured both by force and by peaceful missionaries known as the sufis or mystics of Islam. "Persuasion, according to fragments of evidence collected in the 19th century, played a much greater part than force."(3)

After the downfall of the Abbasids and the destruction of their capital city, Baghdad, in A.D. 1258 by the Mongols, the Muslim rulers seemed to have spent their energies in defending and maintaining their positions rather than on expanding Dar-ul-Islam or the 'Realm of Islam.' However, Islam has shown a remarkable power of resiliency. For example, while the Central Lands of Islam were being trampled by Mongolian

1 R.C. Majumdar et al., An Advanced History of India (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1965), p. 276.

2 J.F. Richards, "The Islamic Frontier in the East: Expansion into South Asia", South Asia Journal of Asian Studies, no. 4 (October 1974), 91-109.

3 Ram Gopal, Indian Muslims: A Political History (1858-1947) (London:Asia Publishing House, 1959), p. 1. The 1st Pakistani edition of this book was published by Book Traders of Lahore in 1976.

horsemen, the Bengali Hindus were converted to Islam in greater numbers by peaceful means. The Hindu rule was disestablished in Bengal in A.D. 1204; the founder of Muslim rule there, the Khalji Dynasty, was of Turkish ancestry.(4) Soon Islam in the west recovered and found a new and more vigorous protector--Uthman--who founded the Ottoman Empire and whose ancestors originated from the Central Asian plateau. Likewise, Islam found a new and more powerful ruler--Babur--who founded the Mughal Empire and whose illustrious Central Asian ancestors themselves had become convert to the religion of the Arabs. Babur (d. A.D. 1530) gave India a new dynasty which lasted more or less continuously until the arrival of the British. The last attempt to enlarge the Dar-ul-Islam was made by the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb (d. A.D. 1707) in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Indian historians, while agreeing that under Aurangzeb "the Mughal Empire had reached its greatest extent," and that it was "the largest single State ever known in India from the dawn of history to the rise of the British power," also attribute the beginning of its decline and disintegration to the same period.(5) Although Muslims ruled India for centuries, yet the majority of the inhabitants remained true to the religion of their forefathers and throughout the Muslim rule, Hinduism remained the dominant force in the Indian way of life.

The spirit of Europe rose to a high pitch of excitement during the eighteenth century, and the Europeans spread in various directions to consolidate trade, plant Christianity and conquer new lands. "Trading

4 Abdul Momin Chowdhury, Dynastic History of Bengal (C. 750-1200 A.D.) (Dacca: Asiatic Society of Pakistan, 1967), p. 256.

5 Jadunath N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzib, 5 vols. (Calcutta: M.C. Sarkar and Sons, 1912), I. pp. xi-xii; Majumdar et al., p. 507.

companies were founded and the mercantilist theory of state soon made the flag follow the trade."(6) The European rivalries were planted in various continents, but the Portuguese, the Dutch and the French all bowed to British genius and sea power, and India thus became the prize solely for the Englishman. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the Mughal government, had been reduced to a mere shadow of its former power. Meanwhile, the British were now equal to any other powerful native ruling chief and were playing the role of a king-maker within the Indian princely system. However, the credibility of the Muslim ruling chiefs was completely shattered by the Mughal defeat of Plassey, in A.D. 1757, followed by the defeat of Buxur, in A.D. 1764. Their military superiority, established by valour as well as intrigue, made the British unquestionably the single most important political force in Indian politics.

In political terms, every gain by the British was a loss for the Muslims. In A.D. 1765, the British demanded the diwani privilege (the right to collect revenue and carry on the civil administration) for Bengal, Bihar, and Orrisa as an annuity from the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam (d. A.D. 1806). He had to pay this price to keep the British out of the other provinces. The extortion of diwani, it is often said, enabled the British to undermine the financial position of the Muslims. In the words of one scholar, "The actual repression of the Muslims of India started with the acquisition of diwani by the British."(7) In

6 K.K. Aziz, The British in India: A Study in Imperialism (Islamabad: The National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research, 1967), p. 3.

7 Syed Razi Wasti, The Political Triangle in India (Lahore: People's Publishing House, 1976), p. 4.

addition, the Muslims lost the monopoly of military command, and slowly the British and the Hindus began to replace the Muslims in political as well as administrative fields throughout the British held territories. As the British expanded their rule the power of the local chiefs crumbled, the English, after crushing the power of the local chiefs, took the administration of the areas into their own hands. But the real humiliation for native rulers was the English interference with the religious and social customs of the Indians. The British missionaries were bent upon saving the souls of the 'heathen' Indians. In the pervasive evangelical atmosphere of the mid-nineteenth century some English in India, in spite of the proclamations of government neutrality, were openly preaching the Gospel, giving credence to the widespread rumors of impending forced conversion.(8) Nobody paid any heed to the advice of a few, "But touch the religion of a Mahomedan or Hindoo, and he is transformed from a passive and submissive subject into a bloody and ferocious enemy."(9) The arrogance of the British East India Company officials, and the undignified treatment of the natives further alienated the Indian ruling gentry. The simmering discontent of the sepoy army (sepoy=sepah=army-Pers.) of Bengal finally found an outlet in January 1857 when the Enfield rifle was first introduced in India. The cartridges used in this new rifle were greased with a combination of beef and pork fat, the touch of which is forbidden by religious injunctions to both Hindus and Muslims respectively. What the sepoys had all along suspected was now confirmed: the British were on

8 Thomas R. Metcalf, The Aftermath of Revolt: India, 1857-1870 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 48.

9 Major Scot Waring, Observations on the Present State of the East India Company (London: James Ridgway, 1807), p. xxi.

their way to convert them forcibly to Christianity. The native rulers, in order to preserve their traditional privileges, jumped at this opportunity and took charge of the mutineering soldiery. Lord Dalhousie, who made the modern map of India, had pushed these chiefs to the brink of rebellion by his policy of annexation and consolidation.(10) The Muslims, however, plunged into the 1857 revolt with one last attempt to regain the lost Empire, but the price of failure, it seems, was not calculated by anyone. Had the British been defeated even then, the chances of Muslim supremacy appear, from a modern standpoint, to be negligible since Hindus were far ahead in the political race and power would not have automatically reverted to the Muslims. The failure of the 1857 revolt--or 'mutiny' as the British described it--sealed the fate of India and thus began the heyday of British imperialism. The Muslims of India, who had already sunk so low in almost every field, were to pay an even higher price for this failure.

The fortunes of the Indian Muslims had been steadily declining since the beginning of the eighteenth century. The foundation of the British Indian Empire was laid down by Robert Clive after the battle of Plassey in A.D. 1757. The victory of Plassey was then turned into an instrument of economic exploitation by which many British robbers became lords back home in the British Isles.(11) The acquisition of diwani by the British on August 12, 1765, not only affected the economic health of

10 W.W. Hunter, The Marquess of Dalhousie (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1890), p. 14. Lord Dalhousie ruled India from 1848 to 1856, and believed that petty royalties in India stood in the way of progress; Smollett, The House of Commons, 26 February, 1863, Parliamentary Debates (henceforth P.D.), 1863, CLXIX, 809.

11 Edward Thomson and G.T. Garratt, Rise and Fulfillment of British Rule in India (Allahabad: Central Book Depot, 1958), pp. 98-99.

the Muslims of India, but its effects had devastating political repercussions for the house of the Great Mughals.(12) The emperor, Shah Alam, could now enjoy this unearned income without ever indulging in the deadly game of Indian politics. But as a result, the princes and other rulers of India began to re-align themselves with the British instead of looking to the Mughal sovereign for political legitimacy, which had been the practice in the past.(13)

The Muslims, although a small minority as compared with the Hindus, had enjoyed the power and prestige as conquerors far beyond their numerical strength.(14) However, "After the establishment of British rule, the Muslims gradually lost their prerogatives....the hereditary occupation of the middle and upper classes of Muslim society passed into the other hands."(15) For example, the British slowly destroyed the Muslim monopoly of "Military command, the Collection of the Revenue, and Judicial or Political Employ."(16) It seems that the British found the

12 An annual income of over two and a half million rupees was guaranteed by the British, and in return the Emperor assigned the tax collecting duties to the East India Company for Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. As a result in A.D. 1766, the Company raised its dividend from 6 to 10%. In addition, the Company soon became bound to make an annual payment of about 400,000 pounds sterling into the British exchequer; and all this was just the beginning of what was to come for the poor Indian taxpayers.

13 Notwithstanding the myth of the Mughal invincibility which had been almost destroyed by the Marathas, and what little credibility was left was further demolished by Nadir Shah's invasion in 1739.

14 The Muslims were practically forced to remain a distinctive people in India because the caste system had kept them--the invaders and the converts alike--from merging into the general population.

15 Theodore Morrison, "Muhammadn Movements," John Cumming, ed., Political India, 1832-1932 (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), p. 87.

16 W.W. Hunter, The Indian Musalmans: Are They Bound in Conscience to Rebel Against the Queen (London: Trubner and Company, 1871), p. 156. This does not seem to be a deliberate policy, but simply a political

Hindu more trustworthy and promoted him to positions of importance in every sphere of Indian society.(17) Thus, from the middle of the eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century, the Muslim ship of state had been sinking at an accelerated rate. In 1857 India, some Muslims thought that, if given a chance, not only could they save the ship, but in fact take over the command once it was rescued. How distorted were their perceptions to believe that fate would first let them regain their lost political supremacy and then let them keep it for themselves. The grand old man in Delhi, the Emperor, was nearly 82 years old in 1857, and could not even lead the Muslims in al-'asr prayer (a very short prayer) let alone lead them to victory against the British. This does not mean, however, that he could be absolved from the responsibility of taking part in the 1857 revolt. Indeed, he possessed the symbolic power of the Indian State in the eyes of millions and he tried to use it to free himself from English domination. He not only appointed various officials during the revolt, but once had placed in the hands of a deputy his own sword "to destroy the English in the name of God and the Prophet."(18)

The revolt of 1857 was the one last hope for the Muslims of India

process by which one ruling class replaced another. Hunter's remarks although meant for the province of Bengal yet could easily apply to all those areas which had effectively fallen under the British Administration.

17 The Hindus were trusted by the British more than the Muslims, but certainly there was no love between the two; Hinduism stood low in British estimation partly because of its utter unfamiliarity. The British also saw several social evils in Hindu society that were contrary to their social mores.

18 Charles T. Metcalfe, ed. and tr., Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny in Delhi (Westminster: Archibald Constable and Company, 1898), p. 180.

to recapture their lost glory. Hindus and Muslims jumped at the opportunity with all their zeal and turned a small sepoy mutiny into a general revolt against the English. Although the army, predominantly non-Muslim in composition, ignited the spark, yet it was thrown to the wind by both Muslims and Hindus; there was a general unity among Hindus and Muslims.(19) For the Muslims however, it was a golden opportunity to wash away a hundred years of humiliation in one stroke by beating and throwing out the arrogant English from India. The Indian Muslim might have respected the English for his military strength, but he disliked him immensely in general. A modern British historian has summarized these feelings most appropriately:

Eaters of pork and drinkers of wine, who paraded their women in the bare-shouldered evening fashions of the early Victorian age, builders of graceless bungalows, unskilled in the ghazal, always counting their--or worse, other people's--money and contemptuous of what they did not understand, the British added boorishness and arrogance, scandalous laxity and repulsive habits to their undoubted infidelity.(20)

Thus, during the revolt, the Muslims showed their hatred and unbound bitterness of the British by killing every kind of people, including the helpless British women and innocent children.(21) Every nation has

19 The fact that the Muslims were 'melechas' was deliberately ignored by the Hindus. The fear of forced conversion and the annexation policy of the English were perceived to be the greater threats than the dislike of the native Muslims.

20 P. Hardy, The Muslims of British India (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. 61. Notwithstanding the general perceptions of Indian Muslims, the English seemed to have had no other recourse open to them except staying aloof because the Muslims admitted no non-Muslim in their homes, kept their women in purda (veil) and behind doors, and offered little to an outsider except glorification of their bygone empires if the opportunity of social contact ever presented itself.

21 Mirza Asadullah Khan Galib, Dastanbuy, A Diary of the Indian Revolt of 1857, tr. from Persian by Khawaja Ahmad Faruqi (New York: Asia Publishing House, 1970), p. 50. Mirza Ghalib was the famous Urdu poet (1797-1869) who had been an eyewitness to the tragic events of

its share of brutes and the conduct of the Indian Muslims and the Hindus proved that they were no different from any other people. The British, in turn, retaliated with brutal repression and the walls of separation were erected for ever between the natives and the conquerors.(22)

1857.

22 Indian Annexations: British Treatment of Native Princes (London: Trubner and Co., 1863), p. 4. (Reprinted from the Westminster Review, New Series, No. XLV, Jan. 1863); An eye-witness account of how the Indians were blown through the barrel of guns appeared in the Times, London, December 3, 1857; P.D., 1859, CLII, 400. As late as Feb. 15, 1859, Lord Stanley, the Secretary of State for India, replying to the Right Honourable Richardson's question whether orders had been sent to the British garrison in India to stop this practice of blowing human beings from the barrel of guns, said that the orders had yet to be sent.

CHAPTER I

THE POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT ON THE EVE OF IQBAL'S BIRTH

1. The Consequences of the Sepoy Revolt on Indian Muslims

In the 1857 revolt, the wrath of the British fell mainly on the Muslims of India.(1) It manifested itself when the British singled out the Muslims in particular as the root cause of the 1857 events. "It was a rebellion instigated by the Musalmans (sic.), and superintended by them. Its responsibility rests with them."(2) As a consequence, the nearer the British got to their victory over the rebels the more brutal they became toward the Muslims. "After the capture of Delhi in September 1857 a dire vengeance befell the Muslims there."(3) The Muslim population of the city bore the major brunt of the British anger. The due process of the law was completely ignored and "all able-bodied men who were seen were taken for rebels and shot."(4) Delhi, the seat of

1 Alfred C. Lyall, Asiatic Studies: Religious and Society (London: John Murray, 1882), p. 139; Thomas R. Metcalf, The Aftermath of Revolt (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 298.

2 Cause and Effect: The Rebellion in India (London: John Farquhar Shaw, 1857), p. 10. This anonymous author had been a resident of the Northwest Provinces of India for several years. William Howard Russell, My Indian Mutiny Diary, ed., Michael Edwards (London: Cassell and Company Ltd., 1957), p. 179. Russell, whose two-volume Diary was first published in London in 1860, was the war correspondent for the Times, London, in India; Lt. Colonel J.H. Macdonald, writing to the editor of the Times on September 11th 1857, held the Muslims responsible for the catastrophe of 1857.

3 Hardy, The Muslims of British India, p. 70.; Tufail Ahmad Mangalori, Musalmanon ka Roshan Mustaqbil, 5th ed. (Urdu), (Delhi: Muhammad Sami-Allah Kasmī, 1945), pp. 93-96.

4 Two Native Narratives, p. 71; William S.R. Hodson, Twelve Years of a Soldier's Life: Being Extracts from the Letters of Major Hodson (London: John W. Parker and Son, 1859), p. 302. Hodson was personally responsible for executing two sons and a grandson of the last Mughal King, see p. 297 and especially p. 313 for details of his various

the Mughals and a center of Muslim culture was given to plunder. The British soldiery went on the rampage to search out hidden treasure and in the process destroyed countless houses in the city. This practice was brought to an end only in January, 1860, when the Governor General issued special orders directing that this practice be stopped forthwith.(5) Once the thirst for revenge was satisfied the entire Muslim population was banished from the city. "In the entire city of Delhi it is impossible to find more than one thousand Muslims."(6)

The result of the British repression was that thousands of noble and prospering Muslim families were ruined.(7) The aristocracy and all segments of the Indian Muslim society seemed to have retreated sulkily into their protective shell. The peasant class, which had already been slowly strangled for over a century by the native and British bania class (money-lending), was devastated even further. Not that it was ever easy for the Muslim masses to live in the social setting of rural India. Indeed, they literally had to build defensive walls lest they disappear in the Hindu Sea, and as such the disappearance of the Muslim ruling class and crumbling of the traditional structure now left them completely helpless. With the dissipation of their source of strength,

executions; Wasti, The Political Triangle In India p. 19; Percival Spear, Twilight of the Mughals: Studies in Late Mughal Delhi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), p. 219.

5 Punjab Civil Secretariat Records, Judicial Department, Proceedings of February 11, 1860. File No. 7-8. The city had fallen to the British on September 20, 1857; Punjab Civil Secretariat Records, General Department, Proceedings of April 24, 1858. File No. 64-68.

6 Ghalib, p. 60; Punjab Civil Secretariat Records, General Department, Proceedings of January 1, 1859. File No. 11-12.

7 The North-Western regions of India came under British rule only in the nineteenth century and as a result the effects of political change had not yet adversely affected the Muslim gentry there.

immediately after the British victory, Indian Muslims appeared to have lost their sense of political direction. The British continued their anti-Muslim bias in spite of the proclamation of November 1, 1858, in which equal opportunities without discrimination were promised by the Queen. The Muslims were shunned everywhere and deliberately by the British in the immediate post-Mutiny period.(8)

While Indian Muslims were paying for the failure of the 1857 revolt, their fellow-Muslims elsewhere were not making it any easier for them to suffer gracefully in India. The massacre of Christians in Damascus, in May 1860, made the British public even angrier. 'The root of bitterness was in the Muslim soul!' The 1857 memories were still fresh, and it could hardly be expected that a sympathetic rapprochement towards the Indian Muslims could have emerged from London during those years. After all, had not the British policy makers been viewing the Indian Muslims through the telescopic lenses of the Sublime Porte? The Indian Muslims, on the other hand, have always acted more royal than the Ottoman ruler, and never gave up the idea of turning the Dar-ul-Harb into Dar-ul-Islam, nor did they quite adjust themselves to British rule. Of course, European Imperialism had always been generally at the expense of Muslim rulers. In fact, inter-European rivalries have played a major and significant role in changing the geographical and political map of the Muslim world.

The political eclipse in the eighteen-sixties brought the Indian Muslims face to face with the bread and butter issues. Not only were

8 Punjab Civil Secretariat Records, Judicial Department, Proceedings of September 10, 1859. File No. 8 R.H. Davies, the Secretary to the Government of Punjab, was insisting to his partiality against Muslims in his report to the Governor General.

they not getting their fair share of the economic pie, but they were actually being excluded from every honorable profession. Various Muslim institutions were undermined and thousands of qualified Muslims were rendered jobless when the office of Qadi was abolished. Even wakf properties were misappropriated.(9) The madrasa system had been given a death blow in 1835 when English had replaced Persian as the official language. Muslims stayed aloof from the new education system since no Muslim could accept it and still retain the respect of his fellow Muslims. However, the new education system was to be the key to new opportunities under British rule and therefore this attitude contributed to the backwardness of Indian Muslims. Joblessness soared among Muslims, especially in the post-mutiny period. The army was practically closed to Muslims, and the administration of the revenues was no longer in their hands. In any case, the native army had been reduced from 350,000 to 130,000 men between 1860 and 1862.(10) From a complete monopoly of one hundred years earlier, there were only ninety-two Muslims employed in the State of Bengal in April 1871 compared with six hundred eighty-one Hindus and one thousand three hundred thirty-eight Europeans.(11)

They have been elbowed out of almost all Government appointments by Hindoos, and no efforts are made by Government to rectify this injustice or to better their prospects, and that no offices under Government are open to Musalmans learned in their own sciences, laws, literature and languages. Consequently learning and

9 W.N. Lees, Indian Musalmans: Being Three Letters from the Times (London: Williams and Norgate, 1871), p. 16. W. Nassau Lees had visited India for a brief period in 1869-70. He had earned his Ph.D. from Berlin University and Doctor of Law from Dublin University; Wilfred Scowan Blunt, Ideas About India (London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Co., 1885), p. 99

10 P.D., CLVII, 1862, p. 1155.

11 Hunter, Indian Musalmans, p. 166.

learned men have disappeared, and their community is left in darkness...(12)

Nevertheless, the Muslim faith remained a driving force even though the socio-economic position of the Muslims had deteriorated drastically. "To this day, they exhibit at intervals their old intense feeling of nationality and capability of warlike enterprise; but in all other respects they are a race ruined under British rule."(13) They have a proud history though, "they are a people with great traditions but without a career."(14) To sum up, "the Muhammadans have now sunk so low, that, even when qualified for Government employ, they are studiously kept out of it by Government notifications. Nobody takes any notice of their helpless condition, and the higher authorities do not deign even to acknowledge their existence."(15) Some thought this account rather overly sensational,(16) but nevertheless acknowledged that the Muslims were "in danger of being reduced to the level of hewers of wood and drawers of water unless something is done for them."(17)

2. The End of Political Hibernation

The only unity the Muslims found in post-1857 India was in common suffering. They had, in general, refrained from adjusting to the new emerging realities. They continued, even after losing political power,

12 Lees, p. 16. Hindus were qualified to hold these appointments simply because they had accepted the new education system while the Muslims had not.

13 Hunter, Indian Musalmans, p. 149.

14 Ibid., p. 150.

15 Ibid., p. 172.

16 Lees, p. 12.

17 Ibid., p. 17.

to believe steadfastly in their superiority. They were, and remained, captives of their history. Somehow, they refused to admit defeat, and even though they knew that the battle was lost, they still were not willing to write off the war. A few even migrated to the North West Frontier and became mujahidin (British officials often saw these few in the light of the Wahhabi movement.) Islam, these Muslims believed, would rescue them and, in Islam, they would ultimately triumph. The treatment meted out to Indian Muslims during these dark years made them feel somehow different; they thought that there must be something exclusive about them since Hindus had been quickly forgiven and they had not, "the Hindus having bathed in the Ganges became what they were before. But the Muhammadans and all their noble families were ruined."(18) There were a few in London who were pointing out that the policy toward the Indian Muslims was inherently defective, "a prosperous people are usually satisfied with their Government. A poverty-stricken people are invariably discontented with it."(19) The suggestion was made that the Muslims should be educated so that they could have the necessary tools to seek employment which would then lead them to proper prosperity. In fact, the argument went, if treated wisely, they might live as peaceably under British rule as they would under any Muslim rule.(20) Whether or not the policy makers in London paid any heed to such appeals cannot be ascertained with any certainty, but there was a

18 Syed Ahmed Khan, The Present State of Indian Politics (Allahabad: The Pioneer Press, 1888), p. 62. Contains speeches and letters of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan which were reprinted from The Pioneer. This book has since been reprinted, in 1982, by Sang-e-Meel Publications of Lahore, Pakistan.

19 Lees, p. 21.

20 Ibid., p. 11.

change in policy toward Muslims under the Viceroyalty of Lord Mayo. Her Majesty's Government in India issued instructions on August 7, 1871, to various provinces directing officials to pay special attention to the problems of Muslim education. Perhaps, Lord Mayo had discovered that not all Muslims were sympathisers of the few remaining mujahidin in the North West Frontier of British India or maybe he found out that religious fanaticism was not exclusively the property of the Muslim mind but the Hindu could also nurture it as fiercely.(21) Regardless, the British Indian administration made a deliberate decision: if Muslims were not willing to participate actively in the system then the education system would be modified to make it more attractive for them. The Government Resolution called for the encouragement of classical and vernacular Muslim language in Government schools and colleges. In addition, it called for the recruitment of Muslim teachers in schools instructing in English, scholarships for Muslim students were asked for and Rs. 50,000 were set aside for the education of Muslims in the Province of Bengal.(22) In 1882, the Government established an Education Commission under the chairmanship of W.W. Hunter to see how far the recommendations of the 1871 Resolution had been carried out.

Hunter was probably most responsible for popularizing the theory of Muslim poverty which he attributed directly to the British policy of favoring Hindus over Muslims during the British rule. His assertion that the British had deliberately pushed the Muslims to backwardness,

21 G.R.G. Humbly, "Unrest in Northern India during the Viceroyalty of Lord Mayo 1869-72," Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society, XLVIII, 1961, 37-55.

22 Mangalori, p. 181.

however, seems exaggerated.(23) His was a Western mind typically viewing things from the quantitative and comparative angle. He was comparing Muslims, and their rate of material and intellectual progress, with Hindus. How did the British favor Hindus? The British did not coerce anyone to go to school nor did they particularly favor Hindus over Muslims for English education. The British gave no tangible aid to Hindus and the Hindus learned what they had to in order to survive under the new system, and to adjust to the new invader accordingly. After all, had they not mastered the art of political survival against other invaders in the preceding centuries? The Western Education appeared to have been the key to survival if not prosperity under the British rule, and Hindus seemed to have succeeded in acquiring it. As a matter of fact, Hinduism had far more rigid traditions and a very conservative posture to all things foreign, and yet in spite of all this, Hindus took to English education and reaped its benefits while Muslims refused to break away from the shackles of their past. Neither the English nor the Hindus had erected any barrier to stop the Muslims from acquiring the new education. It appears as though the Muslims themselves were responsible for not acquiring it unless the 'ulema had perceived that they would be the most likely to lose if Muslims took up Western education!(24) At this juncture, the Indian Muslim had felt a deep-rooted contempt for everything British since this Muslim attitude cannot historically be attributed to any Islamic objection to modern learning.

It was not that the Government suddenly felt the urge to become

23 Hardy, The Muslims of British India, p. 120.

24 'Back to the shari'a was the rallying cry of the Indian 'ulema who established the Dar-al-'Ulum at De'oband in 1867; a final retreat, perhaps, from the political problems of the day!

more benevolent toward the Muslims in the eighteen-seventies. Perhaps it did, but also it realized the benefits which could be derived from the existing antagonism between Islam and Hinduism in Indian society. The British could foresee the regeneration in Hindu political ideals which was likely to follow the steady advanced made by the Hindus throughout the nineteenth century. Lord Macaulay had asked the same question in the House of Lords on Friday, June 21, 1861, "Do we think that we can give knowledge without awakening ambition and give it no legitimate vent?"(25) Perhaps, the British saw future political benefits in educating the Indian Muslims! After all, according to Hardy, "to balance and rule, not to divide and rule, was the instinctive British approach to politics in India."(26)

Lord Ellenborough had said that "we are persevering in giving the highest education to the lowest class; but we take no pains to reach the higher classes."(27) The British policymakers seem to have heeded this advice since the Native System--to administer from within Indian society--and the talugdari system were re-established and the aristocracy slowly restored in the post-1857 period. The landed gentry was promoted, especially those who had shown loyalty during the 1857 revolt. The laissez-faire concept began its cultivation in the eighteen-sixties and its implementation strengthened the forces of landlordism. However, while it contributed to the success of the landlord revival in post-1857 India, as a principle, it failed to maintain its consistency in the British Indian administration. The events of 1857 seemed to have

25 P.D., CLXIII, 1861, p. 1392.

26 Hardy, The Muslims of British India, p. 89.

27 P.D., CLXIII, 1861, p. 1404.

jolted the British, and the following years saw them even bending the laws to conform to the deeply-rooted Indian customs.(28) The British found it ironic that those they had favored during their rule, the lower classes, were quick to join the 1857 rebellion often realigning themselves with their old landlords against the British. Among those who had won favor from the victorious British were a few Muslims and one of them was Sayyid Ahmad Khan. Sayyid Ahmad Khan had helped the British in Bijnor Jail during the 1857 revolt. "No man ever gave nobler proofs and conspicuous courage and loyalty to the British Government than were given by him in 1857: no language that I could use would be worthy of the devotion he showed,"(29) said the Lieutenant Governor of the North-Western Provinces who was a biographer of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan. Among Muslim aristocrats Sayyid Ahmad was the one most responsible for promoting modern education. He was the lonely voice in the wilderness who opposed the policy of boycott of the new educational system. In 1863 he established the Translation Society in Ghazipur which later evolved into the Scientific Society of Aligarh. He became the founder of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh. Besides Sayyid Ahmad Khan, 'Abd al-Latif (1828-93), founder of the Muhammadan Literary and Scientific Society of Calcutta, and Sayyid Ameer 'Ali (1849-1928), founder of the National Muhammadan Association, were the two most enlightened Muslim intellectuals of the time who attempted to reconcile Islam to the modern challenges.

The change in policy towards Muslims brought a quick and negative

28 Metcalf, p. 157.

29 G.F.I. Graham, The Life and Work of Syed Ahmed Khan (London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1885), p. 19.

response from Hindus. Muslims perceived this as an unfriendly act on the part of Hindus. After all, why should Hindus object to the Government's decision to uplift Muslims from the depth of their despair. Does this not show that Hindus would rather see Muslims fall far behind in the race of social and material progress? The Hindus, on the other hand, saw in this change a governmental meddling in the private domain which ought to have been left to the local governments. Each community should be left alone to strive and to accomplish its respective goals through competition. This was a traditional confrontation between the Conservatives and the Liberals. The Hindus called for competition and the merit system as the guiding principles, while the Muslims sought the preference and quota system to remedy past injustices.

To make matters worse, there were the Western-inspired reform movements taking place among the Hindus during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Hindu revivalism, which was either for or against these reforms, always had an anti-Muslim bias, and was more often at the expense of the Indian Muslims. Arya Samaj, founded in 1875, the Society for the Protection of Kine, founded in 1882, and the emergence of the cult of Shivaji all strengthened the walls of separation and hatred between Hindus and Muslims. In addition, the British tilt to promote Hindi over Urdu had not only made the Muslims bitter toward the Hindus but had also provoked a strong reaction against the British ruling class in India.

While Indian Muslims were grudgingly edging toward Western learning, Hindus were actually getting ready to reap the benefits from such learning. A new party, the Congress Party, was founded in 1885, the purpose of which was to seek a more active role for Indians in

running their own country. The Indian National Congress was, in fact, organized by a retired English civil servant named Allan Octavian Hume. The leadership of the body was exclusively in the hands of the English-educated Indians, the majority of whom were Hindus. At the first session which was held in Bombay on Monday, December 28, 1885, there were only two Muslims among the total of seventy two participants. The Indian National Congress, however, sought Muslim support right from the beginning. Indeed, it was eager to show the British as well as the Indians in general that it was a national organization above petty politics and without any communal character. The Indian elites were soon to realize that no political organization in India could escape from the harsh realities of communal disorder. Various Indian Muslim leaders but especially Sayyid Ahmad Khan, were against Muslim participation in the Congress. The Hindu intelligentsia sought a share of political power from the British whereas the Muslim leadership steadfastly wanted to show loyalty to them.

Sayyid Ahmad Khan was absolutely convinced that the British were not only superior but that they were in India to stay. It was the fate of India that she be governed by alien races, and he saw the British rule as the most benevolent in the long history of India. "God has made them your rulers. This is the will of God. We should be content with the will of God."⁽³⁰⁾ He truly believed that the conquering powers would never ever give a representative government to the conquered people. In addition, he was of the opinion that if, by any stroke of luck the British ever left India, another European power would invade India and would surely be far more oppressive than the British. Of course, if the

³⁰ Syed Ahmed Khan, p. 52.

British left, thought Sayyid, both Hindus and Muslims, since they cannot live as equals, would attempt to destroy each other. He wanted the Muslims to take no part in politics, but concentrate instead on education. The road to success, according to Sayyid Ahmad Khan, lay through education and not agitation. Education would provide the necessary tools by which the Muslims could regain their economic health. The dark days of the 1857 revolt haunted him. He wanted the Muslims to stay aloof from the Hindu-led organization which could only bring disaster to the poor, illiterate Muslims. He considered actions of the Congress "...in reality a civil war without arms. The object of a civil war is to determine in whose hands the rule of the country shall rest."(31) Sayyid Ahmad Khan was well aware that Indian Muslims were not educated, and the nature of a representative government, if ever granted, would lead Muslims to a subordinate position in India. If a representative government means tyranny of the Hindu majority then every means should be tried to enhance and prolong British rule. Sayyid Ahmad Khan was probably the first Indian Muslim who absolutely refused to entertain the notion of a subordinate position for Muslims in an India with a Hindu majority. The 'golden age' of Islam demanded that a special status be given to the followers of Islam in India. Democracy without the special safeguards for the Muslim minority (or nation as Sir Sayyid would have it) was not acceptable to him. He was an elitist and took his bourgeois responsibilities rather seriously. However, there appeared to be no grassroot awakening among Indian Muslims at the time, since he was praying to the "...Almighty that national sympathy may

31 Syed Ahmed Khan, p. 27.

arise in my people..."(32)

The anti-Congress stance must have gone down well with the British who had always treated Sayyid Ahmad Khan very kindly. It would even be correct to say that some of his polemics against the Congress was indeed inconsistent with his earlier assertions, and that the English might have had something to do with this new and vigorous anti-Congress Sayyid.(33) Apparently the Hindi-Urdu controversy made him change his views about Hindu-Muslim unity.

Apart from Sayyid Ahmad Khan, another person who was most desirous to promote Western learning in India was Sayyid Ameer Ali, who founded the famous Muslim association, the National Muhammadan Association, in 1877. The Association was so successful that a network of nearly thirty-four branches was established throughout India. This association later became known as the Central National Muhammadan Association. As a matter of fact, to counter various Hindu revivalist movements, and to promote Muslim culture and Western knowledge among Muslims, a number of associations were founded in the eighteen-eighties. The Anjuman-i-Islam of Amritsar, and Bareilly, the Anjuman-i-Muhammadi of Lukhnow, the Muhammadan Association of Elore, and the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam of Lahore, to mention but a few. These associations were often patronized by the rulers of the Muslim states in India, and other well-to-do Muslims willingly lent their support in various ways. These associations became vanguards against proselytising activities of Christians and Hindus. The Christian missionaries were very active in India during the latter half of the nineteenth century. There was an

32 Ibid., p. 71.

33 Mangalori, pp. 287-290.

increase of over sixty-one percent in the Christian population in India between 1861 and 1871, and this increase was over four hundred percent over the previous ten years.(34)

As the nineteenth century drew to a close these associations became more politicized. Sayyid Ahmad Khan's efforts were slowly beginning to bear some fruit, and even though his message of staying aloof from politics had lost the earlier zeal, the young Muslims were increasingly entering the forbidden zone of Western education and Indian politics. They became keenly aware, since the British had made a conscious decision to treat them as a counterpoise against the new Brahminism of the Indian National Congress, that they were needed by the British as much as the British were needed by them. Notwithstanding the new British warmth, Muslims had neither forgotten the official tilt toward Hindi in the Hindi-Urdu controversy nor had they forgiven the British for their behavior toward their fellow Muslims in the Middle East and North Africa. Gladstone's ringing denunciation of the Turks as one great 'anti-human specimen of humanity' was still fresh in their minds. The mischievous hints (by the British) of encouragement to Italian ambitions in Libya during the Congress of Berlin in 1878, were remembered by Muslims. That the British were no friends of any Muslim became even clearer when they occupied Egypt in 1882. There was, however, one distinct advantage derived by Muslims from the British game of 'balance and rule' and that was that Indian Muslims were able to acquire their own separate identity. They were, in this respect, following the

³⁴ Report of the General Missionary Conference, held at Allahabad 1872-73 (London: Sealy, Jackson, and Halliday, 1873), pp. 518-519. There were 224,339 Christians in India in 1871 against 138,731 in 1861. In 1850 there were only 91,092 in total.

footsteps of English educated elites of the Indian National Congress.
At last political hibernation had ended for Indian Muslims; the spring,
however, had yet to begin.

CHAPTER II

IQBAL'S FORMATIVE YEARS

1. Ancestral Background

Iqbal's forefathers belonged to the beautiful valley of Kashmir.

Iqbal himself vividly remembers his ancestral home:

I am a rose from the Paradise of Kashmir
My heart comes from Sacred Hijaz and my voice from
Shiraz.(1)

Only in the fourteenth century were the followers of Islam able to firmly establish their foothold in this rich and extensive valley. However, Muslims had carried their raids to this north-western corner of the Himalaya as early as A.D. 770.(2) Kashmir is famous for its lofty mountains, green meadows, romantic lakes and mild climate. The author of the famous Tarikh-i-Rashidi summed it up appropriately, "in short, I have neither seen nor heard of any country equal to Kashmir, for charm of climate during all of the four seasons."(3) The ancestors of Iqbal, it seems, had to leave their beautiful country some time during the early eighteen-fifties. They moved from their native village of chako pargna adoon in Kashmir to Sialkot, a border town of the Pakistani

1 Muhammad Iqbal, Kulliyat-i-Iqbal (Persian), (Lahore: Shaikh Ghulam Ali and Sons, 1978), p. 348, (English translation from Persian and Urdu Kulliyat [collected works of] henceforth will be mine unless specified otherwise).

2 Philip K. Hitti, History of the Arabs from the Earliest Times to the Present, 10th ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1970), p. 292. In the reign of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mansur, who ruled from Baghdad between A.D. 754 and 775.

3 N. Elias, ed. A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia: Being the Tarikh-i-Rashidi of Mirza Muhammad Haidar, Dughlat, tr. from Persian by E. Denison Ross (London: Curzan Press Ltd., 1972), p. 425. The Tarikh-i-Rashidi was originally published in London in the year 1895.

Punjab.(4)

From the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Sikhs had become the new rulers of Kashmir. By the middle of the century however, they were successfully forced out by the British who were expanding their rule toward the north-western region of India. The Dogra chief of Kashmir, Maharajah Ghulab Singh, was able to buy the British out. In the Treaty of Amritsar in 1846, the British assigned control of Kashmir to Ghulab Singh and his male heirs in return for a lump-sum amount of about 750,000 pound sterling.(5) Iqbal recalls the history of this deal and exclaims:

Fields, streams and gardens and peasants too,
they sold away,
They sold away a whole people and how cheaply
did they sell!(6)

Immediately after the Treaty, there emerged a policy of persecution of the Muslims. Apparently the Kashmiri Dogras "set upon a policy of unlimited cruelty that seemed to vent upon the hapless Kashmiris all the pentup hatred of the Hindus for the five centuries of Muslim rule."(7) Because of this persecution, Shaikh Rafiq (grandfather of Iqbal) with his family and along with other Kashmiri families migrated to Sialkot, a safer place since it had fallen to the British after the second Sikh war

4 Sayyed Waheed-ud-Din Faqir, Roosgar-i-Faqir, (Urdu), (Karachi: Lion Press, 1964), p. 114. This Urdu book provides probably the best source data for Iqbal's biography.

5 K.M. Panikkar, Gulab Singh 1792-1858 Founder of Kashmir, (London: Martin Hopkinson Ltd., 1930), pp. 115-116. The text of the Treaty of Amritsar is shown in chapter VII (pp. 111-114.)

6 Kulliyat (Persian), p. 750.

7 Josef Korbel, Danger in Kashmir (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954), p. 13. The author appears to tilt toward the Pakistani point of view on the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan.

of 1848-49.(8)

Sialkot had become a British garrison headquarters and as such the economic life of the town revolved around the garrison. Various commercial and professional classes emerged to supply the traditional needs of a settled army. Iqbal's grandfather was able to make his living by selling Kashmiri shawls which were and still are highly prized for their quality and design. Shaikh Rafiq had two sons who either must have been very young at the time of his emigration or were probably born after he settled in Sialkot. Iqbal's father Shaikh Nur Muhammad became a tailor, and his uncle Shaikh Ghulam Qadir joined the ranks of the ordinary labor class. The family must have missed the climate of their native Kashmir since the Punjab climate is extremely hot in the summer months. Sialkot, however, is less hot compared to other parts of the Punjab, and because it receives more than average rainfall, it is blessed with good fertile land making life slightly more bearable for the ordinary folks whose primary occupation is farming. During the lifetime of Iqbal, Sialkot was to become the center of a flourishing sports industry.

Iqbal's parents were both gentle and pious Muslims. Shaikh Nur Muhammad was a handsome man, and like many Kashmiris possessed a ruddy complexion. He was mystically inclined and kept the company of the Sufis.(9) He was, indeed, blessed with such a gift of native

8 At the time, Sialkot did not attract immigration from anywhere else or at least there is no known record of such immigration, and therefore persecution seems very likely the only cause of the Kashmiri exodus from their native land. Ghulab Singh, after all had to raise £750,000 from the poor Kashmiris in accordance with the Treaty of Amritsar!

9 Atiya Begum, Iqbal, 1947 rpt., (Lahore: Aina-i-Adab, 1977), p. 8. Iqbal met Atiya Begum, a liberated young Muslim lady in London. They both seemed to have enjoyed each other's company in Europe away from the

intelligence that over the course of years was given the title of an untutored philosopher by his friends.(10) Iqbal's parents had received no formal education except perhaps the basic traditional knowledge of the Kur'an and Muslim prayers. Iqbal's mother, too, came from a working-class family. Imam Bibi was a deeply religious woman. She was kind, honest and a good mother. Iqbal loved his mother very much and appreciated the way she had brought him up.(11) Iqbal had one brother, Shaikh 'Ata Muhammad, and three sisters, and since his father had succeeded only moderately in his business it must have been difficult for the family to make ends meet. Shaikh Nur Muhammad, in spite of his meager success, made a bold decision to educate at least his two sons. The girls, as was customary then, were kept away from formal education.

Iqbal was born in Sialkot on November 9, 1877.(12) These were the difficult years for Muslims all over the world. The Europeans were fighting to split the spoils of the 'Sickman of Europe.' If the Sublime Porte was the Sickman of Europe she was also the heart of Islam. Her pains were felt by all Muslims at a time when Russians were expanding

confines of their conservative native society.

10 Hafeez Malik (ed.), Iqbal: Poet-Philosopher of Pakistan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), p. 4.

11 Muhammad Iqbal, Kulliyat-i-Iqbal (Urdu), (Lahore: Shaikh Ghulam Ali and Sons, 1977), pp. 226-236.

12 Faqir, pp. 121-124. There had been a considerable controversy about the date of Iqbal's birth; 1873 and 1876 have also been claimed as the year of his birth. However, Professor Marek of Praque University, Schimmel of Bonn and Harvard Universities, both specialists on Iqbal, concur with Faqir and the above date is now accepted, in general, by all. A Pakistani specialist on Iqbal discusses the controversy and clarifies the confusion in a Journal put out by the Iqbal Academy in Pakistan. See S.A. Vahid, "Date of Iqbal's Birth," Iqbal Review (Karachi), 1966, 27, and Naqsh-i-Iqbal, (Urdu), (Lahore: Ashraf Press, 1969), pp. 11-21.

their Muslim territories, and Europeans were strengthening their political and economic hold on Muslim lands. All this expansion and hegemony was achieved at the expense of Muslim peoples and rulers. Iqbal, whose ancestors were converts from Hinduism, came into this world at a time when his own country was under the rule of the British. He was born when the whole Muslim world was crumbling against the onslaught of European imperialism. Iqbal's family had abandoned Hinduism sometime in the seventeenth century. The family probably belonged to the Sapru branch of the Kashmiri Brahmins.(13) Iqbal actually took pride in his Brahman ancestry:

Look at me, for in India you will never
find again,
A son of a Brahman familiar with the
Mystical knowledge of Maulana Rumi
and Shams-i Tabriz.(14)

and:

I am originally a Brahman priest from the
Somnath Temple,
My ancestors were all worshippers of idols
like Lot and Manat."(15)

2. Childhood and Early Education

At the time of Iqbal's birth, Sialkot had become a Christian hub since the missionaries were quite active throughout the Punjab. There were two schools in Sialkot, one established by the Church of Scotland

13 Iqbal Singh, The Ardent Pilgrim: An Introduction to the Life and Work of Muhammad Iqbal (Calcutta: Longman, Green and Co. Ltd., 1951), p. 3; Moulvi Abdul Haq, "Sir Mahomed Iqbal," in Tributes to Iqbal, ed. Muhammad Hanif Shahid (Lahore: Sangemeel Publishers, 1977), p. 13.

14 Kulliyat (Persian), p. 405.

15 Kulliyat (Urdu), p. 480.

Immensely rich and a holy temple, Samnoth was first captured by Mahmud of Ghazni in 1024. Al-Lot and Manat were old Arab goddesses worshiped by the Pre-Islamic Arabs.

and the other by the United Presbyterian Church of North America. Muslims and Hindus provided their children with the basic religious education either at homes or at their respective religious institutions--mosques, temples, etc. Muslim boys were sent to makatib which were often associated and or attached to local mosques. There the Kur'an, hadith, prayer rituals and Muslim languages--Arabic, Persian, Urdu-- were taught. Iqbal, like other Muslim boys, attended the local maktab before formally entering the Scotch Mission School, at the age of about six. This school later known as Murray College--was upgraded to a Junior (two-year or community) College in 1889.

The Scotch Mission School was set up for a dual purpose: to meet educational needs of the children of locally based British soldiery and Civil Servants, and to educate children of natives so that they could properly understand the truth of Christianity. The school was open to all, and the natives were encouraged to send their children and to take advantage of quality education in the school. After the change in the Government's education policy--introduction of dual curriculum--and Sayyid Ahmad Khan's efforts resulting in reduced Muslim hostility toward Western Education, a greater number of young Muslims were entering such schools throughout the Punjab. Lahore, only sixty-five miles from Sialkot had become a center of intellectual activities. A British Government College had existed there since 1864, and a Mission College--later Forman Christian College--was set up in 1866. In addition, an Anjuman (Anjuman-i-Punjab) had been established in 1865; this was in fact a vernacular literary society set up by an Englishman named G. W. Leitner.(16) The Government of India had consistently adhered to the

16 Wasti, The Political Triangle In India, p. 25.

principles of religious neutrality, but the Punjabi Civil Servants had not refrained from using their discretionary powers in favor of the Christian missionaries. The purpose of these missionary schools and colleges was not simply to bring education to the natives, but through education to bring them the higher truth of Christianity. The Punjab proved to be a very fertile ground for the Christian evangelical activities. Ever since the Punjab was annexed by the British in 1849, it had attracted "a higher proportion of evangelical officials."(17)

There was, therefore, a Christian air in the city of Sialkot where Iqbal spent his early years. Not only the Church of England had shown its presence, but the United Presbyterian Church of North America was well entrenched in Sialkot. According to the Annual Report of the Church, in 1872 the population of Sialkot was 20,000.(18) There were 221 boys who regularly attended the American Mission School in 1872, but the girls' school did not attract many pupils.(19) In the Christian Mission Schools, each class received a lesson daily and the whole school was assembled once a day for the reading of the scriptures and prayer, and on the Sabbath all were required to be present at worship.(20) In these schools one opted either for scientific subjects such as physics, chemistry and biology or one majored in the humanities particularly in classical languages-Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit. English, mathematics,

17 Metcalf, p. 101. As early as November 1858 the American Mission at Sialkot had requested permission to preach to the prisoners in the local jail (see p. 106.).

18 The Fourteenth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, of the United Presbyterian Church of North America (Philadelphia: George S. Ferguson, 1873), p. 11.

19 Ibid., p. 13.

20 Ibid., p. 15.

and general studies were compulsory subjects. Iqbal studied classical languages, history, philosophy, and politics.

Arabic, Persian and Urdu were taught in the Scotch Mission School by Sayyid Mir Hassan (1844-1928) who was from the same neighborhood as Iqbal. He not only knew Iqbal's father but probably had tutored Iqbal, as was customary at the time. Sayyid Mir Hassan spoke no English and was a man of strict Islamic background. He had "committed to memory thousands of Arabic, Persian, and Urdu verses of great masters." (21) Iqbal's teacher was a follower of Sayyid Ahmad Khan and as such a sympathizer of the Aligarh movement. The aims of the Aligarh movement were to rehabilitate the educational position of the Muslims by removing their prejudices against Western Education, and to bridge the Anglo-Muslim gap which had widened during and after the Great Revolt. Sayyid Ahmad Khan, the leader of the Aligarh movement, was of the opinion that Indian Muslims ought to stay aloof from active politics and concentrate instead solely on improving their lot through education. Mir Hassan was in favor of Western Education. Since he taught Oriental literature in the school, he was alone responsible for molding the mind of young Iqbal during his early school years. He not only took a keen interest in Iqbal, but also began to cultivate and develop a taste for poetry in him. Iqbal passed his high school examination in 1893. (22) He was awarded a scholarship and since the Scotch Mission School had been upgraded to the Scotch Mission College, Iqbal continued his liberal arts

21 Malik, Iqbal: Poet-Philosopher of Pakistan, p. 9.

22 This is known as the "Matriculation Examination" and is given after a total of ten years of schooling. Iqbal scored the highest points ever in the province of Punjab. Two years before this examination, Iqbal had passed his Middle-School Examination--a prerequisite for entering high school.

studies there.

Shaikh Nur Muhammad must have been very happy to see his son continue his education. After all, his other son, Iqbal's elder brother Shaikh 'Ata Muhammad, had to abandon his schooling and join the British Indian Army. As a matter of fact, 'Ata Muhammad was quickly married and his father-in-law, a retired soldier of the British Army, helped him secure a position in the Army. In the Army, he was able to finish his technical school and became an overseer in the Mechanical Engineering Service of the Army. Thanks to his position, the family gained a permanent source of income.

Iqbal spent his off school time in wrestling. Wrestling has been and still is a popular sport in the Punjab. The young Punjabis still spend their youthful years building bodies and are traditionally reputed for their brawn more than their brains. Iqbal also loved partridges and retained tender feelings for pigeons right to the end of his life. It seems that he was building his body and mind simultaneously, and domestic tranquility had made his early years indeed a happy experience. Iqbal was married--an arranged marriage as was and still is customary in the Punjab--sometime in 1893. His bride, Karim Bibi, was a daughter of Khan Bahadur 'Ata Muhammad of the city of Gujrat. Gujrat is about thirty-five miles from Sialkot, and Iqbal's father-in-law was an affluent physician there. Karim Bibi bore Iqbal three children: Mi'raj Begum, born in 1895 and died in 1914, Aftab Iqbal, born in 1899 and grew up to become a lawyer and establish practice in Karachi, and a male child born in 1901 but who died soon after birth. Iqbal's domestic life appeared to have been normal since he showed "no unhappiness over his

arranged marriage during these early years."(23) Iqbal passed his Intermediate Examination--two years beyond high school--from the Scotch Mission College in Sialkot. He proceeded to Lahore to continue his undergraduate studies at the Government College.

Lahore had no finer school for liberal arts studies than the Government College, and Iqbal entered the College to complete his Bachelor of Arts degree. He took courses in philosophy, English literature, history, and Arabic. In 1897 he graduated with distinction and was awarded a scholarship for graduate studies. He continued his studies at the College and was a recipient of a gold medal in 1899 when he received his Master's degree in philosophy. During this period the most profound influence further helping to develop Iqbal's intellectual horizons, was that of Thomas Arnold. Sir Thomas Arnold was an established Islamic scholar and taught modern philosophy in the Government College.(24) A relationship of murid-o-murshid (disciple and teacher) developed between Sir Thomas and Iqbal. Sir Thomas not only guided Iqbal in Lahore, but continued to be his mentor and guide even after his return to his native England. Indeed, he was instrumental in getting Iqbal to come to England for higher studies. Iqbal became very productive upon his arrival in Lahore. In four years, he completed his Bachelor's and Master's degrees. He was also reading his poetry not only within the literary circle of the city, but also was actively

23 Maulana al-Haj Qari Hafiz Makhdum Sayyid Hamid Jalali, 'Allama Iqbal Aur un ke Pahli Biwi ya'ni Walidah Aftab Iqbal (Urdu), (Karachi: Anjuman Press, 1967), p. 33.

24 Sir Thomas Arnold had taught at Aligarh prior to his professorship at the Government College Lahore in 1898. At Aligarh, he had completed his famous work The Preaching of Islam. Maulana Shibli Nu'mani (1875-1914), the famous author and poet, was also a student of Sir Thomas during the Aligarh days.

participating in poetical symposia. As he was a man of very modest means with family responsibilities growing, he had been preparing himself by studying law simultaneously with his other studies. Though he had not deviated from scholarly pursuits since his arrival in Lahore, he no longer found time for wrestling. Instead, for a diversion, he ran around sowing his wild oats in the forbidden zones of the great city of Lahore.(25)

3. The Nationalist Poet

Iqbal had been composing poetry since his Sialkot days. Under the able supervision and guidance of Sayyid Mir Hassan, the young poet was being groomed. The carefree early years had helped the young poet to develop his mental faculties fully. The young and amateur poets traditionally sent their compositions to Nawab Mirza Khan Dagh (1831-1905) who was then a master of Urdu poetry and a resident poet in the Court of the Nizam of Hyderabad.(26) Iqbal had been participating in the local poetry sessions in Sialkot. Mush'ara (poetical symposia) provided the best forum for communicating with the multitude, and in Iqbal's day was considered the best mode of reaching the minds of thousands in a country like India. Lahore had become a center for such gatherings, and Iqbal found a perfect vehicle of expression through his poetry. Under the auspices of the Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam (Society for the Support of

25 Apparently Iqbal had a lady friend in addition to his wife. He had once requested his friend Sayyid Taqi to look after this lady singer--named Amir--during his absence from Lahore. It has been suggested that Iqbal wanted to marry her. Shaikh Ataullah (ed.), Iqbal Namah, vol. II (Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1951), p. 299.

26 Kulliyat (Urdu), p. 11. Kulliyat's introduction has been written by Sir Shaikh Abdul Qadir who was a close friend of Iqbal and the founder of the Urdu journal Makhzan which began its publication in 1901 in Lahore. Iqbal's poems regularly appeared in this literary journal.

Islam) poetical symposia were arranged, and various poets were given the opportunity to show their literary skills and express their views.(27) Through these poetry sessions, Iqbal became known to thousands of his fellow countrymen as the new emerging nationalist poet. By the time he obtained his M.A. degree in philosophy in 1899, he had well established his poetic reputation among the literary circles of Lahore. The time was now ripe for him to sing his message of national love and the Anjuman provided him a timely platform for this purpose.

Sayyid Ahmad Khan and his brand of preaching were on the wane. In fact, Sayyid Ahmad died in 1898, and his politics of loyalty to the British Crown died a bit with him. The Young Turks of Indian Islam--the post-mutiny generation--were more receptive to the message of the Indian National Congress. The Hindu-Muslim conflict aside, the British were the real enemy and the Muslims were not to be left behind in their love for their homeland. The Congress had been able successfully to whip up a national fervor among the educated Indians. The national feeling had been aroused, and the young Muslims were learning more about a new religion (nationalism) than about cohesiveness of the Islamic 'ummah.(28) These Muslims found a new nightingale from the Punjab who sang the sweet songs of their motherland. In 1900, at the annual session of the Anjuman, Iqbal recited in his melodious voice his patriotic poem on the 'Himalayas' calling the majestic mountain-range "the rampart of

(27) Wasti, pp. 25-36. The aims and history of this anjuman have been fully delineated by Prof. Wasti in these few pages.

28 'Ummah--the Kur'anic word for people or followers of a particular prophet, in particular Muslims forming a community following prophet Muhammed.

Hindustan's domain" and how "the heavens bow to kiss thy brow."(29) Viewed from Sialkot, a town along the foothills of the Himalayas, the snow-capped mountains present a panorama of absolute beauty which Iqbal had been witnessing daily throughout his childhood. The fame of this poem spread like a wild fire, and millions of Indians began to associate their love, hope, sadness, and pride with his poetry.

From 1900 till his departure for Europe in 1905, Iqbal's poetry was full of love for his native land. He weeps for India in his poem 'taswir-i-dard' (Portrait of Pain):

Your sight O, India makes me cry,
Your story is an example of the
saddest of tales. (30)

Not only does his heart weep for his country, but he reminds his fellow countrymen,

Through love, many sick nations have
been cured,
In time of need many nations have
arisen to the occasion.(31)

To the warring communalists, he reminds in his 'taranah-i-Hindi' (Indian Song often known as Indian Anthem) that

Religion does not teach animosity toward
each other,
We are all Indians, India is our country.(32)

In his 'Hindustani Bachchun ka Qaumi Geet' (National Song of the Indian Children) he traces Indian history for Indian children. He informs them that the Greeks, Arabs, Turks, Tatars and Persians had all come to our

29 Kulliyat (Urdu), p. 21.

30 Ibid., p. 70.

31 Kulliyat (Urdu), p. 75.

32 Ibid., p. 83

country and that our country was the one which "made the Greeks wonder" and it was our country which had "given knowledge to the world." (33) Finally, Iqbal 'out-Brahmans' the Brahmins, when he says in his 'Naya Shiwalah' (A New Shrine) that:

In shapes of stone you fancied God's dwelling
In each speck of my country's poor dust, a diety. (34)
place: I see

During this era the political poetry of Iqbal remained native-provincial in character and almost invariably included themes of Indian nationalism. Other themes in Iqbal's poetry during this period were: Nature: sun, moon, stars, rivers, flowers, and Man: his triumphs, defeat, self doubts, struggle, social inequality and inconsistencies. He loved Nature and all his life longed for peace and quiet which, it seems, eluded him right to the end of his life. In his poem 'ak arzu' (one Wish) he longs for a quiet place:

So beautiful should be the landscape of the
That even water would rise in ripples to
take a glance. (35)
rolling hills

His mystical devotion to the art of creation is very prevalent in his early compositions. Iqbal saw in Nature the beauty of creation and through it the Creator. His mind and heart are always searching and often striving to reach for higher meaning. If the mind boasts about its power to understand nature:

I guide all those who're lost and stray;
I dwell on earth but range the sky--

33 Ibid., p. 87.

34 Kulliyat (Urdu), p. 88; V.G. Kiernan, Poems From Iqbal (Bombay: Kutab Publishers Ltd., 1947), p. 33. This book contains Iqbal's Urdu poems which were translated by V.G. Kiernan.

35 Kulliyat (Urdu), p. 47.

See, what a wondrous thing am I!

then the heart revels in being Nature and replies:

You study creation's mysteries--
But they lie naked to my eyes;
You pore upon things' outward features,
But I know well their inward natures.
Yours science, revelation mine--
You seek, I manifest, the divine;(36)

If the sun is a "source for life,"(37) the moon is responsible for "stirring up the heart."(38) Iqbal was very observant and gave minute details to his subject:

Strange hush: no thunder pealing to destroy
This Inn of the Lightnings' untumultuous hour
That bids the garden to eternal joy,
And comes to sew with pearls the skirts of the
flower.(39)

According to Vahid, Iqbal "remained a mystic throughout his life, and it is natural that his poetry of Nature bears an impress of his mysticism.(40)

While Iqbal loved Nature, Man remained an intriguing and a central figure in his poetry. Man, to him was an embodiment of contradictions; in a poem, 'Life-Story of Man' he says:

Now drove I its stone gods from the Kaaba
Now seated new idols in the sanctuary(41)

36 Kulliyat (Urdu), pp. 41-42; Kiernan, p. 24. The title of this poem is 'Aql-waw Dil' (Mind and Heart).

37 Kulliyat (Urdu), p. 43.

38 Ibid., p. 78; Kiernan, p. 29.

39 Kulliyat (Urdu), p. 91; Kiernan, p. 33.

40 S. A. Vahid, Studies in Iqbal, 2nd ed. (Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1976), p. 168. Sayyid Abdul Vahid also known as Moeeni has written numerous books on Iqbal.

41 Kulliyat (Urdu), p. 82; Kiernan, p. 30.

In Iqbal's poetry Man is everything and nothing. He is capable of love and he can hate; he struggles and even triumphs once in a while, but basically man is a mystery:

O, God, strange is the preacher's piety!
Against the whole world, animosity
Man a mystery to this date
Where is he going, to whom does he relate?(42)

It is not that Man does not reflect, he indeed does:

The quest of the world's Meaning haunted me,
Made me thought's pinnacle, whose dwelling's
heaven.(43)

and when Man fails to understand the mysteries of this Universe he not only ponders but defiantly resolves:

And when I could not glimpse the star's true laws,
I passed the long night vigils in their solving;
Undaunted by the daggers of the Church
I taught the doctrine of the earth's revolving;(44)

but if only Man could stay within the realm of his possibilities:

If you would only reckon your own Self at its
true rate,
No longer would ill-faring or ill-doing be
your fate.(45)

Iqbal believed in the dignity and equality of Man. At least in the eyes of the Creator all are equal; nothing is worthless and nothing is bad in the art of creation.(46)

However, meaning in life could not simply be sought in the dignity of man but in the service of fellow man. The young poet considers only

42 Kulliyat (Urdu), p. 99. English poetic rendering mine.

43 Ibid., p. 82; Kiernan, p. 29.

44 loc. cit.

45 Kulliyat (Urdu), p. 55; Kiernan, p. 27.

46 Kulliyat (Urdu), p. 31.

those people worthy in the world who serve the others.(47)

Poetry won Iqbal popularity but no financial rewards, and poetic idealism aside, serving others requires sacrifices. It is against Punjabi ethos to serve others while ignoring your own, "first serve thy kin and then the poor."(48) Iqbal's family was growing and he had realized at an early stage that he would not be able to feed his family by composing and reciting poetry. He was fortunate in receiving scholarships to continue his studies, and his brother had also been very generous to him during his student days. As soon as he received his M.A. degree he was appointed Macleod Reader of Arabic at Oriental College in the city of Lahore. It is probable that Sir Thomas Arnold had something to do with this appointment.(49) In early 1901, Iqbal took a leave without pay to teach English at Islamia College. He rejoined Oriental College and took another leave to accept an adjunct position as Additional Professor of English at his alma mater. In April 1903, once again, he rejoined Oriental College only to leave again in June for his old position at Government College. During this period Iqbal wrote his 'Ilm ul-Iqtisad (Studies in Economics).(50) After returning to Oriental College he took his last leave of absence till March 1904 when he

47 Ibid., p. 35.

48 "pelay khaysh baad darwash" is a popular saying among Punjabi Muslims.

49 Malik, p. 13.

50 Shaikh Muhammad Usman, "Iqbal-ki-Ilmul Iqtisad," (Urdu), Iqbal Review, (January, 1964), 92-108. This was Iqbal's first book, written on the suggestion of Thomas Arnold. The answers suggested by Iqbal to a number of serious problems then facing India may be equally valid today, such as the establishment of a system of 'national education' to improve the workers' skills, adaptability, confidence and character; and controlling the growth of population by avoiding such customs as child marriage and polygamy.

finally resigned the Readership.(51) His salary during this time was about seventy rupees a month, and with this sum Iqbal was renting a very modest house inside Bhati Gate-where he stayed until 1905.

The teaching profession was low-paid then as it is now in the Indo-Pakistan sub-Continent, and in addition, the native intellectuals were viewed with distrust by the British controlled educational hierarchy. The native educated class and its political aspirations were not consistent with the British interest in India. Besides, the teaching profession ranked rather low in the class conscious, or more precisely, caste conscious India. Poets fared no better, they were often considered dreamers, and Iqbal had the misfortune of belonging to an insignificant family as far as wealth was considered. He himself never earned more than a thousand rupees in any given month throughout his life.

Iqbal had apparently read the recent history of Indian poets. All had suffered financially and Iqbal decided he was not going to follow their path. He was studying Law simultaneously with his graduate studies. However, he failed the preliminary examination in Law in December 1898. He tried again in 1900 but was disqualified on technical grounds. He attempted to join the Punjab Civil Service, but was rejected on medical grounds. All applicants were given a thorough medical check up prior to the civil service examination, and it seems, Iqbal was rejected by the medical board on some minor physical defects.(52) There

51 Rahim Bukhsh Shaheen, Mementos of Iqbal (Lahore: All-Pakistan Islamic Education Congress, 1976), p. 68. After 1904, he remained at Government College until his departure for Europe in 1905.

52 Muhammad 'Abdullah Qureshi, "Maulavi Mahbub 'Alam Aur Iqbal," (Urdu), Iqbal Review, (January 1963), 4-5.

was no end to his disappointments; in 1903 his brother, a subdivisional officer in the Department of Military Works by now and the real godfather of the family, was accused of a criminal conspiracy in the Baluchistan political agency. Iqbal was able to get him off the hook by directly appealing to Lord Curzon who was then the Viceroy of India. No wonder Iqbal was singing his blues at the time,

Why should not my verses be dear to me, O Iqbal,
They are heart-rending cries of my broken heart.(53)

In spite of disappointments, Iqbal was determined to complete his law studies. Perhaps, he could accomplish in London what he could not in Lahore. He was absolutely convinced that Law not poetry was the route to things mundane in this world. His old teacher Sir Thomas Arnold had returned to his native England in 1904. Iqbal missed him and his wise counseling, and composed a beautiful poem, 'nala-i-firaq' (Lament of Separation) paying tribute to his old mentor.(54) Sir Thomas not only had inspired Iqbal but actually had encouraged him to continue his education in London. Besides, his career was getting nowhere in Lahore and his brother, as always, offered his help in connection with his trip to Europe. He not only helped Iqbal, but promised to look after his family during his stay in Europe. Iqbal at the time had even considered going to the United States for higher education.(55) However, London remained his destination, and in 1905 at the height of his poetic renown Iqbal left his native country to continue his education in England. His

53 Kulliyat (Urdu), p. 101.

54 Kulliyat (Urdu), p. 77.

55 Bashir Ahmad Dar (ed.), Letters of Iqbal (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1978), p. 215. See Iqbal's letter to Mrs. Stratton written on the death of her husband.

views about life were to change radically, and his poetic transition from provincialism to universalism was to split his following in India. In 1905, at the time of his departure, Iqbal was at the height of his popularity and although he was able to ignite the spark of nationalism among his fellow countrymen yet he could not free himself from the worries of making a living.

On September 1, 1905 Iqbal left Lahore by train, and on the way to Bombay visited the tombs of Mirza Ghalib and Khawaja Nizam-ud-Din Awliya.(56) He arrived in Bombay on the 4th and stayed at the English Hotel till the 7th when his ship sailed for Marseilles. The journey took Iqbal to Aden and through the Suez Canal to Port Sa'id and onward to the French port of Marseilles. He travelled through the French countryside by train and crossed the English Channel to Dover and arrived in London where his friend Abdul Qadir was awaiting his arrival. Iqbal stayed in England and Germany for the next three years. His poetic output was very meager during this period, and not much is known about his personal life during these years.(57)

56 Shaikh Khawaja Nizam-ud-Din Awliya was born in Bukhara (now Soviet Central Asia) in 1236. He is the most popular Sufi among the Indo-Pak Muslims, and was responsible for spreading Islam in India through peaceful means. He died in his adopted India in 1324 and is buried in Delhi. Thousands of Muslims pay homage to him by visiting his tomb every year.

(57) Abdul Majid Salik, Zikr-i-Iqbal (Urdu), (Lahore: Bazm-i-Iqbal, 1955), p. 57. According to Salik only twenty four poems were composed by Iqbal during his stay in Europe.

CHAPTER III

THE EUROPEAN INFLUENCE ON IQBAL

1. Philosophical Currents

Even though he arrived at Cambridge University in 1905 with a Master's degree in Philosophy from Punjab University, where he had been taught by British professors, Iqbal nonetheless had to enroll as an undergraduate student at Trinity College. Two years later however, the Germans were more kind to him when they not only allowed him to submit his Ph.D. dissertation in English, but also exempted him from a mandatory stay of over two years on the university campus. In 1907, Iqbal was on the Heidelberg campus doing his dissertation research on "The Development of Metaphysics in Persia..." He seems to have learnt enough German during his short stay at Heidelberg since he successfully passed his Ph.D. oral examination, which was conducted in German. He obtained his Ph.D. degree from the University of Munich in November 1907. While Iqbal continued his studies in philosophy at Trinity College, he simultaneously began his law studies at Lincoln's Inn in order to qualify at the Bar. During his stay in Europe poetry seemed to have receded into the background while philosophical currents began to challenge Iqbal's mental faculties.

The two men most responsible for influencing and directing Iqbal to a proper understanding of Western Philosophy at Cambridge were John M.E. McTaggart and James Ward.(1) Iqbal attended McTaggart's lectures on

1 John M.E. McTaggart was born in London in 1866. He received his education at Trinity College, Cambridge where he later lectured on moral philosophy. He died in London in 1925. His main works include Studies in the Hegelian Dialectic, Studies in Hegelian Cosmology, Some Dogmas on Religion, A Commentary on Hegel's Logic, The Nature of Existence, and Philosophical Studies, ed. by S.V. Keeling; James Ward was born in Hull, Yorkshire. He studied at Berlin, Gottingen, and Trinity College,

Kant and Hegel at Trinity College, Cambridge, and after the death of his old professor described him as a "philosopher saint."⁽²⁾ Iqbal did not accept McTaggart's philosophical system entirely, but some of McTaggart's philosophical positions had a greater influence on him than others. For instance, Iqbal had been impressed with the doctrine of 'individual immortality' as propounded by McTaggart. However, on the question of the existence of God, his professor's powerful logic silenced him, yet it failed to convince him of the agnostic point of view.⁽³⁾

McTaggart concluded that "all that exists is spiritual..."⁽⁴⁾ This spiritual world is then divided into two parts-primary (selves or persons) and secondary (perceptions). As primary and original elements in the universe, selves are uncreated and immortal and therefore there is no need to posit a creator. Since the causal laws, which bind the substances of the universe together, are eternally written into their being, the universe does not require a God to account for its order. It is not that McTaggart found the notion of God contradictory, but that he saw no reason to affirm his existence.

Since every person is unique-fundamentally different from every other, one cannot be contained in another. Therefore, finite selves

Cambridge. From 1897 onward he taught at Trinity College and died at Cambridge in 1925. His main works include Naturalism and Agnosticism, The Realm of Ends or Pluralism and Theism, A Study of Kant, and Essays in Philosophy.

2 Muhammad Iqbal, "McTaggart's Philosophy," Indian Art and Letters, VI, new series, no. 1 (1932-33), 25.

3 Ibid., p. 29.

4 John M.E. McTaggart, The Nature of Existence, Vol II (Cambridge: University Press, 1927), p. 120; John M.E. McTaggart, Philosophical Studies, ed., S.V. Kelling (London: Edward Arnold & Co., 1934), p. 273.

cannot be merged into an all-embracing personal God. However, the totality of spiritual substances or selves does constitute a single universe. This could be conceived as a single substance or Absolute where an organic system of persons would be bound together by universal laws and especially by the emotion of love. He did not reject the notion of an Absolute, however his inveterate pluralism led him to emphasize the manifold elements of the universe rather than its substantial unity.

For McTaggart the world exists through perception and he attempts through the deductive method to determine the nature of existence. His conclusion was that the nature of existence reflected a spiritual organism of interrelated selves. His pure deductive method gave the appearance of a precise logical system to his philosophy. His philosophical system was tempered only at the end when love becomes the binding force between persons. Love--man's greatest good--will find its perfection in another life when men will be drawn together by "love so direct, so intimated, and so powerful that even the deepest mystic rapture gives us but the slightest foretaste of its perfection."(5)

McTaggart's influence on Iqbal did not make itself felt till after his return to his native India. Nevertheless, Iqbal began to ponder and grapple with philosophical questions of the day during his Cambridge years. That he was going through the contemplative period during his Cambridge years is clear when he is reported to have said that "Life is beginning of Death, and Death, the beginning of Life."(6) It is interesting to note that Iqbal's teacher was a staunch upholder of

5 McTaggart, The Nature of Existence, II, p. 479.

6 Atiya Begum, p. 18.

survival after death and, in spite of his being an atheist or perhaps more precisely an agnostic, believed in human immortality.(7) In this respect McTaggart stood apart from most other European thinkers who either were theists and believed in immortality or were atheists and disbelieved in human immortality.

Iqbal during his early years at Cambridge remained a pantheistic mystic--a belief he held prior to his coming to Europe--and often zestfully quoted verses from the Persian Pantheist poet Hafiz of Shiraz.(8) That Iqbal was a pantheist and mystic during his early years is further attested by McTaggart's letter, which was written to Iqbal, in 1920, apparently after he had read Nicholson's English translation of Iqbal's Asrar-i-Khudi.(9) "Have you not changed your position very much? Surely in the days when we used to talk philosophy together, you were much more of a pantheist and mystic."(10) Of course, McTaggart himself

7 C.D. Broad, Examination of McTaggart's Philosophy, Vol. II, Part I (London: Cambridge University Press, 1933), p. 641. Iqbal considered "...immortality as an inspiration and not something eternally achieved. Man is a candidate for immortal life which involves a ceaseless struggle in maintaining the tension of the ego." Muhammad Iqbal, "McTaggart's Philosophy," p. 28.

8 Atiya Begum, p. 15.

9 Asrar-i-Khudi (Persian Masnavi) first published in Lahore in 1915. In these philosophical poems Iqbal emphasizes the importance of the ego and its self-affirmation; he believes that the morality of the individual and of the nation are determined by the answer they give to the question: 'what is the nature of ego?' This emphasis is intended in part to counterbalance a certain tendency in oriental thought and spirituality to stress the atomistic point of view, from which the individual self exists only upon an illusory plane. Iqbal considered that this was the major cause of the fatalistic passivity which characterized the Muslims and other Eastern people, resulting in the decline of their religious values and cultural and political fortunes during recent centuries at the expense of those of the West.

10 Muhammad Iqbal, "McTaggart's Philosophy," p. 26. Iqbal himself quotes this letter and does not dispute McTaggart's assertion that contrary to his views expressed in his philosophical poems (Asrar-i-

says that "All true philosophy must be mystical, not indeed in its methods, but in its final conclusions."(11)

Another man who had even greater influence on Iqbal than McTaggart was James Ward. Iqbal was very impressed with the spiritual monism and theistic pluralism of professor Ward.(12) Ward had faith in the creative freedom of the individual. He taught that God is an infinite and omnipotent spirit, which is both immanent and transcendent, i.e., He pervades the finite selves and yet transcends them.(13) God is a perfectly free creative spirit who limits its own freedom by creating free egos and this internal limitation is not inconsistent with His own perfect freedom. Iqbal seemed to have learned well from his old professor, "This universe is perhaps still unfinished, for one can hear Khudi) he was a pantheist and mystic in his early years.

11 John M. E. McTaggart, Studies in the Hegelian Dialectic, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), p. 255.

12 B. A. Dar, A Study in Iqbal's Philosophy (Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1944), p. 120.

13 James Ward, The Realm of Ends or Pluralism and Theism (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), p. 443; Annemarie Schimmel, Gabriel's Wing: A Study into the the Religious Ideas of Sir Muhammad Iqbal, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1963), p. 98. Professor Schimmel discusses the German influence on Iqbal's thought regarding the relationship between the Ultimate Ego and the created egos (similarity to Rudolf Eucken's views) and the idea of God being both immanent and transcendent (close affinity to Von Hugel's views); Muhammad Iqbal, The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam (Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1960), p. 64. This book, first published in 1930, was based upon a series of lectures on Islam, which Iqbal delivered in December 1928 and January 1929, at the invitation of the Madras Muslim Association at Madras, Hyderabad (Deccan) and Aligarh. In these lectures Iqbal set himself the task of renewing the intellectual foundations of Islamic philosophy in a manner suited to the intellectual and spiritual climate of the modern age, and meeting the challenge of Western, largely materialistic, thought on its own ground so far as this was possible in discussing a philosophical system based on divinely revealed principles. The book shows signs of the strain involved in presenting Islamic philosophical ideas in terms of Western thought and concepts.

the command: Let there be and lo it is born."(14) According to Ward, God is perfect throughout his creative process and God's will functions through the will of the finite egos.(15)

Ward believed that reason can prove the necessity of faith, but cannot turn faith into knowledge.(16) He agreed, however, that belief in God is ultimately a matter of faith, though a rational faith,(17) and that conviction or complete certitude about Him is gained only through living. Professor Ward believed that direct communion with God can only be gained through love, and that the finite self can achieve 'Immortality' only by loving Him. This message was not lost on Iqbal, and he remembers, "... Love of God at last becomes wholly God...."(18)

Beside McTaggart and Ward, who directly help germinate philosophical ideas in Iqbal, other Western philosophers who impressed him most were Kant (d. 1804), Fichte (d. 1804), Goethe (d. 1832), Schopenhauer (d. 1860), Nietzsche (d. 1900), and Bergson (d. 1941) to mention but a few. Iqbal was profoundly influenced by Western thought but his spirit remained essentially Islamic. While poetry seemed to have receded into the background during his European stay, he began to ponder larger questions about man and his relationship with fellow man. After his arrival at Cambridge in 1905, Iqbal did not study poetry and literature even though two of the outstanding orientologists, E. G.

14 James Ward, The Realm of Ends..., p. 316; Kulliyat, (Urdu), p. 320; Muhammad Iqbal, The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 65.

15 The Realm of Ends..., p. 446.

16 Ibid., p. 418.

17 Ibid., p. 423.

18 Ibid., p. 453; Kulliyat (Persian), p. 18.

Browne and Reynold A. Nicholson, were at the time teaching Persian literature there.(19) Instead he chose to study Western philosophy and completed his Ph.D. dissertation under the guidance of Professor F. Hommel at Munich University.(20) Under European influence, Iqbal began to move away from his earlier poetic preoccupation, which was basically nationalistic in content and local in character, and moved toward philosophical themes in the post-Cambridge period. Nevertheless, his vehicle of expression with few exceptions, remained poetry--perhaps an ill-suited medium for expounding philosophy, which is more logical and less emotional.

After his return from Europe, Iqbal fervently propagated the doctrine of 'khudi' (Ego) in his sister volumes, Asrar-i-Khudi and Rumuz-i-Bekhudi (The Mysteries of Selflessness).(21) The theme of khudi runs throughout Iqbal's poetry, and he uses it to mean self-reliance,

19 E.G. Browne was an eminent British Orientalist and wrote numerous books including A Year Amongst the Persians (London, 1893), Arabian Medicine (Cambridge, 1928-30). Reynold A. Nicholson likewise was a highly reputable British Orientalist and wrote The Mystics of Islam (London, 1914), Studies in Islamic Mysticism (Cambridge, 1921), Studies in Islamic Poetry (London, 1921), Translation of Eastern Poetry and Prose (London, 1922), and A Literary History of the Arabs (Cambridge, 1930). He also translated Iqbal's Asrar-i-Khudi, The Secrets of the Self (London: Macmillan Press, 1920).

20 Iqbal obtained his Ph. D. degree from Munich University on November 4, 1907. His dissertation, The Development of Metaphysics in Persia: A Contribution to the History of Muslim Philosophy, presents an outline of the metaphysical thought of the Iranian people from the earliest times--Zoroaster, to the nineteenth century--Baha 'Ullah (d. 1892). It was published in 1908 by Cambridge University Press.

21 This Persian Masnawi was published in Lahore in 1918. The principal themes in this second of Iqbal's major philosophical poems are the relationship between the individual, the community, and mankind; and the nature of the ideal community and its ethical and social principles as based upon the teaching of Islam. This book has been translated by A. R. Tariq under the title of the Secrets of Collective Life and published by The Islamic Book Service in Lahore, Pakistan in 1977.

self-respect, self-confidence, self-expression, self-realization and self-affirmation- all those attributes which strengthen the character and enhance the individuality. However, these attributes must not lead the Self to pride or arrogance.

The form of existence is a manifestation of the Self
Whatever you see is a mystery of the Self.(22)

According to Iqbal, not only the Self has a purpose in this world, but it is always in a constant flux:

Subject, object, means, and causes-
All these are forms which it assumes for
the purpose of action.
The Self rises, kindles, falls, glows,
breathes,
Burns, shines, walks, and flies.(23)

Not only the Self, but the universe itself is evolving continuously, and it is the power of the Self, which provides impetus to the process of evolution. In fact, "life is in proportion to this power."(24) Life for Iqbal means desiring and only in desiring does he feel the true nature of struggle:

Life is latent in seeking,
Its origin is hidden in desire.
Keep desire alive in thy heart,
Lest thy little dust become a tomb.
Desire is the soul of this world of
hue and scent,
The nature of everything is a storehouse
of desire.(25)

22 Kulliyat (Persian), p. 12. For McTaggart's views on Selves see The Nature of Existence, II, pp. 120-131.

23 Kulliyat (Persian), p. 13; The Secrets of the Self (Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1975), pp. 18-19.

24 Ibid., p. 14; The Secrets of the Self, p. 20.

25 Kulliyat (Persian), p. 15; The Secrets of the Self, p. 23. For McTaggart's views on desire see The Nature of Existence, II, pp. 132-143.

Not only does 'desire' become the mother of ideas in Iqbal's philosophical thought, its negation is "death to living...,"(26) He believes that it is the strength of desire which gives shape to the human body and mind, and these are weapons devised by life for self-preservation. Furthermore, the object of science and art is not seeking knowledge, but science is an instrument for the preservation of life and it is a means of invigorating the Self.(27) While desire is considered the source for ideas, it is love which is the all persuasive force in the views of Iqbal:

The Luminous point whose name is the Self,
Is the life-spark beneath our dust.
By love it is made more lasting,
more living, more burning, more glowing.(28)

Love could generate many spiritual qualities, and for Muslims there was a dire need for Love at the time.

From the wine of Love spring many
spiritual qualities:
Amongst the attributes of Love is blind
devotion.(29)

Iqbal traces the actions of love in the very early history of Islam when the Prophet of Islam showed examples of true love for the new and emerging Islamic 'ummah.

In his sight high and low were one,

26 Ibid., p. 16; The Secrets of the Self, p. 24. Iqbal's teacher, Professor McTaggart had gone a step further stating that "...more strictly, I think we must say that there are no such things as negative desires." See The Nature of Existence, II, p. 138.

27 Ibid., p. 17; The Secrets of the Self, p. 26.

28 Kulliyat (Persian), p. 18; The Secrets of the Self, p. 28. Iqbal uses the word love in a very wide sense meaning the desire to assimilate and to absorb. For McTaggart's views on love see The Nature of Existence, II, pp. 144-169 and also p. 479.

29 Ibid., p. 21; The Secrets of The Self, p. 36.

And its mainspring is the desire for
victory.(34)

Nietzsche asks "what is bad? Everything that is born of weakness."(35)

Iqbal agrees rather strongly:

Weakness is the plunder of life,
Its womb is teeming with fear and
lies.(36)

Of course, Nietzsche's 'Superman' is an atheist being whereas Iqbal's 'Momin' not only believes in God but is endowed with spiritual and religious prowess. Iqbal's 'Momin' does seek to master power like Nietzsche's 'Superman' but unlike him he adheres to religious mores and values. He does not throw away traditional ethics to the four winds like the 'Superman' in the name of a transvaluation of values. Nietzsche is atheistic and amoral while Iqbal believes in the eternal truth of religion. Nevertheless, Nietzsche's influence on Iqbal can hardly be denied even though unlike Nietzsche's, Iqbal's 'Perfect Man' seeks God through absorption of God's attributes into his own person.(37)

Iqbal often openly expresses his likes and dislikes for various philosophers, modern and ancient, and does not hesitate to criticize them if by so doing his own philosophical point of contention can be rationalized. For example, Iqbal studied the Greek philosophers, as is customary in the West since the ancient Greeks are considered the Founding Fathers of Western Philosophy, but he absolutely disliked Plato

34 The Secrets of The Self, p. 92; Kulliyat (Persian), p. 50.

35 Friedrich Nietzsche, "The Antichrist," in The Portable Nietzsche, trans. Walter Kaufman (New York: The Viking Press, 1954), p. 570.

36 The Secrets of the The Self, p. 92; Kulliyat (Persian), p. 50.

37 Some critics of Iqbal even think that he tried to Islamicise the thoughts of Nietzsche. Subhash Kashyab, "Sir Muhammad Iqbal and Friedrich Nietzsche. The Islamic Quarterly III, (1955), 1176.

and censures him in his philosophical poems:

Plato, the prime ascetic and sage
Was one of that ancient flock of sheep.(38)

Iqbal disliked Plato because of the latter's asceticism and held the ancient Greek responsible for the downfall of many nations. Being a 'Muslim Vitalist' Iqbal abhors Plato's philosophy because its influence had deprived many nations of the doctrine of Vitality.

The peoples were poisoned by his
 intoxication:
He slumbered and took no delight
 in deeds.(39)

In fact, Iqbal would prefer a little heartache than all the philosophy of Plato:

Better is the robbers' train
Than the heaven's pacing brain,
Better one distress of heart
Than all Plato's learned art.(40)

Basically, Iqbal criticized Plato for his pure speculative, idealistic and abstract thought since it did not lead the Muslims to salvation, and in addition, it generated negativism in Islamic sufism that in turn deprived the Islamic 'ummah from dynamic activism.

Aristotle fared a bit better in the views of Iqbal. Although he too failed to provide a perfect solution to the human dilemma, yet Iqbal showed greater respect for him than any other of ancient Greek

38 The Secrets of The Self, p. 56; Kulliyat (Persian), p. 32.

39 The Secrets of The Self, p. 59; Kulliyat (Persian), p. 34.

40 Kulliyat (Persian), p. 415; Arthur J. Arberry, Persian Psalms (Zabur-i-'Ajam) (Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1968), p. 17. Zabur-i-'Ajam was first published in Lahore in 1927. It was written during a period of intense literary and political activity and shows the versatility, inventiveness and stylistic maturity of Iqbal. His object was to instill new spirit among the people of the East and especially the young. Arberry's translation from Persian had first appeared in 1948.

philosophers.(41) In short, Iqbal felt at home with the doctrine of Vitalism-action, power, resourcefulness, determination, force and assertion- and Greek thought which primarily deals with harmony and beauty in life did not have much fascination for Iqbal.

Iqbal did not construct, in the strict sense of the word, any system of philosophy as is known in the West. He himself was a product of his own political and religious environment and for him there was no ideal society apart from the Islamic. According to Nicholson, "Here the religious enthusiast seems to have knocked out the philosopher- a result which is logically wrong but poetically right."(42) Iqbal often comes out as an apologist for Islam especially against his earlier attacks on the communalists in India. He has been praised for his contributions and at the same time condemned for his inconsistencies.(43) A German specialist on Iqbal probably has said it better when she noted that if he was not a "scientific philosopher" then surely, at least he was a "prophetic philosopher."(44) Furthermore, any system of philosophy is the product of the creative thinking of an individual mind and reflects the personality of its author. In this respect, philosophical systems are no different than systems of ethics and religion. In short, a

41 Javid Iqbal, ed., Stray Reflections: A Notebook of Allama Iqbal (Lahore: Shaikh Ghulam Ali & Sons, 1961), p. 40. Originally entitled 'Stray Thoughts' and published posthumously in 1961, it contained various topics, religion, philosophy, politics, art, literature and education. Several entries throw light on the author's own personality.

42 Reynold A. Nicholson, "Iqbal's Message of the East." (Payam-i-Mashriq), Islamica, I, (1924), 113.

43 Schimmel, Gabriel's Wing, pp. 377-379. Examples of various scholars praising Iqbal's work and others strongly criticizing the same are cited on these pages.

44 Ibid., p. 380.

philosophy is connected with the personality and temperament of its author.(45) That Iqbal's philosophy reflects his personality and temperament is acknowledged by all except the most extreme of intellectuals.

In 1923, Iqbal's Payam-i-Mashriq (Message of the East) was published in Lahore. These Persian poems were a response to the Westostlicher Diwan of Goethe. There is a very close affinity between the thoughts of Goethe and Iqbal. In Iqbal's view the conditions prevailing in the East were comparable to those prevailing in Germany during Goethe's time: a state of national decline. Iqbal's purpose was to bring about 'moral, religious, and social truths bearing on the inner development of individuals and nations.' He wanted to breath fresh air into the body politic of the Muslim East so that Muslims could free themselves from subjugation, within and without. Besides, Iqbal admired Goethe:

That Western sage, that bard of Germany,
That ardent lover of things Pahlavi...(46)

Comparing himself with Goethe, Iqbal says:

He was a nightingale that filled with song
An orchard; I am but a desert gong,
A signal for the caravan to start.
We both have delved into the inmost heart
Of being; both of us are messages
Of life in the midst of death's ravages;
Two daggers, morning-lustred, mirror-bright;
He naked; I still sheathed, concealed from sight.(47)

45 William James, Pragmatism and Other Essays (New York: Washington Square Press, 1970), pp. 6-7.

46 Kulliyat (Persian), p. 186; M. Hadi Hussain, A Message from the East (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1977), p. 1. This is a translation of Iqbal's Payam-i-Mashriq.

47 Loc. cit.; A Message from the East, p. 2.

Again and again Goethe is praised:

O you have seen the spirit's flame
Ablaze in its corporeal frame,
And you from observaton know
How in their shells pearls form and grow.(48)

Indeed, there is a significant closeness between Iqbal and Goethe in various aspects of Iqbal's thought. The idea of dynamic and creative activity occupies the major part of their thinking. At the time, Goethe had turned to the East-Iranian genius to seek mental tranquility against the anarchic background of the West. It appears, however, that Goethe either missed or did not take any interest in the mystical implication of Persian poetry. His goal seems to have been to free the individual from suffocating constraints of early nineteenth-century German society, and to inspire Germans toward action and eventual unity. Iqbal was very impressed with this aspect of Goethe's thought, and like him, attempted to soothe the feeling of helplessness and despondency of his fellow Muslims in India. 'Action' and determination seem to be the key to salvation in the scheme of life according to Goethe. His Faust ponders seriously:

Find life where others fear to die;
Take measure of thy strength, and burst
Burst wide the gate of liberty;
Show, by man's act man's spirit durst
Meet God's own eye, and wax not dim;
Stand fearless, face to face with Him.(49)

The individual plays a central role in the thinking of Goethe, and Iqbal too sought an active life for his 'individual' but says that even a peaceful mannered individual when chained in the shackles of slavery

48 Kulliyat (Persian), p. 376; A Message from the East, p. 170.

49 Johann Wolfgang Von Goethe, Faust, tr. Johan Anster (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1890), pp. 63-64.

would turn himself into a warrior in order to obtain his freedom:

A life of struggle, strain and stress
is better than eternal rest.
When a dove strains hard at its nest,
An eagle's heart beats in its breast.(50)

Another theme which Iqbal owes to Goethe is his exposition of the Devil (Iblis), or at least, the role the Devil plays in the life of man. This concept takes only similar significance in the thoughts of Goethe and Iqbal, In the opinion of both, the Devil symbolizes one of the most creative forces in the life of man. He is not only the creative force but is the source for life. Iqbal's hero taunts God:

I am the substance of the world.
I am life's primal source.
The body draws its soul from You.
But I arouse the soul.
While you waylay with blissful peace,
I lead with action's call.(51)

Goethe concurs:

In indolent enjoyment Man would live,
And this companion, whom I therefore give,
Goads, urges, drives-is devil and cannot rest.(52)

The Devil is so very conscious of this contribution:

My rebel spirit has filled Man's pinch of dust
with fierce ambition,
The warp and woof of Mind and Reason
are woven of my sedition.(53)

It has been said that Iqbal was most responsible for bringing Goethe's thought to India.(54) Iqbal acknowledges his debt to Goethe and says

50 Kulliyat (Persian), p. 256; A Message from the East, p. 49.

51 Kulliyat (Persian), p. 256; A Message from the East, p.48.

52 Goethe, Faust, p. 39.

53 Poems from Iqbal p. 82; Kulliyat (Urdu), p. 436.

54 Schimmel, Gabriel's Wing, pp. 331-332.

that he indeed was responsible for leading him "into the inside of things." (55) It is indeed true that the German culture, thought, literature and philosophy seems to have captivated Iqbal's mind and he was much influenced by it. (56) According to Schimmel, Iqbal's own philosophy of Vitalism had sprung from his close contacts with the German Vitalists. (57)

While it is true that Iqbal was influenced by the German thinkers in particular, he was, on the whole, always a student of European thought, but seems not to have studied American thought. He had an enormous capacity for assimilation; "Very often the multiplication of authorities, ancient or modern, Western or Islamic is done at such a pace that the reader is left breathless." (58) Iqbal also admired Milton (d. 1674) and at one time wanted to write a poem in the style of the great English poet. (59) Other English poets who impressed Iqbal most were Shelley (d. 1822) and Wordsworth (d. 1850), but especially Wordsworth whose poetry of nature had a great appeal for him. The influence of the great Italian poet Dante (d. 1321) is clearly evident in Iqbal's Javid-Nama. (60) Poets, philosophers, scholars all held

55 Ibid., p. 333.

56 S. A. Vahid, Studies in Iqbal, 2nd ed. (Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1976), p. 49; S.A. Vahid, "Iqbal and Western Poets." Iqbal-Poet Philosopher of Pakistan, ed. Hafeez Malik, p. 357.

57 Schimmel, Gabriel's Wing, p. 39.

58 Majid Fakhry, A History of Islamic Philosophy (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), p. 393.

59 Schimmel, Gabriel's Wing, p. 329.

60 Ibid., 330; Javid Nama was first published in Lahore in 1932. This long Persian poem touches on new subjects as well as questions discussed in his earlier works. Besides referring to the eternal realm, the title of Javid Nama also indicates that Iqbal named the poem for his younger son Javid. An 'Address to Javid', intended also as advice to

attraction for Iqbal for he was a good student of the West. Throughout his student days, right from high school, college and university, he had been dominated by European teachers. Their influence and the influence of the West had indeed played a significant role in the intellectual development of Iqbal, In his philosophy, European influences are clearly discernible and he himself admits that "Most of my life has been spent in the study of Western philosophy, and this point of thought has become second nature to me. Knowing or unknowingly I study Islamic theology from this point of view."(61)

3. Fascination and Disillusionment with the West

Iqbal was absolutely fascinated with the vitality of Europe In every sphere of life Europeans were making advances. They were a restless lot, not satisfied with the enormous accomplishments they had already made, but were pushing even harder to conquer nature and open up new possibilities for man. For a young man who had grown up in the Punjab, Iqbal was well qualified to see the accomplishments of Europe. Europeans were better fed, better clothed, and far ahead in education, compared with the population in Iqbal's native India. They had already solved the problem of meeting the basic needs of their societies. On the other hand, Iqbal's own society had failed to provide even the bare necessities of life. The British, who had been ruling Iqbal's native Punjab since the mid-nineteenth century, had not much improved the Muslim youth in general, forms a postscript to the poem. The book has been translated from the Persian with introduction by Arthur J. Arberry, and was published by George Allen & Unwin LTD. in London in 1966.

61 Iqbal Nama: Collection of Iqbal's letters, Vol. I (Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1945), pp. 46-47. See Iqbal's letter in Urdu to Professor Sufi Ghulam Mustafa Tabassam written on September 2, 1925 in which he also states (p. 46) that his religious knowledge was extremely limited.

material well-being of the natives either. The government, in fact had not been able to resolve the bread and butter issue as is reflected in Iqbal's wondering aloud. "What kind of system is this in which man does not even have shelter over his head, a shirt on his back or enough food to fill his stomach."(62) While the dazzling progress made by the West in socio-economic and technical fields had captivated Iqbal's imagination, its' moral and religious decay had also disillusioned him.(63) while he was moved by the aggressive spirit of the West, he was disturbed too by its political and economic imperialism.

However, it took some time before the Indian nationalist poet progressively became philosopher poet and ultimately a spokesman for the separatists. At his arrival in London, what fascinated him most was the social interactions of Europeans. His Muslim 'behavior' did not stop him from enjoying the social charms of Western society. Only in the West could he meet attractive and enlightened ladies- quite a contrast from his native Punjab where such encounters were simply out of the question. In London, he arranged to meet a charming Indian lady who was studying in London and belonged to an elite Muslim family.(64) Iqbal developed a great deal of affection for Miss Atiya, and, it seems, she too returned his affection. This mutual affection could have reached its ultimate conclusion, in spite of the fact that he was already married,

(62)Mian Muhammad Shafi, "Iqbal Ka Shab-o-Roz," Allama Iqbal Apnon Ke Nazr Men (Urdu), (Lahore: Farjan Publishers, 1977), p. 138.

63 Iqbal uses the term 'West' throughout his writings meaning Europe or perhaps 'Occident' but he never studied the American thought in any great depth.

(64)Atiya Begum, pp. 14-15. Iqbal arranged and met Atiya Begum in April 1907, at the home of Miss Beck who apparently often 'bestowed a great deal of motherly care' upon students in London!

had it not been for the social barrier which existed between the lower middle-class Punjabi family of Iqbal and Atiya's Fyzee-Tyabjee, the aristocratic and princely family of Bombay. Miss Atiya was the first cousin of Sir Akbar Haydari, then the Finance Minister in the princely State of Hyderabad. Her sister was married to Nawab Sayyid Ahmad Khan of Janjira. Regardless of the consequences, at last, Iqbal found his true love and he was not ashamed to admit it:

O, Nightingale, that flower the yearning for which had
 made me so restless,
By good fortune. I have finally
 found that flower...(65)

He found personal happiness in the West, and personal and social freedom in Europe did not go unnoticed by Iqbal, Only in Europe could he find the opportunity of being taught by 'two beautiful women professors' who not only taught philosophy, but took an active part in all activities including the listening of classical music, singing, boating, hiking and climbing, which were a part of the general curriculum in German universities. According to Atiya, "it was impossible to distinguish who was who until the time for taking lessons arrived...."(66)

On his return from Europe, Iqbal found it difficult to readjust to

65 Kulliyat (Urdu), p. 120; Atiya Begum, p. 36. Iqbal wrote numerous letters and sent many poems to Atiya which by and large were sad in content and reflected his unfulfilled love for her. This poem, Wasal (Union), was sent to Atiya from Munich where Iqbal had gone to complete his Ph.D. work. On the invitation of Iqbal, Atiya visited Heidelberg and Munich before returning to her native India. She arrived in Heidelberg on August 20, and left for home around Sept. 1, 1907. These twelve short days, without a doubt, were the happiest in the otherwise emotionally gloomy life of Iqbal. It is interesting to note that in this poem he says that he 'found freedom only after becoming a prisoner' of love and that 'his home truly prospered only after he was robbed of his heart.'

66 Atiya Begum, p. 26. Iqbal's professors, Fraulein Wegenast and Fraulein Seneschal, were 'exceedingly young and handsome,' see p.25

the social conventions of his native Punjab. He missed the personal freedom which he had enjoyed in Europe; besides, his marriage had begun to crumble, especially as it lacked emotional as well as intellectual stimulation which Iqbal apparently had been experiencing during his stay in Europe! The exposure to Western social customs suddenly highlighted the dark side of the social fabric of his own community. His personal woes were not only testing his patience but he was ready to write off his own society, "As a human being I have a right to happiness- if society or nature deny that to me, I defy both."(67) What's more, the social conventions of his native land sickened him and he was ready to abandon his country, "The only cure is that I should leave this wretched country forever or take refuge in liquor which makes suicide easier."(68) Those days when European beauties warmed his heart and sharpened his intellect were gone forever, "Ah, the days which will never come again."(69) By 1911, Iqbal acknowledged his failure in love and revealed his feeling of intense disappointment in a poem, 'nawa-i-gham' (Song of Sorrow), "Ah! love's hope was never fulfilled," and, "my nature finds fulfilment in songs of sorrow."(70)

The Western personal and social freedom was impressive, but Iqbal was even more impressed with scientific and technical progress which the West had made and which he had the opportunity to witness first hand

67 Ibid., p. 42. This letter was written to Atiya on April 9, 1909. Atiya, likewise, pointed out the shortcoming of her community on the custom of arranged marriage, see p.93

68 loc. cit. 'Leave the wretched country' in whose every 'Speck of poor dust he saw a deity'! Poems from Iqbal, p.33.

69 Ibid., p. 48.

70 Kulliyat (Urdu), pp. 124-125; Atiya Begum, p. 81.

during his European stay. As a result of this advancement, Europeans were blessed with material prosperity the sight of which man had never seen before. In the opinion of Iqbal, the power of the West was exclusively due to science and technology:

The power of the West comes not from lute and rebeck,
not from the dancing and unveiled girls,
not from the magic of tulip-cheeked enchantresses,
not from naked legs and bobbed hair;
its solidity springs not from irreligion,
its glory derives not from the Latin script.
The power of the West comes from science and
technology,
and with that selfsame flame its lamp is bright.(71)

Moreover, this progress was not due to any special magic which the West had discovered nor indeed to any specific social custom which can become a hindrance in the acquisition of science and technology:

For science and technology, elegant young spring,
brains are necessary, not European clothes;
on this road only keen sight is required,
what is needed is not this or that kind of hat.(72)

As a matter of fact, anyone can learn:

If anyone burns the midnight oil
he will find the track of science and technology.(73)

In short, the East too could attain power through dedication to hard work by learning science and technology, but the East is warned that science without God is an unbelief:

If it attaches its heart to God, it is prophecy,
but if it is a stranger to God, it is unbelief.
Science without the heart's glow is pure evil,
for then its light is darkness over sea and land.(74)

71 A J Arberry, Javid-Nama, p. 129; Kulliyat (Persian), p.766.

72 loc. cit.

73 loc. cit.

74 Javid-Nama, p. 64, Kulliyat (Persian), p.662.

Iqbal condemned the West through his writings, and only through the severity of criticism do the traces of his envy become obvious. He opposed the West intellectually because it lacked spirituality, and he was angry with the West because, as a Muslim political activist, his sensitivities were injured due to the steady Western encroachment of the Muslim East. Besides, his own native land was still under the political yoke of the British, and as such he was a political activist at one moment and a philosophical poet delivering his inspired message at another. His critical anti-Western poetic utterances were, in fact, a reflection of the intense pain which he felt for the oppressed East, in particular the Muslim East, as an intellectual as well as a Muslim Indian. He saw the West as a great manipulator of science and technology for the sole purpose of political exploitation, by using it as an instrument of destruction:

its rouge renders the whole world black and blind,
its springtide scatters the leaves of all being,
sea, plain and mountain, quiet garden and villa
are ravaged by the bombs of its aeroplanes.
It is its fire that burn the heart of Europe,
from it springs the joy of raiding and robbing;
it turns topsy-turvy the course of the days,
despoils the people of their capital.
Its power becomes the faithful ally of Satan;
light becomes fire by association with fire.(75)

Even the Angel of Death stands shocked at the destructive power of the West:

Its bombers rain destruction from the skies.
Its gases so obscure the sky
They blind the sun's world seeing eye.
Its guns deal death so fast
The Angel of Death stands aghast,
Quite out of breath

75 loc. cit.

In coping with this rate of death. (76)

The behavior of the Western powers in the Near East generated a genuine anger in the poet and he was bitter:

At every moment life is a struggle,
the situation in Abyssinia affords a warning;
the law of Europe, without any doubt,
allows wolves to kill sheep.
We should set up a new order in the world,
there is no hope of relief from these plunderers
of the dead.
There is nothing in Geneva except deceit and
fraud.
This sheep is my share, that is yours.
There are many subtle ideas of the West which cannot be
expressed in words,
a world of mischiefs and disorders lies hidden
in them.(77)

and again:

Against Europe I protest,
And attraction of the West:
Woe for Europe and her charm,
Swift to capture and disarm!
Europe's hordes with flame and fire
Desolate the world entire...(78)

and he warned the East:

Although the West converses with the stars,
Beware,
There is in all it does
A taint of sorcery.(79)

76 A Message from the East, p.91; Kulliyat (Persian), p.296.

77 Pas Chih Bayad Kard Ay Aqwam-I Sharq? (What Should Then Be Done O People of the East?) English rendering from Persian done by B.A. Dar (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, Pakistan, 1977), pp.124-125; Kulliyat (Persian), pp. 849-941. This poem contains the most detailed exposition by Iqbal of his practical philosophy in regard to socio-political questions and the problems of the Eastern world arising from the ascendancy of Western Civilization. The reference above is to the Italian expansion in the Near East and to the Geneva-based League of Nations called by Iqbal as the 'plunderers of the dead.'

78 Persian Psalms, p. 76; Kulliyat (Persian), p. 475.

79 A message from the East, p. 128; Kulliyat (Persian), p. 333.

Not only does the West converse with the stars, but every corner of the West is beautiful beyond belief:

Paradise, which You promise, no one has seen,
Europe, heaven on earth so beautiful and green.(80)

Iqbal indeed does acknowledge Western achievements in science, technology and architecture, but he sees in everything the West does a constant greed for power over the weak nations. The Europeans use their aggressive spirit strictly to rob others and they gather wealth only to increase their material prosperity. Besides, other aspiring nations like Italy and Japan were taking this behavior as model for their own imperialist designs:

Woe to the constitution of the democracy of Europe!
The sound of that trumpet renders the dead still
deader;
those tricksters, treacherous as the revolving spheres,
have played the nations by their own rules, and swept
the board!
Robbers they, this one wealthy, that one a toiler,
all the time lurking in ambush one for another;
now is the hour to disclose the secret of those
charm-ers-
we are the merchandise, and they take all the
profit.(81)

And:

One nation preys on another,
One sows the seed, another takes away the
harvest.
It is "wisdom" to snatch food from the weak

80 Bal-i-Jibril, (Urdu), p.312. The Bal-i-Jibril (Gabriel's Wing) includes Iqbal's later Urdu compositions. Some of these were written during his three foreign trips in 1931-1933, when he visited Britain, Egypt, Italy, Palestine, France, Spain and Afghanistan. The collection is testimony to the richness of Iqbal's thought and expression, in which he employs the style and form of Ghazal in a most inspiring manner, to guide the Muslims to a life of faith and action.

81 Javid-Nama, p. 62; Kulliyat (Persian), p.660. Iqbal was convinced that the Europeans were always in the market to buy out each and every oppressed nation, see Dama-i-Tehzib (May his civilization be ever-lasting!), Kulliyat (Urdu), p.615.

and to rob their body of the soul.
The way of the new culture is to murder people
and this killing is done under the garb of
commerce.(82)

The Italian aggression in the Near East and the Japanese attack on Manchuria were typical examples of greed and imperialism. Political hegemony was in reality an economic imperialism and all was being done in the name of nationalism, a new found god which has replaced the true biblical God. However, these two aspiring nations were only following the footsteps of other European nations, and Mussolini was unable to understand the hypocrisy of all this hue and cry, and asks his critics:

Did you not break the tender structures
of weak nations? (83).

and more than that:

You robbed the belongings of the peasants!
and you robbed the thrones of the kings!
In reality, behind the guise of civilization,
there is nothing but murder and destruction;
You had made it lawful yesterday
and I have the right to make it lawful today!(84)

If Iqbal was bitterly opposed to European imperialism in the East, he was even more appalled at the lack of spiritualism in the West. As early as March 1907, while he was still in England, he addressed Europe:

Your civilization will self-destruct one day
with your own evil inventions,

82 B.A. Dar, What Should Then Be Done..., p. 81; Kulliyat, (Persian), p.826.

83 Kulliyat (Urdu), p. 612. The collection, known as Zarb-i-Kalim deals with the modern age and its problems. Modern civilization in its extreme form is godless and materialistic, lacks love and justice, and feeds on the subjugation of weaker peoples. Zarb-i-Kalim is intended to rescue the Muslims from modern civilization. It has been considered as Iqbal's 'political manifesto' and was first published in Lahore in 1936.

84 loc. cit.

An abode built on weak foundations cannot
endure the stable conventions.(85)

As a Muslim Iqbal could not accept separation of religion and politics. According to him, the foundations of politics must be found in religion. Politics divorced from din (religion) amounted to no more than a Machiavellian ethical system. Because "politics without religion is everyone's slave, ignoble and consciousnessless."(86) Besides,

The European culture is but a conflict of heart
and intuition
The soul of this culture cannot remain virtuous
If the spirit is not pious it cannot achieve
A clear conscience, lofty ideas or good taste!(87)

Iqbal was convinced that there was a symmetrical relationship between material progress and spiritual decline. In his opinion, apathy sprang from excessive materialism, and the Western man was oriented only to this world:

Every moment he is in search of material goods,
His only preoccupation: anxiety for livelihood
and fear of death.(88)

Thus, Iqbal concluded that Western man lacked compassion since he was so very wrapped up in gathering material goods and had no time left for moral ideas. The sense of 'spiritual discipline' has been completely lost by Europe, and according to Iqbal, in order to become a real

85 Kulliyat, (Bang-i Dara) (Urdu), p.141. Bang-i Dara (Call of the Caravan), first published in Lahore in 1924, includes most of Iqbal's Urdu compositions until 1923. This book remains to this day the poet's best selling work, and poems in the book were composed over a period of twenty years. The collection provides an invaluable insight into the development of Iqbal's poetry and thought. For an English translation, see ch. II, fn.34.

86 Kulliyat (Urdu), p. 533

87 Ibid., p. 614.

88 Kulliyat (Persian), p. 812.

revolutionary one must be detached from the material world.

Secularism, defined by Iqbal as separation of affairs of the State from moral and religious principles, came under harsh criticism:

May God protect us from the West and its ways,
and from its secular thinking;
the Westerners have changed true knowledge into
magic,
nay, rather into unbelief.(89)

Iqbal felt that the chaos and disorders, which he had personally witnessed during the first quarter of the twentieth century, were the direct result of the evil effects of European civilization. The cause, according to him, was strictly the secular attitude of the West:

Since the West viewed body and soul as separate,
it also regarded State and Church as two
See deceit and artifice in Statecraft:
body without soul, and soul without body.(90)

True harmony sprang not from secularism but when the spiritual and temporal were looked upon as twin aspects of the same unity. "The Ultimate Reality, according to the Kur'an, is spiritual, and its life consists in its temporal activity...The state according to Islam is only an effort to realize the spiritual in a human organization."(91) Therefore, Communism, the new religion of the West, also did not appeal to Iqbal since it was based upon equality of the belly. "the abode of fraternity being in the heart, its roots are in the heart, not in water and clay."(92)

'Heart' plays a major role in the philosophy of Iqbal, but heart

89 Kulliyat (Persian), p. 840; What Should Then Be Done... p. 124.

90 Ibid., p. 547.

91 The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p.155.

92 Kulliyat (Persian), p. 652; Javid Nama, p. 57.

not in the European sense but rather, as Persian dil (heart), considered as the center of intuition. Iqbal truly believed in one of his native ethos, "Dhah they Musjid, Dhah they Munder, Dhah they jo kutch Dhahnda ay, Par kisey da dil na Dhanvi, Rab dillan which rahnda ay" (destroy the Mosque, destroy the Temple, destroy everything that is destructable, but do not destroy someone's heart because God lives in the depth of hearts).(93) However, God never gave European intellectuals a compassionate heart:

Wakeful heart was never given
Europe's scientist by heaven;
All that God has marked him by
is the speculative eye.(94)

Because without 'heart' there can be no faith:

If you wish to see the essence of religion clearly,
look but into the depth of your heart;
if you do not enjoy vision, your faith is only
compulsion;
such a religion is a veil between you and God. (95)

While the West is accused of lacking heart, the East is
accused of lacking vitality:

Commerce ridden, the heart of the West
Monk ridden, the heart of the East
Every moment a change there {in the West}
The world changes but never here {in the East} (96)

The East has no flame of desire and stands aloof while the world is
passing by:

The burning glow of living birth

93 This quotation is based on a very popular Punjabi song. Dil (heart) is the same in the Persian, Urdu and Punjabi languages.

94 Kulliyat (Persian), p. 493; Persian Psalms, p. 83. See also Kulliyat (Persian), p. 495.

95 Kulliyat (Persian), p. 827; What Should Then Be Done..., p.88.

96 Kulliyat (Urdu), p. 686. English poetic rendering mine.

Pulses no more in its dark earth;
It stands upon the river side
and gazes at the surging tide.(97)

However, harsher treatment is reserved for the West:

The vision of the West is blind,
Illusion fills the Western mind;
Drunken with magic scent and hue
It bows before the great untrue.(98)

In fact, both, the East and the West, disappoint Iqbal:

The East is waste and desolate,
The West is more bewildered yet;
The ardent quest inspire no more
Death reigns supreme the whole world o'er.(99)

In his opinion, both the East and the West, do not possess vitality since one leads to the death of 'Self' while the other the death of 'heart'.(100)

Basically, Iqbal is more concerned with the individual and the development of his 'Ego'. According to him, ideal life exists when the individual dedicates himself to the service of mankind. However, the individual can serve others only after he has fully realized his own 'Ego'. The self-realization, which strengthens the 'Ego', can be achieved through a life of strenuous activity, but its foundations must always be based upon moral and spiritual content. Iqbal's 'Momin' rises to his heights by mastering his own destiny and through serving God's beloved community he becomes a co-worker with Him:

Exalt thy ego so high that God Himself will consult

97 Kulliyat (Persian), pp. 441-442; Persian Psalms, p. 41. Iqbal considers 'desire' as the prerequisite for vitality, see n. 25.

98 loc. cit.

99 loc. cit.

100 Kulliyat (Urdu), p. 599.

Thee before determining thy destiny.(101)

He is asked even to go beyond:

Abandon the East, be not spellbound by the West,
for all this ancient and new is not worth
 one barleycorn
Life, that ornament of society, is guardian of
 itself;
You who are of the caravan, travel alone, yet go
 with all!
You have come forth brighter than the all
 illuminating sun;
so live, that you may irradiate every mote.(102)

In conclusion, Iqbal was fascinated with the vitality of Europe except that it lacked the spiritual content. Europeans had made tremendous advances in every sphere of human activity from social interactions to architecture, from scientific discoveries to technical achievements- the West had truly conquered the universe. He had personally witnessed the glory of the West, but could not appreciate the hypocrisy of Europeans who preached and praised democracy at home yet practiced imperialism abroad. They used their technical superiority only to subdue the weaker East and especially the Muslim East. They used their scientific discoveries not to ease the pain of the suffering multitudes of the world, but to enlarge their political and economic interests. Above all, in their quest for material advancement, they had forgotten the true biblical God.

It seems Iqbal had accepted the antiquated hypotheses that the West primarily fosters materialistic, while the East spiritualistic qualities- an idea based on the belief that technology supplants religion. Nevertheless, he does not reject Western technology nor does

101 Ibid., p. 347.

102 Kulliyat (Persian), pp. 783-784; Javid Nama, pp. 140-141.

he object to its spread in the East. He would rather prefer to see the East, or at least the Muslim East, adopt Western technology but without its secularistic foundations. He believed that lack of spiritualism in the West was due largely to the practice of 'secularism'. After all, to a Muslim, sovereignty belongs to God alone, and man purified through obedience, self domination, and detachment could reach the high station of Divine Vicegerency. Furthermore, according to Iqbal, an austere spiritual discipline and detachment from the material world are basic requirements for a true revolutionary. In addition, since religion does not play a major role in the daily life of the West it lacks compassion and often promotes prejudice:

A world without distinction of race and colour,
its evening is brighter than Europe's dawn.(103)

Iqbal was afraid that the young people of Asia were after wealth, and the East was bent upon the 'slavish imitation of Europe.'(104) Writing about the Turkish Reforms of the late 1920s he says:

No, the Turks have no new melody in their lute,
what they call new is only the old tune of Europe;
no fresh breath has entered into their breast,
no design of a new world is in their mind.(105)

He seeks originality not imitation:

Turkey perforce goes along with the existing world,
melted like wax in the flame of the world we know.
Originality is at the roots of all creation,
never by imitation shall life be reformed(106)

He wanted to recreate a new spirit in the East, especially the Muslim

103 Kulliyat (Persian), p. 655; Javid Nama, p. 59.

104 Kulliyat (Urdu), p. 256, see also p. 524; Kulliyat (Persian), p. 762; Javid Nama, p.126.

105 Kulliyat (Persian), p. 654; Javid Nama, p. 58.

106 loc. cit.

East, from within and was thus against wholesale imitation of the West. While it is true that he was disillusioned with Europe he saw hope too for Western Civilization through America. In his opinion, since the United States was free from the fetters of old traditions, its leadership was likely to be open to new ideas. The United States, thus, could become a leader in the recreation of a new world order.(107) Of course, for him, however, the solution lay elsewhere, in the rediscovery of the true spirit of Islam.

3. Discovery of the Spirit of Islam

Iqbal emerged from his European stay (1905-1908) as a champion of Islam. His early Indian nationalism seemed to have given way to his newly found Islamic universalism. Not that he ever deviated from the Islamic message, but after his return to his native country he consistently strove to propagate the ideals of Islam. He found Islam as the best possible system, and European influence had only heightened his resolve to carry the message forward to his fellow Muslims.

Nationalism and democracy, preached by Europe, had no fascination for Iqbal since both lacked the spiritual content. The foundation of all political creeds must be based upon the spiritual content, since in Islam sovereignty belongs to God alone. Man can indeed reach for the sky, but only after he submits to this basic principle. Iqbal considered tawhid (the Unity of God), Prophecy, Islamic Brotherhood, Islamic Equality and Islamic Freedom as the key Principles of Islam. He believed that through these principles man can consecrate a system fit for use by

107 Kulliyat (persian), p. 182. Iqbal wrote this in 1923, in his Preface to Payam-i-Mashriq (A Message from the East), stating that European leadership was not likely to succeed in recreating a new world order. His assessment was quite accurate since Europe had to experience another Great War just sixteen years after his writing.

all mankind. While he was influenced by Western thought, it was the Islamic heritage which had molded his views throughout his middle years.

The influence of great Muslim statesmen, warriors, 'ulema, theologians, mystics and scholars can be found throughout Iqbal's writings, and he remained true to Muslim traditions in spite of the fact that he wanted to inject a fresh breath into the body politic of Islam. He criticises the Muslims for laxity at one time, and warns against hasty reforms and imitation at another. He wants to bring about vitality in Islam without disrupting the established traditions. In this respect, the core of Iqbal's philosophy is the concept of changing the law of Islam. In Islam, the Kur'an, the hadith or the Traditions, and the ijma or the consensus, are the authorities of law. He wanted to re-establish the ijtihad or the Principle of Movement. [ijtihad--Arabic: To Exert--exerting one's self to the utmost degree to obtain an object or an inference--in its technical sense means the application of the sources of law with a view of finding out what in all probability is the law.] If a matter, not covered by the Kur'an, the hadith or the ijma then a judgement had to be exercised. Thus, ijtihad is the exercise of reason and the person formulating such inferences in law is known as a mujtahid. Iqbal believed that the law of Islam was capable of evolution. The heritage of Islam had left no doubt in his mind that the best possible system with all its universal appeal was no other than Islamic.

While Iqbal felt at home with Western philosophy the influence of the Islamic heritage was even more paramount. In the realm of Indo-Persian literature Mirza 'Abdul-Qadir Baydil (d. 1721) and Mirza Asadullah Khan Ghalib (d. 1869) both influenced Iqbal profoundly.(108)

108 The great poet Baydil (or Bedil) was born in Azamabad (Patna), India, during the reign of the Mughal emperor Shah Jehan (1628-1658).

From the heartland of Islam came the imprints of mystical philosophy which are clearly visible in Iqbal's Remuz-i-Bekhudi (The Mysteries of Selflessness) and Javid-Nama. He was influenced by Al Junayd's theory of fana' (Arabic: a technical term of sufism (Mysticism) meaning annihilation or dissolution) and his concept of man's covenant with God concerning His Lordship.(109) Al Junayd (d. 910) reasoned that all things have their origin in God and they must finally return, after their dispersion, to live in Him. However, a return to the original existence in which the covenant was made with God, does not mean that one can approach the Ultimate Reality, but only in this state can God be seen in His exalted nature. The ultimate experience is therefore that of the vision and not of mergence. Al Junayd was the first celebrated sufi (Mystic) who tried to harmonize the limits of the Islamic gnostic approach with the rules of the shari'a (the cannon Law of Islam). In his view, the divine presence is a test required of a soul, containing all the moments of longing and suffering, and God grants the soul the strength to endure its trial and affliction by His Grace and knowledge. Iqbal himself clearly states this view:

Life is to see the Essence without a veil;
the true believer will not make do with Attributes--
The Prophet was not content save with Essence.
What is ascension? the desire for a witness,

Baydil's strong feeling for the element of activism in the universe and his concept of self-affirmation including his view of the dignity of man had strong attraction for Iqbal; Mirza Ghalib had witnessed the great tragedy of 1857 and had left about a dozen Urdu and Persian works of prose and poetry for posterity. Ghalib's treatment of the lover in his poetry, showing him to be a self-conscious, self-respecting and self-affirming individual, held a great appeal for Iqbal.

109 Abu Qasim bin Muhammad bin Al-Junayd Al-Khazzaz Al- Kawariri Al Nihawand was a native of Baghdad. With his clear perception and self-control he laid foundations on which the later systems of Sufism were built.

an examination face-to-face of witness...
Knot tightly together the glow within you;
fairer it is to increase one's glow,
fairer it is to test oneself before the sun;
then chisel anew the crumbled form;
make proof of yourself; be a true being!
only such an existence is praiseworthy,
otherwise the fire of life is mere smoke.110

Iranian influence on Iqbal's philosophical view of human self came through the philosophy of Shahab-al-Din Suhrawardi (d. 1191).(111) Suhrawardi believed that every existing entity enjoys a singular determination. A thing exists in its own right and is endowed with its own concreteness. The very nature of things is concreteness. Things are not collections nor are they aggregates of universals. They are unique beings dwelling in themselves, whereas universals are either their mental representative or rational entities. Iqbal's ideas of the nature of things and the concrete individuality received its impetus from these views of Suhrawardi. Also, Suhrawardi's assertion that 'appearance is the very nature of reality' had a great appeal for Iqbal who himself believed that 'reality lives in its own appearance'. However, the greatest influence on Iqbal's poetic style and format, thought and action came from a great sufi poet of Turko-Persian origin, Jalal al-Din Rumi (d. 1273).(112)

Rumi's influence is everywhere, Asrar-i-Khudi, Payam-i-Mashriq, Javid Nama, Bal-i-Jibril all of these poetic compositions bear Rumi's

110 Kulliyat (Persian), pp. 19-20; Javid Nama, p. 30.

111 Suhrawardi was an Iranian, born in 1153 A.D. He was executed as a heretic at Aleppo by the order of the Egyptian ruler Salah al-Din.

112 Rumi was born at Balkh in 1207. He was the founder of the sufi order of Mawlawis. The dance of the whirling dervishes goes back to him. His principal work is the Mathnawi, a vast Persian poem in six books containing a mixture of fables, anecdotes, symbols and reflections intended to illustrate and explain sufi doctrines.

stamp. Iqbal considered Rumi as his 'Master' and throughout his philosophical poems sought spiritual guidance from him. He paid homage to Rumi with utmost feelings of esteem and devotion, and his admiration for him remained unbounded till the last days of his life. A Pakistani scholar, Sayyid Abdul Wahid, has devoted a whole chapter to "Iqbal And Rumi" in which he described in great detail the influence of Rumi on Iqbal.(113) For Iqbal knowledge is insight into things and one can seek it only through the path of love. For Rumi, true knowledge is affection involving the total being of the seeker. To Rumi, love was a principle of moral behavior and is not just an experience, but the specific mode of experiencing the living reality. Rumi and Iqbal both had admiration for a life of ceaseless endeavor and both were trying to construct the 'Ideal Man'. Their faith in 'Love' and the conception of God was identical, and they were both attempting to deliver a prophetic message of a life of dynamic activity under one God.

Iqbal is indebted to another Muslim sufi, Al-Jili (d. 1406), who actually followed the sufi ideas of Ibn Al-Arabi (d. 1240), and is known for his concept of the 'Perfect Man.'(114) Al-Jili, like Iqbal, considered Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam, as the 'Perfect Man.' In the final analysis, however, it is the Kur'an and the personality of Muhammad which have greater influence on Iqbal than any other one

113 S.A. Wahid, Studies in Iqbal (Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1976), pp. 79-124.

114 'Abd Al-Karim bin Ibrahim Al-Jili was born in 1365 in the district of Jil in Baghdad. He was a Muslim Sufi whose religious ideas had great influence in the various parts of the Islamic world and especially in Indonesia. Ibn Arabi was a Spanish Muslim sufi celebrated for his pantheistic doctrine. The treatment of various personalities who had influenced Iqbal is primarily based upon A.H. Kamali's "The Heritage of Islamic Thought" in Iqbal: Poet-Philosopher Of Pakistan, ed. Hafeez Malik, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), pp. 210-242.

thought or personality.

According to Iqbal the foundation of world-unity is in the principle of 'Tawhid'. "Islam, as a polity, is only a practical means of making this principle a living factor in the intellectual and emotional life of mankind. It demands loyalty to God, not to thrones."(115) The belief in the Oneness of God (Allah in the terminology of Islam) is very important since in Islam sovereignty belongs to God and the Kur'an is emphatic on this point.(116) Iqbal himself is firm on the principle of the 'Unity of God':

Religion, Philosophy, Law
Power, Dominion, Influence:
All of them are the fruits
Of a firm Faith
In the "Unity of God:"(117)

This is a focal point for all Muslims since the Prophet of Islam built a 'Universal Nation' on the foundation of the principle of the 'Unity of God'. As a matter of fact says Iqbal:

The central point of all the circles
of the world is 'Unity of God'
And end of all the activities
of the world is 'Unity of God'(118)

According to Iqbal, the search for a psychological foundation of human unity is possible only when the perception is based on the premise that all human life is spiritual in its origin. All Muslims believe that the ultimate spiritual basis of all life is eternal. In Iqbal's view "God

115 Reconstruction of Religious Thought..., p. 147.

116 The Kur'an: Surahs (the name given to the chapters of the Kur'an is known as the Surah) III:189, V:120, XXIV:42, XLIII:85, XLVIII:14, LVII:5 and LXXXV:9. There are 114 Surahs in the Kur'an.

117 Kulliyat (Persian), p. 91; Secrets of Collective Life, p. 24.

118 Secrets of Collective Life, p. 149.

is the ultimate spiritual basis of all life, loyalty to God virtually amounts to man's loyalty to his own ideal nature."(119)

Next to the 'Unity of God', Prophecy is the most important principle of Islam. It was through Muhammad's trial and persecution that the first principle of Tawhid was formulated. The center of Islam is Mecca, the birth place of Islam, and it was Muhammad who united Muslims in one voice that 'there is no God but God, and Muhammad is His Messenger.' Therefore, if the unity of Muslims is due to Islam, then the 'Unity of God' is due to Muhammad. In July 1917, Iqbal wrote that the mission of the Prophet was to glorify life and to beautify all its trials.(120) He was the perfect example for mankind as God's vicegerent on earth. "Noble qualities abounded in his fine character; truthfulness, beneficence, recognition and fulfillment of duties, forbearance, meekness, fortitude, courage, profundity, humbleness, forgiveness, and loyalty, were a few of the outstanding traits that endeared him to the hearts of men."(121) Iqbal is highly impressed with the character of Muhammad and says that "History knows but one monarch whose rule over men may justly be called a rule by divine right, and that one man was the Prophet of Islam. And yet, though the ruler of men by divine right, he never claimed to be a ruler. 'I am but a man like unto you,' was the grand message of this greatest of kings to an adoring humanity."(122)

119 Reconstruction of Religious Thought..., p. 147.

120 Latif Ahmed Shewani, Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal, 3rd ed., (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1977), p. 125. originally Iqbal's article, "Our Prophet's Criticism of Contemporary Arabian Poetry" had appeared in The New Era (Lucknow), July 28, 1917.

121 'Abd-al-Rahman 'Azzam, The Eternal Message of Muhammad, tr. from Arabic by Caesar E. Farah (London: Quartet Books Ltd., 1979), p. 73

122 L.A. Sherwani, Speeches, Writings And Statements, p. 133. Originally the article, "Divine Right to Rule" had appeared in The Light

The discipline of a nation is in its laws and the concept of freedom springs directly from it. The law of the 'Muslim Nation' is the Holy Kur'an. Iqbal believed that "It was impossible to live as a Muslim without following the Teaching of the Holy Kur'an." (123) The Kur'an, however, is not a legal code applicable for every single minute situation that might arise out of the varieties of human actions. The main purpose of the Holy Book, according to Iqbal, is "to awaken in man the higher consciousness of his relation with God and the universe. No doubt the Kur'an does lay down a few general principles and rules of a legal nature, especially relating to the family the ultimate basis of social life." (124) The gist of the Holy Book is in its dynamic outlook and as such the Kur'an cannot be inimical to the idea of evolution. (125) Islam places limits to liberty of the individual, so far as his interests remain subordinate to the interests of the 'Muslim Community' as an external symbol of the Islamic principle. The Muslim is otherwise absolutely free. (126) Iqbal considered the 'Individual' and the 'Nation' as mirrors for each other. In fact, the Muslim's individuality is strengthened by the strength of his 'Community' and the 'Community becomes one in his being.' (127)

The 'Brotherhood' and absolute equality of all the members of the 'Muslim Community' are considered by Iqbal as the great virtues of

(Lahore), August 30, 1928.

123 Secrets of Collective Life, p. 107.

124 Reconstruction of Religious thought..., pp. 165-166.

125 loc. cit.

126 Sherwani, Speeches, Writings And Statements of Iqbal, p. 100.

127 Kulliyat (Persian), p. 86.

Islam. All believers are brothers and there is no racial bias, a black man is as good as the red man and a slave and the king are equal in the eyes of God and the Prophet. Iqbal quotes the Prophet 'The noblest among you are those who fear God most,' Iqbal also believed that lack of aristocracy, privileged class, priesthood, and caste system makes Islam truly a universal system. The unity in Islam is secured by making man believer in the two simple propositions-the unity of God and the mission of the Prophet.(128) God Himself considers the 'Muslim Community' the best for mankind.(129)

While Islam might be an answer for mankind, it seems its followers had either failed Islam or perhaps Islam had failed its followers. The Muslims of the world appeared to have stood still while the non-Muslim world had forged ahead at an ever increasing pace. A great many Muslim poets had cried over the destruction of the Muslim empires: Sa'di (d. 1291) at the fall of the Abbasids in 1258 by the Mongols and Ghalib at the fall of the Mughals after the 1857 great mutiny. But it was Iqbal who grieved the most, and not for the destruction of any one Muslim empire but for the disappearance of the spirit of Islam amongst the modern day Muslims.(130) He even accused God of abandoning His beloved 'Muslim Community' and is amazed at God's inconsistency of not loving it on a permanent basis.(131) But it is the 'Muslim Community' which received the brunt of Iqbal's criticism. God answers Iqbal:

128 Sherwani, Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal, p. 102.

129 The Kur'an, Surah III:110.

130 Sa'di was a great Persian poet who had lived through the Mongolian invasion of the Muslim heartland in the thirteenth century.

131 Kulliyat (Urdu), pp. 167-168.

Your forefathers loved me, yes, but what are you?
Twiddling your thumbs, waiting for the morrow!(132)

Lack of vitality was not the only thing that grieved Iqbal, but lack of
unity among Muslims disturbed him even more:

The profit is the same for the 'Muslim Community'
as is the loss,
Its Prophet is the same, religion the same and
so are the beliefs,
The center of worship is one, God one and
so is the Kur'an,
Would it be too much of a thing if the Muslims
were also one!(133)

Muslims have forgotten the ways of Muhammad, and a nation to Iqbal is
but a religion and without religion 'the believer's existence is no
more'(134) Because:

The origin of an 'Individual' is a handful of dust,
But a Nation is born out of the Heart of a Divine!(135)

Iqbal believed that 'religion was neither a departmental affair nor
a mere thought or action, but an expression of the whole man.'(136) His
discovery that the religious thought in Islam has been practically
stationary for the last five hundred years made him aware of the needs
of reconstruction of theological thought in Islam. He wanted to examine
"in an independent spirit, what Europe has thought and how far the
conclusions reached by her can help us in the revision and, if
necessary, reconstruction, of theological thought in Islam."(137) It is

132 Ibid., p. 201.

133 Ibid., p. 202.

134 Ibid., p. 201.

135 Secrets of Collective Life, p. 94.

136 Reconstruction of Religious Thought..., p. 2.

137 Ibid., p. 8.

interesting to note that despite Iqbal's criticism of Europe, he acknowledges that Europeans do have something to offer to Islam even in the arena of modernization of religious thought but there again the Muslim Prophet himself had prayed: "Lord! add to my knowledge." (138) In Islam, knowledge was not limited to a particular class of people since its acquisition was made a religious obligation. The sources of knowledge, in Islam, are nature, history and inner experience, and the spirit of Islam is seen at its best in tapping these sources. (139) According to Iqbal, "The spirit of Muslim culture fixes its gaze on the concrete, the finite, and the birth of the method of observation and experiment in Islam was due not to a compromise with Greek thought but to a prolonged intellectual warfare within it" (140)

Iqbal wrote that the spirit of the Kur'an is essentially anti-classical-the dualism of God, Matter, Body, and Spirit were the main features of classical religion and ethics. (141) The Kur'an did not accept the classical concept of dualism. Man, according to the Kur'an, was created through a direct fear of God, "Lo! the likeness of Jesus with Allah is as the likeness of Adam. He created him of dust, then He said unto him, Be! and he is." (142)

Iqbal was very impressed with the Kur'anic ideas of the concepts of no intermediary or redemption. According to the Kur'an there is no intermediary between man and God, and the idea of an interceder is

138 The Kur'an, Surah XX:113.

139 Reconstruction of Religious Thought..., p. 127.

140 Ibid., p. 131.

141 Ibid., p. 128.

142 The Kur'an, Surah III:59.

clearly against the Kur'anic injunctions.(143) Man must stand on his own feet and shape his own future; he must strive towards his ultimate destiny by means of his own deeds. No one can help him in this process except God, Who is ever ready to help, "I open new avenues for the true seeker."(144) In fact, God pledged Himself in the onward march of man:

Oh, I swear by the afterglow of sunset,
And by the night and all that it enshroudeth,
And by the moon when she is at the full,
That ye shall journey on from plane to plane.(145)

Iqbal, following this Kur'anic perception of man, wrote that man in his innermost being "is a creative activity, an ascending spirit who, in his onward march, rises from one state of being to another."(146) Man by his own efforts can mold the forces of nature, and by adjusting to these forces can share in the deeper aspirations of the universe around him. However, man must 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 hardens into stone and he is reduced to the level of dead matter."(147) Besides, "God does not change the condition of men until they change what is in themselves."(148) Iqbal considered man as the 'Vicegerent of God' on earth, who has, the blessing of God to conquer all the elements of nature.(149)

143 The Ku'ran, Surah VI:95.

144 Kulliyat (Urdu), p. 200.

145 Mohammad Marmaduke Pickthall, The Meaning of the Glorious Koran (New York: Mentor Books, n.d.), p. 434, Surahs LXXXIV:16-19.

146 Reconstruction of Religious Thought..., p. 12.

147 loc. cit.

148 The Kur'an, Surah XIII:11.

149 Secrets of Collective Life, p. 161

The Muslim is asked first to conquer his 'Self' then 'Seek' through proper planning, and finally march to subdue the world with courage and firm determination; but only through the power of the 'Self' can he overpower the world.(150) Iqbal thought that the Muslims had forgotten their heritage since:

A nation is enlightened by its history!
It can realize itself by the study of its history.(151)

However, neither the formal education system (madrassa System-schools attached to Mosque) nor the sufi spark have resuscitated the heart and mind of the Muslim:

Saddened, I rose from the Madrassa and the Monastery,
I found no life, no love, neither gnosis nor vision
there.(152)

Iqbal suggests that during the period of decline, it is better to follow the established 'Traditions' because reinterpretation of the shari'a can cause confusion.(153) However, in his opinion, the Kur'an did not set forth detailed laws for all possible situations. The Holy Book provided legislation only on a few basic social questions, and the rest was left to the Prophet and after him to the 'ummah (The Muslim Community). The 'ummah achieved ijma (consensus) through the sunnah (Traditions of the Prophet) and through the individual ray (Opinion) and ijtihad or the exercise of reason. But the practice of ray and ijtihad slowly disappeared from the annals of Muslim legislation. Iqbal wanted to reintroduce the process in order to meet the needs of the modern day

150 Kulliyat (Urdu), p. 377; Kulliyat (Persian), p. 143.

151 Secrets of Collective Life, p. 172.

152 Kulliyat (Urdu), p. 338.

153 Secrets of Collective Life, p. 114.

Muslims. In his opinion, Islam was capable of meeting the modern age, and in addition to his philosophy of Vitalism, he stressed the need for an individual or collective ijtihad. The power of ijtihad, according to Iqbal, can be exercised either by an individual or by an assembly because "the republican form of government is not only thoroughly consistent with the spirit of Islam, but has also become a necessity in view of the new forces that are set free in the world of Islam."(154)

The Islamic Message introduced a social revolution unprecedented in the history of mankind, and Iqbal's discovery of the spirit of Islam was based upon the simplicity of this message. Its evolutionary approach, its dynamic conception of the universe, its revolutionary urge to seek and strengthen the 'Ego', its belief in the unity of human origin, its appeal to 'Brotherhood' and 'Equality'. its perception of spiritual origin of all human life, its treatment of man as a creative spirit which counteracted the forces of decay, and the self-concentrated 'Individual' who does good on earth in partnership with God, made Iqbal truly believe in the universality of Islam. He thought that "Humanity needs three things today: a spiritual interpretation of the universe, spiritual emancipation of the individual, and basic principles of a universal import directing the evolution of human society on a spiritual basis," and the purpose of Islam is the spiritual democracy in which the Muslim can "reconstruct his social life in the light of Islamic principles."(155)

(154)Reconstruction of Religious Thought..., p. 157.

(155)Ibid., pp. 179-180.

CHAPTER IV

IQBAL'S POLITICAL PHILOSOPHIES

1. Iqbal's Views on Nationalism

Iqbal, who is considered by Pakistanis as the spiritual father of their country, was not always a Pakistani in spirit, since earlier, in his youthful days, he was not only an ardent nationalist but also an anti-communalist:

Religion does not teach animosity toward each other
We are all Indians, India is our country.(1)

However, such poetic sentiments for the love of India and for communal harmony were expressed by the poet long before his discovery of the Islamic spirit. He was an Indian Muslim nationalist eager to see the British leave India, but during his stay in Europe he became aware of the sufferings of other Muslims who too, like Indians, had become helpless against the onslaught of European hegemony. European imperialism had developed out of modern nationalism and Iqbal had come to dislike nationalism on political as well as religious grounds. He found the concept of nationalism contrary to Islamic spirit, and its assumption of mythical superiority of one race against the other was completely against the teachings of Islam. In addition, nationalism had not only weakened the spiritual foundations of universal brotherhood but had also contributed to political fragmentation of the human community. On religious grounds, Iqbal was bitterly opposed to the separation of

(1) Kulliyat (Urdu), p. 83. Iqbal was a staunch nationalist prior to his departure to Europe in 1905. He had composed numerous patriotic poems in praise of the glorious land of India and had sought Hindu-Muslim solidarity in his poems; see Kulliyat (Urdu), pp. 21-23 and pp. 87-88.

Church and State, and had warned Muslims that Western-type nationalism (secular and territorial) would destroy the very foundation of the Muslim 'ummah.(2) Nationalism expresses emotional enthusiasm more akin to tribalism which Islam had come to destroy in the Arabia of the seventh century.(3) In short, Iqbal would not accept the modern religion of nationalism because it demands allegiance to worldly authorities whereas as a Muslim he believed that sovereignty belongs to God and that He alone should receive the supreme loyalty of the individual.

In order to reach a wider audience, Iqbal had decided to compose poetry in the Persian language which resulted in his moving closer to the Perso-Islamic literary traditions. While philosophical themes in his Persian compositions were generally based upon the religio-mystical traditions of Islam, his political message throughout his writings was meant to be universally applicable to all Muslims residing everywhere. Through the Persian medium, Iqbal had diligently tried to arouse Muslims to the challenges of the modern age but modernization springs from education and he died without leaving behind a treatise explaining how Muslims ought to reconstruct their political life, particularly where they were minorities. He did however properly grasp the essence of Western political systems--specifically those aspects which directly applied to the Islamic Near East--and then attempted to warn his fellow Muslims not to emulate the West blindly. He was against wholesale adoption of those institutions which promote democracy as practiced in

(2) Sherwani, Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal, p. 252.

(3)W. Montgomery Watt, Muhammad At Medina (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1956), p. 239; Ignaz Goldzihar, Muslim Studies, Vol. 1, (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1967), pp. 55-56. This volume was edited by S.M. Stern and translated from the German by C.R. Barber and S.M. Stern.

the West. In Western democracies, individuals owe allegiance to the nation-state whereas, according to Iqbal, the foundation of the Muslim nation is not in a country--since Muslims do not worship earthly things like air, water and/or soil nor do they take pride in their race or lineage--but in the Unity of God (tawhid). Islam had freed us from all worldly bondage except God Who had graced Muslims by uniting them into one 'brotherhood'.(4) Besides, what is the point in counting members--as practiced in Western democracies--while the uniqueness of 'Selfhood' had not been properly developed in the Western man? A democratic system can succeed only if its members were adequately prepared since undeveloped individuals (those who have not strengthened their khudi and thus lack true character) do disservice to the ideals of democracy which Iqbal considered to be the "most important political ideal" in Islam.(5)

Furthermore, the West practiced democracy at home and waged political and economic war abroad, and as such, the democracy of the West was laden with moral bankruptcy. However, it was not the democratic system alone which had received the scathing scrutiny of Iqbal, but the concept of nationalism had likewise received strong condemnation. Nationalism gives rise to hatred among nations, and stronger nations use it as a tool for the economic and political exploitation of weaker nations. In addition, nationalism promotes Machiavellian ethos in politics, divides God's creation into separate communities, and above

(4)The Kur'an, Surah 111: 103; Kulliyat (Persian), p. 93; Secrets of Collective Life, pp. 30-31.

(5)John L. Esposito, ed., Voices of Resurgent Islam (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), pp. 180-181.; Sherwani, Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal, p. 101. This article, "Islam As A Moral and Political Ideal" had originally appeared in the Hindustan Review from Allahabad in July/August 1909 and has been reproduced by Sherwani here on page 85 through page 103.

all it shatters the very foundations of the Muslim 'ummah.(6)

Iqbal's understanding of the concept of nationalism increased considerably after his arrival in Europe, but it took some time before he truly grasped its ramifications for the Muslim world. As a matter of fact, he discovered the essence of Islamic universality only after arriving at Cambridge. The history of nationalism was not a simple subject nor was its message always as negative as Iqbal was later to denounce. The founding fathers of nationalism actually had disapproved political chauvinism and had shown perfect respect for all nations. Herder (d. 1803) believed that the world was like a garden of separate flower beds, each beautiful and fragrant in its own distinctive manner, each deserving to be tended and tilled with loving care, and each constituting the multi-colored, multi-scented bouquet of perfect humanity.(7) He was extremely sensitive to the rights of weak nations and was a bitter foe of imperialism.(8) His interest in politics was only incidental since he had dedicated himself to the study of cultural nationalism. His French predecessor Rousseau (d. 1778) likewise had shown respect for all nationalities. Rousseau's political intellectualism had given opportunity to human beings to achieve freedom through fraternity by accepting 'the state of nature, the social compact, liberty and equality, the general will, popular sovereignty and

(6)Kulliyat (Urdu), pp. 160-161.

(7)Carlton J.H. Hays, The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931), p. 32. Johann Gottfried Von Herder was born in East Prussia in 1744 and attended the university of Konigsberg. He was broadly interested in the history of cultures, and was considered a great intellectual of his time.

(8)Carlton J.H. Hays, "Some Contributions of Herder to the Doctrine of Nationalism," The American Historical Review, XXXII (1927), 719-736.

nationalism'.(9) If Rousseau had elevated the 'common people' to become the custodian of national patriotism, Bolingbroke (d. 1751) had offered his politically aristocratic nationalism which, though it had a British bias, was nevertheless humanistic in its application.(10)

Iqbal often completely ignores the fact that nationalism, like other ideologies (including Islam) of the past and present, was exploited by those who absolutely believed in its mission. A clear, precise and systematic definition of nationalism is hard to pin down since concept has more to do with emotions than logic. It has been said that nationalism is a concept in which the "supreme loyalty of the individual is felt to be owed to the nation-state."(11) Nationalism is "not a neat, fixed concept but a varying combination of beliefs and conditions."(12) Not only does it reflect the chaos of history itself but also, as a historical phenomenon, it changes according to no preconceived pattern. It is "multifaceted, disheveled, murky, irreducible to common denominators. It is part actuality, part myth, intermingling both truth and error."(13) It can be used as a tool for

(9)Hays, The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism, p. 27. Jean-Jacques Rousseau was born in Geneva in 1712 and after his youthful years in Geneva had settled in Paris. He was a great 'Romanticist'and is considered a great political theoretician of his age.

(10)Ibid., p. 22. Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke was born in 1678 and was a Tory politician turned philosopher. His aristocratic background provided him enough leisure and means to write on the subject of political philosophy.

(11)Hans Kohn, The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in its Origin and Background (New York: The Macmillan Company, (Collier Books), 1967), p. 16.

(12)Boyd C. Shafer, Nationalism Myth and Reality (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1955), p. 7. This book contains excellent footnotes and bibliography.

(13)Louis L. Snyder, The Nationalism (Ithaca, New York: Cornell

political fragmentation and it could become a force in promoting unity. It can generate arrogance leading to chauvinism and it could become a source of strength and fraternity. In the ultimate analysis, however, it "elevates the nation over all other concepts and blends patriotism with a consciousness of nationality."(14) It was the French Revolution which had raised nationalism to the level of a religion. The events and the philosophical tensions behind these events--between 1791 and 1794--came to be described as "Jacobin."(15) It was during these momentous years, when "Jacobinism" was in ascendance in France, that the doctrine of nationalism was perfected. This Jacobin nationalism was based in theory on the 'humanitarian democratic nationalism' of Jean Jacques Rousseau "for the express purpose of safeguarding and extending the liberty, the equality, and the fraternity which had been asserted and partially established under severely humanitarian auspices in the early days of the Revolution."(16)

However, Jacobin nationalism employed compulsion and violence against domestic dissenters and a new military spirit and machine

University Press, 1968), p. 3.

(14)Carlton J.H. Hays, Nationalism: A Religion (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960), p. 2.

(15)"Jacobin" was originally the name of a Parisian monastery. During the French Revolution various clubs were formed by members of the National Constituent Assembly for the purpose of social gathering. One of the clubs, the Breton Club, whose official name was later changed to "the Society of Friends of the Constitution," moved its headquarters in the hall of the monastery and thus popularly became known as "Jacobin". The Club speedily gained great and wide influence and some twelve hundred branches were established throughout the country. It was the Jacobins who had proclaimed France a Republic, agitated for the death of the ex-King, incited the lower classes against the bourgeoisie, and inaugurated the Reign of Terror all over France.

(16)Hays, The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism, p. 45.

against foreign enemies. All resources belonged to la patrie and all political and industrial talents were to serve the fatherland for propagation of hatred of kings and for promoting the idea of the unity of the Republic. The symbols and ceremonies which they created ('the national flag, the national anthem, the national holidays, the national shrines, the liberty caps, the alters to la patrie, the graven tablets of the national law, the republican baptisms and funerals, the solemn parades and eulogies') were not only external manifestations of this new religion, but were also the "true sentiments of all Frenchmen."⁽¹⁷⁾ During these revolutionary days, Jacobin nationalism had created a sense of purpose for all Frenchmen; the mythical devotion of all Frenchmen to la patrie was so strong that practically all citizens were asking only one question "how to be useful to the fatherland."⁽¹⁸⁾ Indeed, the Jacobins had successfully employed every means to secure popular conformity at home, and, for its missionary zeal abroad, had created the modern army of citizens or the new modern ideal of 'the nation in arms.'⁽¹⁹⁾ It was the Jacobins, therefore, who had rendered their nationalism much more exclusive even abrogating the historical rights of the parents and the family. The individual owed supreme loyalty to the fatherland, and la patrie alone deserved the inner devotion and worship.

Iqbal also ignores the fact that Western political theoreticians themselves differed on the application of the concept of nationalism. Had not the reaction against the missionary zeal of Jacobin nationalism sprung up everywhere in Europe? Edmund Burke (d. 1797) in England,

⁽¹⁷⁾Ibid., pp. 54-55.

⁽¹⁸⁾Ibid., p. 55.

⁽¹⁹⁾Ibid., p. 58.

Friedrich Von Schlegel (d. 1829) in Germany and Vicomte de Bonald Louis-Gabriel-Ambroise (d. 1840) in France wrote extensively against the overzealous and ever so demanding Jacobin nationalism.(20) Schlegel in particular sought answers for Germans in German history, in literature, in language, in poetry, in mythology and in the German religion. The noble spirit--the very foundation of nationalism--springs from the heart and soul of man especially when he clearly understands and appreciates the glorious past of his ancestors. He glorified the German past, with its mythology, its traditions, its old songs, its old virtues, and its system of honor and pledges. Indeed, he contributed--though indirectly--much to the popularity of ideas about German racial superiority, purity of blood, purity of language, and national soul.(21) Bonald, like Burke, believed in the proper hierarchical loyalties to the family, the Church and the State. These three ought to be independent of each other but every individual should be loyal to all three simultaneously. Bonald stressed the importance of language in the development of nationalism: "From God develops each nationality through the agencies of its divine

(20)Burke was born in 1729 in Ireland. He came from a family of Protestant lawyers and was educated at Trinity College in Dublin. From 1765 to his death he was a Whig member of Parliament. He was against corruption in public office, against slave trade, against British oppression in India and against Jacobinism; Schlegel was born in 1772 in Hanover. His father was an eminent Lutheran clergyman who sent him to Gottingen and Leibzig universities. He began as a classical scholar but by 1796 had converted to romanticism. He entered the service of Hapsburgs at Vienna in 1809 and was of the opinion that German nationalism would be more than a match for the Jacobin nationalism; Bonald was born in Southern France in 1754. He came from a noble family which had served the King and been most faithful to the Catholic Church. After serving as an officer in the royal army, Bonald had settled at his ancestral estate. During the height of the Revolution he had moved to Germany but returned to Paris secretly in 1797. In 1802, after the restoration of Catholicism in France, he took the oath of allegiance to Napoleon's government.

(21)Hays, The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism, p. 108.

language and its divine law; it certainly could not develop through the agency of impious revolution."(22) He praised all traditional institutions--social, political and ecclesiastical. Burke, Bonald and Schlegel all reacted negatively against Jacobin nationalism, and through their writings promoted the traditional form of nationalism.

Iqbal was an admirer of the philosophy of German Vitalism and practically ignored the contributions of various German philosophers who praised the 'state'. Was not George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (d. 1831) the man most responsible for raising the state to the stature of deity?(23) In Hegel's views, the state is a true individual. It is a person, an organism which is self-differentiating in such a manner that the life of the whole appears in all parts. This means that the true life of the parts, i.e. the individual's, is found in and is identical to the life of the whole, the State. The state is the individual himself because it is only in the state that his individuality is realized. Therefore, "the state is the supreme embodiment of freedom, for in being determined by it, the individual is now wholly determined by his essential self, by that which is true and universal in him."(24) The individual obeys the state and upholds and conforms to rational political institutions and laws 'not because morality demands it but because it is his duty to do so; the Hegelian state is indeed above

(22)Ibid., p. 97.

(23)Hegel was born in Stuttgart in 1770. His father was a minor civil servant at the Court of the Duchy of Wurttemberg. He attended the seminary of Tübingen, where he studied philosophy and theology. He taught at the University of Berlin from 1818 until his death in 1831.

(24)W.T. Stace, The Philosophy of Hegel (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1955), p. 425. This paperbound edition contains a complete exposition of the philosophical system of Hegel in a single volume.

morality.'(25) The worship of the state thus became the most desired goal of almost all nations of the world.

The Hegelian concept of making the state the sole source of law, order and ethics made its inroads in various other European countries. Writers like Hippolyte Adolphe Taine (d. 1893) and Francesco De Sanctis (d. 1883) and many others were highly influenced by the philosophy of Hegel, and often successfully promoted the worship of the state.(26) The love of the state often led nations to pursue their national policies which not only alienated other nations but also embittered weaker nations. The ever-rising expectations of the chauvinistic citizenry resulted in additional militaristic and imperialistic adventures which further divided the human race. This exclusive pursuit of national policy, and steady increase in national power, though it generates national pride, also leads to self-isolationism and even to overconfident belligerency.

The doctrine of belligerent nationalism--in which foreigners are blamed for everything bad, and alien influences are thoroughly condemned--had its own founding fathers who glorified their respective races and took solitude in narrow-minded self-seeking patriotism. In addition to Maurice Barres (d. 1923), Charles Maurras (d. 1952), Nikolai Danilevsky (d. 1885) and a host of lesser luminaries--writers, journalists, scholars, politicians and philosophers--all had contributed to this type of exclusionary nationalism.(27) Even great Russian writers

(25)Snyder, The New Nationalism, p. 43.

(26)Taine was born in 1828 to a middle-class French Catholic family. He was a great writer and a philosopher; Sanctis was born in 1817, and in addition to being a professor at the University of Naples and a member of the Italian Parliament, had translated Hegel's Logic.

(27)Barres was born to a French Catholic family in Loraine in 1862.

like Nikolai Gogol (d. 1852) and Feodor Mikhailovich Dostoevsky (d. 1881) had elevated their Slavic race to the level of Godly veneration. The exclusionary nature of this European nationalism was a major force in the origins of both world wars of the twentieth century. (28)

Nationalism had bred imperialism which, in turn, had generated nationalism in the very people whom imperialists had wanted to keep under subjugation. Indeed, nationalism had been denounced "as an outmoded, deep-seated disease which plagues mankind and which cannot be healed by incantation."(29) Nationalism allows politicians to divide the world into inflammatory categories of 'good' and 'bad,' and it helps them sustain political power often through the rhetorical promotion of the notion of superiority. It divides humanity into squabbling states and places excessive--and exclusive--emphasis upon the value of the nation at the expense of moral and ethical values, which leads to an overestimation of one's own nation and at the same time denigrates others.(30)

Vladimir Sergeyvich Solovyev (d. 1900) had stated that good nationalism must be free from all national exclusionism, and had termed

He was attracted to various German idealists, and as a scholar, journalist and politician had devoted his energies to promoting national egoism in France; Murras was born in 1868 and had spent all his life opposing all things foreign and loving everything French; Danilevsky was an anti-Darwinist scientist, and birth of this Russian thinker was recorded in 1822.

(28)Snyder, The New Nationalism, p. 71.

(29)Harold J. Laski, Nationalism and the Future of Civilization (London: Watts and Company, 1932), p. 26. The book is primarily based upon the Conway Memorial Lectures, delivered at Conway Hall, London, on April 6, 1932.

(30)loc. cit.

extreme Russian nationalism as illogical and against human reason. (31) Of course, he was an exception since Russian intellectuals, in addition to vigorously extolling Slavism, had always praised 'Mother Russia'.

It took some time before Iqbal was able to digest all implications of the concept of Western nationalism, but he was exposed to the writings of all these men--some mentioned in the previous few pages and many more. He had acquired a good knowledge of the doctrine of nationalism. He became terribly alarmed as he slowly began to understand the real meanings--ramifications of the creed of nationalism as applied to the Muslim 'ummah. He openly came out against nationalism regardless of whether or not it was humanitarian, Jacobin, traditional or even liberal. Nationalism in any shape or form was simply harmful to Islam since it was the very antithesis of 'Islamic universalism.'

The basic tenets of nationalism were duly practiced by the pre-Islamic Arabs. The concept of ancestral nobility, inherent superiority, boundless and unconditional loyalty, and passionate and chauvinistic clannish patriotism were all in abundance in the pre-Islamic Arab tribes. The spirit of the clan, 'asabiyah, was the prevalent social system which the Prophet of Islam had come to abolish. 'Worshipping none but God' was the primary message of Islam. All loyalties were to be subordinated to man's loyalty to his Creator. Everything belongs to God, the Sublime, the Supreme, the Alive and the Eternal.(32)

The Muslim Prophet had come to replace the tribal 'asabiyah with the Muslim 'ummah. Even disobedience to parents--the Kur'an enjoins all

(31) Snyder, The New Nationalism, p. 289. Solovyev was born in 1853 to a famous Russian historian Sergi Solovyev. He was a great cosmopolitan and a philosopher in addition to being an excellent poet.

(32) The Kur'an, II: 255.

to obey parents--was permitted if they stood in the way of fulfilling one's duty to God.(33) The social organization of the pre-Islamic Arabs was based on the tribe, whereas that of Islam rested on the equality and fraternity of all believers. Islam abolished, at least in theory, all distinctions in rank and pedigree, along with the practices of tribal honors and clannish feuds, including pride of race--things that lay at the very root of Arabian chivalry.(34) All Muslims are brothers and all mankind sprang from the single source with the command of God.(35) The Prophet of Islam during his own life had succeeded in bringing about the shift in loyalty from one's clan or tribe to God. A Muslim became a part of the 'ummah simply because of his faith and not because of his lineage. A true Muslim believes in universal Islamic brotherhood without any distinctions of race, color and/or national origin.(36)

Generally, throughout Muslim history, all Muslims have clung to the idea of one 'ummah constituting an indivisible universal brotherhood of all Muslims. Despite the fact that political unity of Islam had practically disappeared after the rise of the Abbasids in the middle of the eighth century--the Muslim world had never been united into a single state ever since the disintegration of the Umayyad caliphate--and despite the fact that various territories were ruled by separate Muslim rulers, a Muslim considered all these territories as one part of the Dar-ul-Islam. Strictly speaking, the Muslim countries, prior to the

(33)Ibid., XXIX: 8.

(34)R.A. Nicholson, A literary History of the Arabs (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1969), p. 178.

(35)The Kur'an, XLIX: 10; IV:1.

(36)Sherwani, Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal, p. 196.

notion of territorial nationalism, were not foreign territories for a Muslim since he could freely move about and settle down in any part of the Muslim world.(37)

The idea of one 'ummah constituting an indivisible universal brotherhood had received a terrible blow during the nineteenth century since practically all Muslim territories had fallen under the political domination of various European, including Russian, colonial powers. The inner urge to reform Islam from within seemed never to have materialized. It is not that there was a lack of reformers in Islam; indeed, there were a few of the most dedicated types who had attempted to reinvigorate the Muslim 'ummah, but that humiliation and shame of living under infidel rule had become the most potent factor in politically arousing the Muslims everywhere.

That aspect of nationalism in which the mighty deeds of one's ancestors were glorified seemed also to have caught the fancy of Westernized elites in India. The masses, who were overwhelmingly illiterate and who understood little of the positive aspects of modern nationalism, like internal cohesiveness and other nation-building attributes, were of one voice in seeking liberation of their beloved India from alien rule. Indeed, the most important element, which had given rise to modern nationalism in India, was the reaction of the masses and the elites against the high-handed political domination and the feeling of superiority of the British.

The elites, both Hindus and Muslims, though they were generally

(37)G.E.V. Grunebaum, Modern Islam: the Search for Cultural Identity (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), p. 210; Zafar Ishaq Ansari, "Iqbal and Nationalism,"Iqbal Review: Journal of Iqbal Academy, Lahore, Pakistan, (April 1961), p. 64.

secular in their outlook and also understood the positive aspects of modern nationalism, nevertheless preached nationalism not so much for the sake of developing national cohesiveness but simply to drive out British imperialism from India. However, they had to be careful in formulating their political demands in order not to alienate the British liberal intelligentsia which had shown remarkable sympathies for the cause of the natives. But the elites could reach out to the masses only through the traditional method of appealing to them in the name of religion, but 'the rallying cry in the name of religion to throw out the impious alien rulers from the land of India' was considered by both the British ruling class as well as the liberal intelligentsia bordering rather close to religious fanaticism.

Therefore, the elites had to use nationalism in such a way as not to completely frustrate the British rulers, but at the same time persistently promote simmering discontent among the masses in India and steady political headache for the cool-headed policy makers in London. Of course, there were other Muslims who had wanted to rejuvenate Islam from within and from without, first by opening the door of the ijtihad and then by removing the fetters of erroneous and untrustworthy ahadith (Arabic: reports of sayings or actions of the Prophet of Islam) and second by throwing out infidel rulers from the lands of Islam. These Muslims were considered dangerous by the British (ruling classes and as well as liberal intelligentsia) but their appeal and preaching seemed to have politically aroused the Muslims everywhere. Such religious reformers and political revolutionaries have often been called the 'Pan-Islamists'.(38)

(38)Shaukat Ali, Pan-Movements in the Third World (Lahore: Publishers United Ltd., 1976), pp. 195-256. Pan-Islamism had its

The man most responsible for spearheading the Pan-Islamic movement was Sayyid Jamal-ud-Din al-Afghani (d. 1897) who had travelled throughout the world to preach the gospel of Islamic revivalism and "political activism."⁽³⁹⁾ He was perhaps the first Muslim who truly understood the essence of 'territorial nationalism' and its usage as a political weapon against western imperialism. Afghani wanted to raise the status of the Muslims through education and religious reforms. Also, he wanted to strengthen various national states of the Muslim World. Lastly, in order to promote Muslim unity, he blessed all revolutionary activities against Christian domination throughout the Dar-ul-Islam. He had been in India during the period of the mutiny and was a bitter foe of the British. In fact, it had been said that his hatred for the British had sprung from his Indian experience.⁽⁴⁰⁾ However, the idea of Pan-Islamism in modern times had its origin in the Tanzimat era (the reform movement) of the Ottoman Empire between 1839 and 1876.

The opponents of the reforms blamed the secularization imposed by the Tanzimat for the post-1871 difficulties facing the Ottoman Empire. The plight of the refugees pouring in from Central Asia in the face of Russia's steady advance further stirred public opinion throughout the origins in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Its aim was to revive the former glory of Islam and to reunify the Muslim 'ummah by political revolution and religious reforms, and to specifically remove Christian domination from the Muslim world.

(39) Nikki R. Keddie, Sayyid Jamal-ad-Din al-Afghani A political Biography (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972). Sayyid Jamal-ud-Din al-Afghani was a great reformer and an astute political activist. He wanted to bring about a new spirit in the Islamic 'ummah, and through the reawakened Islamic spirit remove all alien rulers from throughout the Muslim world.

(40) Nikki R. Keddie, "Sayyid Jamal Al-Din Al-Afghani's First Twenty-Seven Years: The Darkest Period," The Middle East Journal, Vol. 20, no. 4 (Autumn 1966), 517-533.

Muslim lands. Al-Afghani's ideas of reviving Islam by using the tools of the West to combat the West was slowly gaining hold on the Muslim masses. The idea of Pan-Islamism might have been the handiwork of Sayyid Jamal-ud-Din al-Afghani, but its true origin can be traced directly to the sufferings and humiliations of the Ottoman Muslims at the hands of Christian imperialists. Al-Afghani had come to the conclusion that only revolutionary Islam could force the Christian rulers to leave the Dar-ul-Islam. That was one reason why he so violently opposed Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's evolutionary approach toward the British in the 1880s.(41) Al-Afghani would use all available means to remove the British from India.

Al-Afghani inspired numerous nationalist movements in Egypt, Iran and Turkey, and his influence was likewise felt in India. It was not Afghani alone, however, who had made the Indian Muslims abandon their traditional post-mutiny quietism, but the jealousy of Hindu political advances at home and the unjust British treatment of Muslims abroad, which had promoted the growth of Pan-Islamism among Indian Muslims.

Iqbal not only admired Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan because he 'felt the need for a fresh orientation' for Islam, but also praised Sayyid Jamal-ud-Din al-Afghani for his efforts to breathe a spirit of Islamic revivalism among all with whom he had had the opportunity to "come in contact with."(42) Sir Sayyid was an advocate of cooperation between the Muslims and the British, while al-Afghani was a revolutionary who

(41)Ibid., p. 530.

(42)Sherwani, Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal, p. 191. Iqbal says about Afghani on the same page that he never claimed to be a prophet and/or a renewer; "yet no man in our time has stirred the soul of Islam more deeply than he!"

opposed British colonial policies. Iqbal praised both for their boundless energy which they had spent in fighting three forces--Mullaism, Mysticism, and Monarchism--which had plagued Islam at least since the fall of Baghdad in 1258.(43)

By Mullaism, Iqbal means the rigidity of the 'ulema by which they had not allowed any ijtihad (the forming of independent judgement in matters of Islamic law) in Islam for so many centuries. In Iqbal's views, the 'ulema indeed have always been a source of great strength to Islam, but over the centuries they have become overly conservative in their orientation while the Muslim reformers have been attempting to reinterpret Islamic law under modern light. Mysticism, too, has blinded the Muslim masses from the realities of modern vigor since it has led them to superstition, fatalism, and passivity, which in turn, resulted in the exploitation of the ignorant and the innocent. It had slowly 'unnerved' the will of Islam and has provided refuge to those who sought relief from the rigors of the shari'a. The reformers revolted against such mysticism and sought to inject the new spirit in Islam in order to conquer matter and not flee from it.(44) Monarchies in Islam have also played havoc since their interests were solely to protect their dynastic ambitions and they did not hesitate to sell their countries to the highest bidder. The modern reformers have attempted to prepare the Muslim masses so that they could successfully bring about a revolt against such a state of things.(45) Iqbal was a Pan-Islamist and was highly influenced by Sayyid al-Afghani's views on promoting unity among

(43)Ibid., p. 192.

(44)Ibid., pp. 193-194.

(45)A.R. Tariq, Speeches and Statements of Iqbal, pp. 129-130.

Muslims in order to remove European imperialism from the lands of Islam.(46)

The universality of Islam was also an article of faith with Iqbal, who like al-Afghani, wanted to remove all philosophical and political constraints which might limit this international aspect of the Islamic doctrine. Iqbal had become a tireless champion of promoting unity among Muslims and at the same time had shown disdain for those who were trying to divide the 'House of Islam.' He himself had been captivated by Islam and had shown deep appreciation for all those Muslim reformers who had made attempts to revitalize the gospel of Muhammad. One is absolutely amazed at "the strength and the fervor of his love for Islam as an ideal which if fully realized should suffice for Man's every want in this world and the next."(47)

He was not only concerned about the political ill-health of the 'ummah, but was also alarmed at the attempts of some Muslim countries-- Egypt, Iran and Turkey--to glorify their pre-Islamic history.(48) This behavior was detrimental to the unity of Muslims and also was completely against the precepts of Islamic universality. Besides, the West was aiming to shatter the oneness of Islamic 'ummah by popularizing the concept of territorial nationalism:

The Lord of the West, cunning from head to toe,
taught the people of religion the concept of Country.
He thinks of the center, while you are at discord--

(46)Moeeni, Maqalat-i-Iqbal (Urdu), p. 143.

(47)M.L. Ferrar, "India, Whither Islam? A Survey of Modern Movement in the Moslem World", H.A.R. Gibb (ed.), (New York: AMS Press, 1st ed., 1973), p. 204. This book was first published in London in 1932 by Victor Gollancz Ltd. M.L. Ferrar was a retired Lt. Colonel who had served in India.

(48)Ibid., p. 207.

give of this talk of Syria, Palestine, Iraq!
If you can discriminate between good and evil
You will not bind your heart to clouds, stones, bricks.
What is religion? To rise up from the face of the dust
so that the pure soul may become aware of itself(49)

Iqbal's anti-West views were based upon his conviction that the West was ever so determined to divide the Muslim world. His love for Islam had apparently prevented him from treating the non-Muslim world more fairly. The West was never as united as Iqbal would have us believe nor was it of one mind on the 'Eastern Question'. It is generally agreed that political bickering among European nations had prevented the collapse of the Ottoman Empire for over one hundred years.

It looks as though Iqbal had an exalted view of Muslim history since it was not modern nationalism alone which has caused political division among the Muslim world but rather the inability of the Ottoman authorities to protect the Dar-ul-Islam. True the Arabs were encouraged to revolt against the Ottomans by the West but the Muslim rulers themselves were divided and there were other internal socio-political pressures that forced the Arabs to revolt against the Ottoman Caliph. In fact, the Ottomans themselves were disenchanted with the Sultan since they threw him out for good for some same reasons. Iqbal, however, blamed the Franks (the Westerners) and their doctrine of modern nationalism for bringing about disunity amongst the Muslims, but the unity which he so diligently romanticized was indeed of a very short duration.

The semblance of unity had prevailed as long as the character of

(49)Arberry, Javid-Nama, p. 55; Kulliyat (Persian), p. 650; Tariq, Speeches and Statements of Iqbal, p. 230; Sayyid Abdul Wahid Moeeni (ed.), Maqalat-i-Iqbal (Urdu), (Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1963), p. 222.

the 'ummah had by and large remained Arabian, but no sooner had the message of Islam begun to expand beyond the Arabian peninsula than the unity became more imaginary than real. Iqbal appeared to admire the zeal of early Muslims especially when they were on the march to turn the Dar-ul-Harb to Dar-ul-Islam. Perhaps, it was this early Islamic spirit which Iqbal was attempting to ignite. What is absolutely clear though is that Iqbal had found the message of Muhammad an all-encompassing doctrine fit for universal application.

It was this aspect of Islamic universalism which had transformed Iqbal from being an Indian nationalist to a grieving Muslim activist. It was not that he had suddenly discovered the essence of his own communalism but that he had come to be satisfied intellectually as well as emotionally with the universality of the Islamic message. He had returned from Europe in 1908 smitten with love of Islam and cried out at the backwardness of Muslims. How agonizingly sad he was at the moral and political decay of the Muslims in his 'Shikwa' (Complaint), and how desperately eager he was to bring about spiritual and political regeneration among Muslims in his 'Jawab-i-Shikwa' (Reply to the Complaint).(50)

Iqbal appeals to his native youth to transform the world of Islam and even entertains the belief that the West and Godless Russia may be open to the pristine spirit of Islam.(51) After all, those states which had emerged in the post-Reformation era in Europe were now feeling the need for a united Europe. Since nationalists in Europe have missed the

(50)Kulliyat (Urdu), pp. 163-170; 'Jawab-i-Shikwa,' pp. 199-208.

(51)Sherwani, Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal, p. 207. Also see his statement of February 26, 1933 on page 226.

opportunity to reconstruct the moral and political life in the light of Christ's mission of human brotherhood, Islam might be able to rescue the world from the evils of secularism.(52) Because, in Islam, religion is neither national (like it was with the Egyptians, Greeks and Sassanians) nor racial (like it is with the Jews) nor private (like it is with the Christians) but it is 'purely human' with the distinctive purpose of uniting and organizing the varied human species.(53) Iqbal had found the solution of mankind in the simple Islamic principle of Tawhid (the Unity of God), and in his opinion, only through Islam could this principle become a 'living factor' for the 'intellectual and emotional life of mankind.'(54)

The gist of Iqbal's objections to modern nationalism was that it lacked spiritual and moral content without which politics was but the practice of Machiavellian ethics. Despite haughty accomplishments in science and technology, the 'spirit of freedom' and the 'dignity of man' have been trampled by various political "isms"--in the guise of Democracy, Nationalism, Communism and Fascism--in the modern age. The statesmen of the modern world have proven to be 'demons of bloodshed' and unscrupulous 'tyrants.' Today, the rulers who were supposed to elevate the 'moral' and 'intellectual level of mankind' have in their own selfish interest shed "the blood of millions and reduced millions to servitude simply in order to pander to the greed and avarice of their own particular groups...."(55)

(52) Tariq, Speeches and Statements of Iqbal, p. 6.

(53) Ibid., p. 232.

(54) Reconstruction of Religious Thought..., p. 147; Kulliyat (Persian), p. 92; Tariq, Secrets of Collective Life, p. 27.

(55) Tariq, Speeches and Statements of Iqbal, p. 226. This reference

Nationalism has also raised the state to the level of a deity, and in the affairs of men, religion has been relegated to an inferior position. It has created intense rivalries among nations and contributed too to social turmoil and economic exploitation. Worse still, it has divided God's children on earth, and in addition, has helped in the oppression of the weak.(56) Nationalism has failed even to promote unity among people who possessed the common bond of one race, one nationality, one religion and one language.(57)

In short, man could never find unity in these modern political 'isms' because a true unity springs not from such political concepts but from the 'brotherhood of man,' which, in Iqbal's views, was above race, color, nationality and language--an Islamic ideal. In fact:

So long as this so-called democracy, this accursed nationalism, and this degraded imperialism are not shattered, so long as men do not demonstrate by actions that they believe that the whole world is the family of God, so long as distinction of race, color and geographical nationalities are not wiped out completely, they will never be able to lead a happy and contented life, and the beautiful ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity will never materialize!(58)

pertains to various activities of the aggressive nations, particularly Italy's invasion of Abyssinia, Japan's invasion of Manchuria and even the horror of Spanish civil war.

(56)Kulliyat (Urdu), pp. 160-161.

(57)Tariq, Speeches and Statements of Iqbal, p. 228. Reference here is to Spain and the Spanish Civil War.

(58)Sherwani, Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal, p. 251. This was Iqbal's New Year Message aired from the Lahore Station of All-India Radio on January 1, 1938 just four months prior to his death. Iqbal was absolutely convinced of the 'Islamic brotherhood and equality' and reminds scholars not to forget that "Islam was born at a time when the old principles of human unification, such as blood-relationship and throne-culture, were failing. It, therefore, finds the principle of human unification not in the blood and bones but in the mind of man." See Sherwani, Speeches Writings and Statements of Iqbal, p. 196.

Only Islam could bring about happiness and contentment; however, if only the modern Muslim could first reconstruct his social life according to the Islamic precepts and then become an exemplar of Islamic brotherhood, the rest of mankind would then see, learn, and appreciate the true essence of the Islamic creed. After all, in the ultimate analysis, the aim of Islam was to bring about 'spiritual democracy' on earth.(59)

However, despite Iqbal's lofty poetic sentimentality and scholarly pronouncements, nationalism in the first quarter of the twentieth century had become a fact of life in almost all the Muslim countries. In reality, the glorious concept of the Islamic 'ummah stood shattered since territorial frontiers had become the integral part of the basis of nationhood everywhere in the political realms of Islam. Had not the khilafat movement in the 1920s already proven the hollowness of the Islamic utopia of the 'Muslim brotherhood'? Iqbal himself appeared to have become a pragmatist when in 1930, as president of the annual session of the Muslim League, he openly proposed his solution for the chronic problem of Indian communalism.(60)

Despite Iqbal's revulsion of territorial nationalism, he appeared to have grudgingly compromised his long held philosophical views since his solution for India's communal problem was based precisely upon the concept of territorial nationalism. In 1930, he openly asked for a separate homeland for Indian Muslims within or without the British

(59)Reconstruction of Religious Thought, p. 180.

(60)Tariq, Speeches and Statements of Iqbal, p. 11. Iqbal himself acknowledges the dilemma between idealism and practicality, "To reveal an ideal freed from its temporal limitations is one function: to show the way how ideals can be transformed into living actualities is quite another." See Sherwani, Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal, p. 27.

Empire. Nonetheless, it did not mean that Iqbal had modified his views on nationalism, rather that all philosophical ideas regardless of how meritorious often fall on deaf ears since the citizens are often ill-prepared to properly analyze such lofty and noble ideas. On the other hand, in the age of the masses, nothing can come to political fruition without the support of the people. The Muslim masses neither understood the true doctrine of nationalism, as espoused by the West, nor knew about its ramifications for the Muslim community. Iqbal's delineation of the dangers of modern nationalism to Islam did not move the Islamic 'ummah--as a matter of fact, there was no Muslim country practicing Islamic brotherhood, nor was there any sign of Islamic universality anywhere in the Muslim world. In reality, it was abundantly clear that the concept of territorial nationalism had become part of the Islamic political thought and that Iqbal too had come to accept, though not very convincingly, this aspect of nationalism. On the one hand, Iqbal was appalled that the Turks and the Egyptians were accepting modern nationalism by appealing to their pre-Islamic past, and on the other hand, he was praising them:

The closed doors were opened to the Turks;
National foundations have been strengthened
 by the Egyptians;
You, too, ought to grasp the essence of thy
 Khudi;
For, a nation without its identity possesses
neither Fatherland nor Faith.(61)

Iqbal did not see any contradiction in his long held view against territorial nationalism and his famous demand for a separate homeland

(61)Kulliyat (Persian), p. 950. As early as 1910 Iqbal praised Egypt, Iran and Turkey for exhibiting 'signs of political life' but warned that Muslim political reformers should properly study Islamic constitutional principles prior to their adoption. See S.A. Vahid (ed.) Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal, p. 75.

for Indian Muslims. He felt both were complementary to each other, "Nationalism in the sense of love of one's country and even readiness to die for its honour is a part of the Muslim's faith." (62) Iqbal cites examples of the law of Islam for freedom of the 'People of the Book' stating that in countries where Muslims are in the majority "Islam accommodates nationalism; for there Islam and nationalism are practically identical; in minority countries it is justifiable in seeking self determination as a cultural unit." In either case he thought there was no inconsistency. (63) Iqbal actually does not object too much to the idea of 'nation' as a geographical entity but when used as a political concept it directly conflicts with Islam. When it comes to "principles of human association Islam admits of no modus vivendi and is not prepared to compromise with any other law regulating human society." (64)

In 1930, as president of the Muslim League, at its annual session, held in Allahabad, Iqbal suggested that in order to solve the chronic communal problem India ought to be divided between Hindus and Muslims. He proposed that a homeland for Indian Muslims must be found in the north-west of India where Muslims were in a majority. In his political wisdom this solution was the only way to avoid Hindu domination. In other words, Muslims as a minority living under Hindu domination without proper political safeguards was unacceptable to him. Those 'ulema who

(62) Sherwani, Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal, p. 197. "Love of one's native land is a natural instinct and requires no impressions to nourish it." See page 253 for Iqbal's Statement on Islam and Nationalism in his reply to Maulana Husain Ahmad on March 9, 1938.

(63) loc. cit.

(64) Sherwani, Speeches, Writing and Statements of Iqbal, p. 253.

held the conviction that India could be turned into a Dar-ul-Islam with superior theological persuasion were found to be either too optimistic or even misguided by Iqbal. Nevertheless, the man who had condemned Western type nationalism in the strongest of terms because it was inimical to all things Muslim, and who had rejected the concept on various intellectual grounds, had in the final analysis accepted the very element which he considered the most dangerous for Muslims, namely territorial nationalism.

2. Iqbal's Theory of a Muslim State

The concept of a separate homeland for Muslims in India was certainly not new, but in 1930, Iqbal became its champion when he crystallized its demand by suggesting that Baluchistan, North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab, and Sind (Muslim majority provinces) should be amalgamated into a single Muslim State. But, what is a Muslim state? According to Iqbal, it is a state whose foundations rest entirely on spiritual content, and which embodies the fundamental principle of election as laid down by the Kur'an.⁽⁶⁵⁾ Of course, Iqbal had consistently reminded everyone that the religious ideal of Islam cannot be separated from politics and that the Islamic ideal is an organic part of the social order which it created. But, Iqbal acknowledged that details of the principle of election were not enumerated in the Kur'an (the Kur'an does not prescribe to any particular form of government so long as the will of the people somehow finds expression in it) and that the idea of election was neither

⁽⁶⁵⁾Sherwani, Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal, p.120. This article by Iqbal, "Political Thought in Islam," originally appeared in the Hindustan Review, Vols. XXII and XXIII, published in Allahabad in December 1910 and January 1911.

developed on strictly democratic lines nor properly practiced by Muslim rulers, including those who were responsible for creating various empires. In his opinion, "democracy does not seem to be quite willing to get on with Empire."(66) Perhaps, it was this political awareness of Muslim history that compelled Iqbal to propose a separate Muslim state in India where the principle of election would receive its proper exposition!

It was clearly understood by early Muslim caliphs that "Political Sovereignty de facto resides in people," and that the Muslim masses alone possessed the political power, and only through collective will and the unanimous consent of the people can political power be legitimized and individualized. The consent, however, did not invest any concrete political authority on Muslim rulers nor bestow any special privilege on these rulers in the eye of the law except legal control over the individual wills of which it was itself an expression.(67) Nonetheless, in practical terms, Muslim rulers possessed unlimited political powers, but in theory, according to Iqbal, the idea of universal agreement is, in fact, the fundamental principle of the Muslim constitutional framework. However, the question of political legitimacy had arisen as early as the rule of Caliph Uthman (644 through 655 A.D.), when three distinctive political theories were developed and expounded by sunnite, shi'ite and kharajite jurists. Regardless of the religio-political parties--sunnite, shi'ite and or kharajite--and irrespective of their political theories, the Muslim State theoretically stands on the premise that all believers are equal. Not only is there

(66)Ibid., pp. 120-121.

(67)Ibid., pp. 108-109.

theoretically no privileged class and/or priesthood in Islam but that an absolute equality of all Muslims under the law is a prerequisite of every state founded on the principle of Islamic shari'a.

While Iqbal had expressed his views about an Islamic state in various places in his poetry and writings (he had not written any particular political treaty per se or directed his efforts to pen down a systematic constitutional framework which could form the basis of an Islamic state), it was the political theory of Al-Mawardi (d. 1058 A.D.), a sunni political theorist and a constitutional jurist which had impressed him the most.(68) According to Al-Mawardi, the ideal caliph must possess knowledge ('ilm) of the shari'a in order to defend it through its established principles and through the consensus ('ijma) of its founding fathers. He must execute and preserve justice in conformity with his own good moral character. He must defend the Dar-ul-Islam and protect its inhabitants. He must uphold the rights of his subjects and punish those who disobey God's injunctions. He must continue the ghazi traditions in order to increase the Dar-ul-Islam. He must justly distribute war spoils and give appropriate alms and charity. He must run a sound financial administration, and not only select competent judiciary but also other loyal officials. Finally, the Caliph must remain active in the day-to-day running of the government and must perform all public duties vigorously to promote the interests of the Muslim community (Islamic 'ummah). (69)

(68) Sherwani, Speeches . . . , pp. 111-112. Abu-l-Hassan Ali-b. Habib Al-Mawardi was a native of Basra. He was a renowned legal scholar and an important representative of the Shafi school. Iqbal had read various other notable Muslim political theorists including Ibn Taymiya (d. 1328 A.D.), Ibn Jama'a (d. 1333 A.D.), al-Ghazali (d. 1111 A.D.), and Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406).

(69) E.I.J. Rosenthal, Political Thought in Medieval Islam

In general, the duties described above by the sunni political theorist, are all religious in nature and indeed complementary to each other. They all spring from one divine source and not only do they show the unity of religion and politics (or the spiritual and temporal), but they also form the very essence of an Islamic nationality. Clearly, religion and politics are so very intertwined in Islam that they cannot be separated. They are one and the same and those religious and secular aspects of Islamic life center in and lead back to God. As a matter of fact, "Sovereignty of God is probably the only concept of Muslim political thought, which, despite raging controversies on other vital concepts, has remained unchallenged through the centuries."(70)

Iqbal believed that an unflinching faith in the Sovereignty (absolutely supreme in every aspect) and Unity of God (comprising of all attributes as described in the Kur'an including indivisible, universal, unsharing and permanent) was the only true basis of an Islamic polity. It is this principle--the principle of Tawhid, (Unity) of God--which asks Muslims to give up all other allegiance except to God. It further demands that Muslims associate absolutely no one else in their loyalty to Him. God is not only the supreme Lord of all Muslims but His Sovereignty and Unity are one and the same, and that political ideology of Islam is based merely on the premise that this principle becomes a 'living reality' on earth. According to Iqbal, it is this principle which "demands loyalty to God and not to thrones, and that since God is

(Cambridge: At the University Press, 1968), pp. 35-36. Rosenthal discusses various aspects of Al-Mawardi's historiography on page 27 through page 37; Sherwani, Speeches, Writings and Statements, pp. 112-115.

(70)Parveen Shaukat Ali, The Political Philosophy of Iqbal, p. 81.

the ultimate spiritual basis of all life, loyalty to Him virtually amounts to man's loyalty to his own ideal nature."(71) In other words, the perfect state envisioned by Iqbal would create ideal conditions in which individuals could develop their 'Selfhood' (khudi) to the fullest extent possible. An Islamic state therefore, exists precisely for the explicit purpose of turning into reality the concept of Tawhid (Unity of God) on earth.

Essentially, it is this concept which forbids Muslims to owe allegiance to any other authority; further, it does not allow divisions based on either geography or race and/or social and economic status. In his Rumuz-i-Bekhudi (Secrets of Collective Life), Iqbal states that a nation is formed by the unity of hearts and source of that unity is none other than the belief in Tawhid (the Unity of God). Of course, the main purpose of the belief in the "Unity of God" is the unity of mankind. Moreover, it is this belief which "removes race consciousness" among Muslims and it is this belief which promotes universality in Islam.(72) But a belief in the all-encompassing concept of Tawhid does not mean a theocracy either since the principle, according to Iqbal, is clearly opposed to the emergence of a despotic priestly class:

The essence of Tawhid as a working idea is equality, solidarity, and freedom. The State, from the Islamic standpoint, is an endeavor to transform these ideal principles into space-time forces, an aspiration to realize them in a definite human organization. It is in this sense alone that the State of Islam is a theocracy, not in the sense that it is headed by a representative of God on earth, who can always screen

(71)The Kur'an, Surah II:115; Reconstruction of Religious Thought, p. 147.

(72)Kulliyat (Persian), p. 92; Tariq, Secrets of Collective Life, p. 27.

his despotic will behind his supposed infallibility.(73)

In short, the ideal Muslim State cannot be constructed through compulsion and must be constituted through:

free consent of individuals who unite to form a brotherhood, based upon legal equality, in order that each member of the brotherhood may work out the potentialities of his individuality under the law of Islam.(74)

If foundations of the Islamic State can be laid only through spiritual content, then the modern concept of secularism (separation of religion and state) cannot be associated with the realm of Islam. Iqbal says:

The truth is that Islam is not a Church. It is a state conceived as a contractual organism long before Rousseau ever thought of such a thing, and animated by an ethical ideal which regards man not as earth-rooted creature, defined by this and that portion of the earth, but as a spiritual being understood in terms of a social mechanism, and possessing rights and duties as a living factor in that mechanism.(75)

Christian ethical standards had received a fatal blow by the separation of Church and State, and secularism was likely to destroy the moral and political idealism of Islam too since, according to Iqbal, it is not "possible to retain Islam as an ethical idea and to reject it as a polity in favor of national politics, in which religious attitude is not permitted to play any part."(76) How can religion and politics be

(73)Reconstruction of Religious Thought, pp. 154-155.

(74)Sherwani, Speeches, Writings and Statements, p. 115.

(75)Ibid., p. 11 (Iqbal's Presidential address delivered on Dec. 29, 1930 at Allahabad).

(76)Ibid., p. 7. Though Iqbal had viewed the establishment of a secular state in Turkey, under Ataturk in 1924, with great apprehension, he was of the opinion that it was perfectly logical and legal for the Grand National Assembly to exercise the power of the Ijtihad.

separated in Islam since State is but a mere vehicle through which God's Sovereignty is first affirmed and then glorified? Furthermore, it is the State in which God's injunctions are obeyed, and as such, in Islam, a state can neither exist nor function without religious foundations.

Besides, only a State based on spiritual foundations can truly tap the latent power of the individual. Iqbal says that love conquers all fears and that no one should be afraid of anyone except God. For Iqbal, fear of God is the true essence of Faith, and for him fearing anyone other than God is tantamount to idol worship.(77) He continuously stresses the importance of strengthening the khudi (Selfhood) of the individual, and persistently asks his individual to realize his or her worth through constant struggle and action. It was his belief that fear alone inhibits man from action and as such freedom from fear and a firm faith in God's Supremacy would deliver man from the bondage of mullaism [narrow-minded priestly class which alone claims the monopoly of interpreting the Islamic shari'a.](78) Iqbal also stresses the importance of man as a unique individual who tries to create in himself the attributes of God. "He who comes nearest to God is the completest person. Nor that he is finally absorbed in God. On the contrary, he absorbs God into himself."(79)

Iqbal considered the Prophet of Islam as the unique individual and

(77)Kulliyat (Persian), p. 99. Iqbal says, "The Democracy of Islam did not grow out of the extension of economic opportunity; it is a spiritual principle based on the assumption that every human being is a center of latent power the possibilities of which can be developed by cultivating a certain type of character." Quotation from Nicholson's Introduction of The Secrets of the Self, p. xxix which is based upon Iqbal's article on "Muslim Democracy," The New Era, 1916, p. 151.

(78)Ibid., p. 983; The Kur'an, Surah III:160.

(79)The Secrets of the Self, p. xix.

the ideal model, one who absorbed God into himself, because not only did he possess knowledge, wisdom, and fortitude, but he also was a great religious and political leader; a perfect role model for all subsequent Muslim rulers. In his poetry and writings, Iqbal constantly praises the Prophet as the perfect leader, and his devotion to him often takes a mystical proportion:

The song of love for him fills my silent reed,
A hundred notes throb in my bosom.
How shall I tell what devotion he inspires?(80)

Here was a leader who lived a simple life, worried about his young religion, prayed for Divine help, preached moderation, brought unity in diversity, promoted and practiced equality, showed courage and mercy, and founded a state based not upon brute force but on God's laws and universal brotherhood.(81) Notwithstanding the polemical crusades of the Christian West, Western scholars have not accorded proper respect to the Prophet of Islam.(82) On the other hand, despite continuous sectarianism, Muslims have always been united in their reverence for the Prophet. Iqbal asks that all Muslims should imitate the Prophet since imitation is also one of the attributes of love. Love (Iqbal uses the Urdu word 'ishq meaning the effort to assimilate and to absorb) is strengthened by the imitation of the beloved:

Be a lover constant in devotion to thy beloved,

(80)Ibid., p. 34. Various attributes of the Prophet are enumerated on page 30 through page 33.

(81)Kulliyat (Persian), pp. 20-21.

(82)E.A. Belyaev, Arabs, Islam and the Arab Caliphate (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Inc., 1969), pp. 80-82. This book was translated from the Russian by Adolphe Gourevitch; W. Montgomery Watt, Muhammad At Medina, pp. 334-335. Professor Watt does indeed pay tribute to the Muslim Prophet and calls him (see page 335) "...one of the greatest of the 'sons of Adam'."

That thou mayst cast thy nose and capture God.(83)

While God is the true Creator of the Islamic state, it was the Prophet who had laid the cornerstone of the 'ummah. It was the Prophecy which had united various races by forging a common bond of 'Islamic brotherhood'. In other words, only through the Prophecy can a Muslim claim his nationality since the idea of the Islamic nationality had germinated from the Muslim Prophet.(84)

Because it was the Prophet from whom the Muslim community had received its unity, its laws, and its constitution, he has always been a source of strength and inspiration for the community. After all, "In many matters of principle Muhammad does not act of his own accord, but merely announces what God commands. Thus God is the head and director of the 'ummah."(85) The contribution of Muhammad in the development of Muslim nationality cannot be over emphasized since without it the whole idea of Islamic community becomes invalid. Was not the Muslim Prophet responsible for bringing about a change of relationship from one's tribe to the new Islamic 'ummah after his flight to Medina in 622 A.D.? Iqbal sees the glory of Islam in Muhammad's religio-political achievements at Medina after his flight from Mecca. The Prophet of Islam had conducted himself precisely according to the Will of God. Iqbal believes that a faith in God and true following of the Prophet will not only free Muslims from the shackles of modern materialism but will also lead them to common brotherhood in the form of a universal nation of Islam.(86)

(83)The Secrets of the Self, p. 36.

(84)Secrets of Collective Life, pp. 48-49.

(85)Watt, Muhammad At Medina, p. 239.

(86)Secrets of Collective Life, p. 82.

Iqbal, in short, seeks a Muslim state in which first God's sovereignty will be absolute and then a Muslim possessing strong character (fully developed 'EGO' and possessing qualities and characteristics of Muhammad) will rule; and not only will he rule through the Kur'anic injunctions but he will also follow Muhammad's examples, and above all will make a greater use of ijtihad (independent reasoning).

In theory, one will be hard pressed to find a Muslim who will disagree with Iqbal on the question of God's Sovereignty over all the universe nor will any Muslim dispute Muhammad's political wisdom and personal character but when and where in the last thousand years did such a Muslim State exist? And who was the last Muslim ruler who put into practice these religio-political principles? Though all Muslim rulers supposedly seek to bring about modernity (not necessarily Westernization) to their respective states (temporarily leaving aside the idea of a universal Islamic state!) through various Islamic modes yet none has achieved it. Even modern republican Turkey cannot too openly take pride in its secularism; in reality, rulers in Muslim countries are unable to rule without constantly seeking Islamic legitimacy. Iqbal does not tell us how to seek that 'philosopher-king,' the one who would possess the qualities and character of the Muslim Prophet, nor does he tell us how to remove him if he fails to measure up to the required Islamic standards. The practical aspect of political forum and lack of modern political institutions, through which Muslims could express their political choice without getting caught up with the theological aspects of Islamic political virtues, has hampered the masses from expressing their free will. However, Iqbal did tell us that in his opinion the major cause of the downfall of the Muslims was the

failure to practice ijtihad.(87)

Ijtihad is essentially an integral part of Islamic jurisprudence and basically means reasoning or the proper exercise of judgement. Iqbal calls ijtihad the principle of movement in the nature of Islam, which, according to the Kur'an, is the greatest 'signs' of God.(88) Surah IV:83 of the Kur'an acknowledges that others, besides the Book and the Prophet's traditions (ahadith), are indeed capable of ascertaining truth and that through the use of judgement and reason one is capable of arriving at the truth. During the early days of Islam, various companions of the Prophet, including the first four Caliphs known as Rashidun (the pious ones), had indeed exercised the right of ijtihad. The only restriction placed on such exercise of judgement was that the mujtahids (those who exercise ijtihad) must frame laws within the confines of the Kur'an and the Prophet's traditions. This exercise of independent judgement later found its full expression in four distinctive schools of Muslim jurisprudence.

The four schools--Hanifite, Malikite, Shafi'ite, and Hanbalite--of sunni Muslim jurisprudence are named after their founding fathers. Al-Nu'man ibn-Thabit, Abu-Hanifa (d. 767 A.D.), founder of the hanafite school, developed the principle of analogical deduction based on the Kur'an and accepted only authenticated hadith for his legal opinions. Abu-Hanifa was born in Basra, Iraq. This school was generally recognized in the territories of the Ottoman empire, India and Central Asia. Malik ibn-Anas (d. 795 A.D.), founder of the malikite school,

(87) Parveen Shaukat Ali, The Political Philosophy of Iqbal, p. 129.

(88) Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 148. Chapter VI of the book 'The Principle of Movement in the Structure of Islam' basically deals with the principle of ijtihad.

codified the sunnah (the Prophet's deeds, sayings etc., etc.) and developed outlines for the 'ijma (consensus of opinion). Malik was born in Madina and was better acquainted with the life of the Prophet. Jurisdiction of this school had extended to Muslim Spain, and presently this rite prevails in North Africa with minor exceptions. Muhammad ibn-Idris, Al-Shafi (d. 820 A.D) accepted speculation with certain reservations but emphasized action and deeds based on the Prophet's sunnah. He was born in Gaza and his rite dominates Lower Egypt, eastern Africa, Palestine, western and southern Arabia, the coastal regions of India and the East Indies. The last of the four founding fathers was Ahmad ibn-Hanbal (d. 855 A.D), a student of Al-Shafi and a representative of uncompromising adherence to the letter of the hadith. This conservative jurist was born in Baghdad. His orthodoxy had not only withstood the onslaught of the mu'tazilite (rationalist) innovations but had also stubbornly defied Al-Mamun's minah (the inquisition). However, there does not appear to be much following of his rite in modern times.(89)

These sunni Muslim jurists had spent ceaseless years in gathering a wealth of legal thought which eventually became a recognized final boundary. Of course, in theory, generally all Sunni Muslims acknowledge the possibility of further ijtihad, but in practice the founding fathers of these four schools made it extremely difficult for any individual to go beyond the established boundary. This not only has stifled socio-political life of the 'umma but also has curtailed the intellectual dynamism in Islam. How and why was the Law of Islam reduced to a state of immobility?

(89)Hitti, History of the Arabs, pp. 397-399.

Iqbal held that the Law of Islam became stifled both by external and internal forces; both had equally contributed in blunting the intellectual vigor which was so very characteristic of the early Muslims. The seeds of orthodoxy were firmly planted by the Rationalists (mu'tazilites) in the heydays of the Abbasids, and the Orthodox ('asharite) methodology was a simple response for self-preservation of the established Islamic principles.(90) The Orthodox or the conservatives fearing excessive rationalism as a force of socio-political disintegration successfully fought against the idea of free thinking and developed a system of theology which became self-sustaining within the framework of the established shari'a.

The rise of mysticism (sufism) and emergence of Muslim rulers with despotic tendencies further slammed shut the doors of ijtihad. Iqbal felt that development of ascetic mysticism, under non-Islamic influences, had fostered a type of free thinking which was generally associated with the mu'tazilites and, in fact, was akin to their philosophical stand which stressed the purely speculative side of 'Reality'. This action of the sufis had only put additional stress on the body politic of the Muslim world. The attraction of some Sufis to other-worldiness had prevented numerous men of action from honoring their duty and fulfilling their destiny. In other words, Islam did not arise out of a tradition in which idle men indulged in philosophical discourses, but it sprang from the hearts of men who possessed not only vision but vitality, courage and faith. In general, it was not the

(90) Abu al-Hasan Ali, Al-Ash'ari was born in Basra in 874 A.D. and died in Baghdad in the year 935. He became famous for defending various orthodox positions against the Mu'tazilite opinions by using their method of logical arguments in favor of traditionalists' point of views. He is, therefore, the founder of orthodox scholasticism (KALAM).

mu'tazilites and/or the sufis who spread the message of Muhammad but the men of action who like their ancestors before expanded the Dar-ul-Islam with the new slogan of Islamic equality, brotherhood and universality under one God. It became a matter of conscience for some jurists to preserve those rules and traditions which had served the Muslim community well at least during the first few centuries. In addition, the interference of various despotic Muslim rulers in the judicial process--to obtain a favorable ruling--brought about further response from those learned men who preferred to close all doors to individual judgement (ijtihad) and confine all socio-political and religious activities to the old, established shari'a.

External forces which gave rise to rigid orthodoxy are far more obvious than the internal stresses; re-christianization of Spain, Mongols' conquest of the Arab heartland, destruction of Baghdad and disappearance of the central authority, the helplessness of the Caliph to provide guidance, the fragmentation of the Muslim world and the emergence of various principalities, all had contributed to the weakening of the Muslim world. Why was the Muslim community made to suffer and why had Almighty God abandoned the community? Is it that the community erred or is it that it had deviated from the right path of God? So many doubts were created in the hearts and minds of learned Muslims, especially the 'ulema, that they spent all their energies to find answers. They not only turned inward but also tried to protect, defend, and rediscover Islam in its pristine spirit. This orientation resulted in the rigid interpretation of the shari'a and strict conformity which further closed the doors of ijtihad. The resultant isolation, wrapped around Muslim orthodox philosophy, while it did

satisfy spiritual needs of the day, and even may have helped stop further socio-political disintegration, also robbed the community of exercising its legitimate right to intellectual pursuits in the light of changing conditions. "Rigid uniformity may be good for securing social order, but it may not always be good for releasing the creative faculty of man, no society can ultimately hope for survival or can expect to continue anything original to human civilization."(91)

Now, there were examples of Muslim scholars--though regretfully not many--who despite various obstacles attempted to revive ijtihad. Iqbal cites Ibn Taimiya (d. 1328 A.D.) who daringly claimed freedom of ijtihad for himself and questioned the notion of finality of the schools.(92) In order to exercise ijtihad, he reverted back to the original source--before the establishment of the four schools--and held the view that the shari'a can play a vital role in the life of the 'umma only when it is open to fresh interpretation under the light of new and changing conditions. Besides, the Wahhabi movement, founded by Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab (d. 1787 A. D.), other major movements which had impressed Iqbal were the Sanusi movement, founded by Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad b. Yusuf b. 'Umar b. Shu'aib, Al-Sanusi (d. 1490 A.D), the Pan Islamic movement, and the Babi movement, founded by Sayyid Ali Muhammad of

(91)A. K. Nazmul-Karim, "Pakistan and the Islamic State," Muslim World, 44, (1954), p. 259.

(92)Taki Al-Din Abu-l-'Abbas Ahmad b. 'Abd Al-Halim b. 'Abd Al-Salam Bin 'Abd Allah B. Muhammad B. Taimiya Al-Harrani Al-Hanbali was born in Harran in 1263. He was a theologian and a jurist by profession and had mastered Islamic studies by the age of 20. Because he has defied the authority of various scholars of other orthodox schools, he was constantly accused of anthropomorphism and had to spent many years in imprisonment. When he died in Damacus on Sept. 27, 1328, it is said that 200,000 men and 15,000 women attended his funeral. (see Shorter EI, p. 151.)

Shiraz (d. 1850). All these movements in one way or other had expressed a certain degree of ijtihad because all had exercised a type of freedom which went well beyond the finality of the sunnite schools.

Iqbal was also a great supporter of the Turkish nation not so much because he admired its accomplishment in dislodging the European imperialists from Turkish soil but because it was able to exercise its right of ijtihad. Though abolition of the caliphate and imposition of the doctrine of secularism by Kamal Ataturk (d. 1938 A. D.) was considered by Iqbal as a rather low point in the history of the Turks, he was nonetheless absolutely and unequivocally in favor of the Grand National Assembly for exercising the power of ijtihad.⁽⁹³⁾ In short, the power of ijtihad, individually or collectively, was not only essential if Islam were to regain its lost glory but was also a prerequisite if the Islamic State were to reconstruct the idea of Islamic equality, solidarity and freedom.

Iqbal felt that the modern Turks, inspired by the realities of experience, have started to put their house in order, and soon other Muslims will follow their example and establish free and independent republics. In the words of the great Turkish nationalist poet, Zia Gökalp, each Muslim state must first seek inner cohesiveness to become truly independent and strong and only then seek Islamic universality. Iqbal felt that Muslims were beginning to realize that the Islamic State was neither nationalistic nor imperialistic in its outlook but was a family of nations which, though it recognizes geographical boundaries and racial distinctions for facility of reference, it does not restrict socio-economic opportunities nor limit cultural, political and/or

⁽⁹³⁾Reconstruction of Religious Thought, p. 157.

religious freedom of its members.(94)

The state of Pakistan has existed for over 49 years but has it lived up to Iqbal's religio-political aspirations? Have spiritual foundations of the state been planted on firmer Islamic grounds? Has the structure of the state contributed and strengthened the Khudi of its citizens? Has the Iqbalian State produced a Momin possessing the qualities of the Muslim Prophet? Has Islamic brotherhood, equality and justice been truly practiced in Pakistan? Did Islamic solidarity protect national integrity in the 1971 Bengali Muslim revolt? The answer to all of the above is a firm no; indeed there is a dire need to reexamine the whole issue of nationalism in the Muslim World, especially in the context of modern political problems. However, for Pakistan, another Iqbal and/or Jinnah would have to emerge before an objective analysis of the country's political process can be made, if at all!

(94)Ibid., p.159.

CHAPTER V

THE POLITICAL ACTIVISM OF INDIAN MUSLIMS

1. Muslim Elites: Cooperation or Separation?

In India, politics was always in the hands of elites, and Muslim masses likewise had been ruled, right from the early days of Islam, by Muslim elites. As long as the ruler enforced or gave the appearance of enforcing the shari'a, the Divine law, the common life of Muslims, from a political standpoint, had always remained passive. In post-mutiny India (after 1857), a different breed of gentry emerged, who vigorously preached the doctrine of allegiance to an infidel ruler. The head of this class of men was Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan who, with the British, appealed to his fellow Muslims to stay aloof from politics and instead concentrate on education alone. His vehement opposition to Muslims joining the Indian National Congress (he had no vision of a separate Muslim homeland) was instrumental in creating a wedge between Hindus and Muslims. He became a great politician preaching the doctrine of 'no politics' to his co-religionists. Although the Hindus branded him a British lackey, he was most responsible in germinating the idea of the separate Muslim identity within the new emerging political triangle-- British, Hindus and Muslims--in India. However after Sir Sayyid's death in 1898, the Congress was able to attract various Muslim elites to its fold. The efforts of Congress to win the elites to its side may have been for no other reason than to give the appearance of uniformity to the British and to claim for itself the sole status of representing Indian nationalism. However, Indian nationalism demanded that all Indians, both Hindus and Muslims, cooperate with the Congress to gain

greater rights for the natives, and ultimately to arrange and hasten the departure of the British from the motherland. The Indian Muslims were no less nationalistic, and cooperated with Congress in great numbers, but others faltered on the question of whether or not there would be special Muslim representation within the unitary form of government. The goal of the Indian National Congress, and of those Muslim elites who preferred the unitary form of government, was never to be realized since the communal character of Indian politics was to become a bigger factor, and uncontrollable events were finally to lead to the division of India into two separate states.

By the close of the nineteenth century, the Indian National Congress was aggressively seeking greater participation in the political affairs of India. It had successfully attracted the attention of some members of the Liberal Party in the British House of Commons. The Muslim elites were always a few steps behind the Hindu gentry in learning the art of political agitation, but the British were even quicker to seize the opportunity and use the Muslims as a counterpoise against the militancy of the Hindu elites. The Hindus, who had gained greater political wisdom by adjusting to the English educational system sooner and who were demanding greater political rights for all Indians, were considered agitators by the British ruling class in India. The emergence of the Indian National Congress, which had the support of some selective liberal and anti-imperialist Englishmen, seemed to have aroused some warm feelings for Muslims within the British ruling class. The British kept the political initiative in their hands by playing the Muslim card and by adopting the policy of 'balance and rule.' By the third quarter of the nineteenth century, the British had formulated the

policy of treating Indian Muslims as a 'distinctive political interest in India.'(1)

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, who was already popular with the British, apparently benefited from this policy. He not only asked the Muslims to show continued and greater loyalty to the British Crown, but also discouraged them from joining the Hindu dominated National Congress. Nevertheless, through his own All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference, established in 1886 under the title of Muhammadan Educational Congress, he renounced his apolitical role, thus "heralding a competitive political environment in India."(2) The nature of the British political system was based upon the democratic principle, but Sir Sayyid refused to entertain the notion that this principle would one day make the Muslims subservient to the Hindu majority. For him, the national interest of the Indian National Congress did not necessarily coalesce with the national interests of the Indian Muslims. Muslims had to first educate themselves and then rise to deny the National Congress its 'National' representative capacity. In his view, and the British had every reason to encourage him, the Indian National Congress could not and would not protect the national interests of Muslims. On the contrary, if Congress did succeed, political power would then pass to the non-elites, and "Men of good family would never like to trust their lives and property to people of low rank..."(3) The doctrine of Muslim equality aside, the caste-conscious Hindus and the class-conscious

1 Hardy, The Muslims of British India, p. 125.

2 Hafeez Malik, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Muslim Modernization in India and Pakistan (New York: Columbia University, 1980) p. 218.

3 Sayyid Ahmad Khan, The Present State of Indian Politics, p. 9.

Englishmen must have been delighted with Sir Sayyid's views, but the Hindu elites perhaps knew that the democratic principle, keeping in mind the Hindu social customs and religious injunctions, did not automatically mean the transfer of power to men of lower classes. The men of the National Congress were united in their ultimate goal of removing the British from India, and were not overly concerned at this time about the Muslim problem.

The first British act, which truly created intense feelings of communalism between Hindus and Muslims, came in the form of partition of the great province of Bengal. Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India from 1899 to 1905, pushed through the scheme of partition before he resigned and left India in late 1905. Politically, Lord Curzon was never a friend of the Muslims--Indian or otherwise--and his sudden zeal to create a Muslim majority province was probably based on his anti-Congress, anti-Hindu bias. His action could also have been motivated by administrative reasons since the province of Bengal comprised an area of some 189,000 square miles with a population of approximately 78 million people. The new province of Eastern Bengal emerged with a population of 31 million, of whom 59 percent were Muslims. The reconstituted Bengal still had a population of 47 million, of which less than 10 million were Muslims. But the Bengalis were bitter about the partition since they saw in it the dismantling of their 'Motherland'. Lord Curzon went on a tour of the area, which later was to become the province of Eastern Bengal, in 1904, and successfully persuaded the wavering Muslims of the benefit of the partition scheme. Those Bengali Muslims who supported the partition were considered traitors by the Hindus. Prior to the partition of Bengal, Congress had little to show for its existence. It

was a loose organization with insignificant support from the masses, had no money, and attracted but a few Muslims. Lord Curzon, however, gave the Indian National Congress an opportunity to close ranks and revitalize itself. The British and the Muslims who supported the partition became the object of hatred among the Bengali Hindus, and in the words of Azad... "the hatred for the Muslims who supported the measure was no less fierce than for the British who planned and carried it out."(4)

The Muslims of India had no national political organization of their own which could compete with the Indian National Congress. Those Muslims who did not support the Congress party felt the need for an organization that could represent their views. Some 35 prominent Muslims from all over India had gathered and presented their views to the Earl of Minto. The Earl, who was the Viceroy of India between 1905 and 1910, had eagerly lent his ears to the hopeful Muslims, and thus foundations of the political triangle were laid at Simla on October 1, 1906. The Muslims did feel the urge for an organization, but the fact that they were also encouraged by the British toward political activism at this juncture of the post partition political climate were but natural, and to the British 'balance and rule' policy, the two major communities of India themselves embarked upon the policy of balance and obtain-a perfectly natural phenomenon in the British political system! The

4 Abul Kalam Azad, India Wins Freedom (Calcutta: Orient Longman, 1959), pp. 4-5. Mawlana Azad was the major Muslim figure who remained true to the doctrine of the Indian National Congress. He became not only the President of the Congress, but a minister in the Congress Government in post independent India. Those Muslims who remained in the Congress were known as the Nationalist Muslims. For obvious reasons the Muslims who opposed the Congress considered the Nationalists as Hindu lackeys.

majority of the activists in the Congress, as well as the Muslim deputation which had visited the Viceroy, were men who were not only imbued with Western learning but were also more or less secular in their outlook. In fact, the demand for greater political rights or the concept 'India for the Indians'--the very essence of nationalism--had sprung directly from Western learning, since the Westernized Indian elites had learnt the art of political agitation from their Western counterparts. These Indian elites quickly became politically sophisticated and began to influence British public opinion by staying within the moderate range of political goals. They often successfully appealed to the British public through their friends in England and relied heavily on the sense of British fair-play in seeking additional political rights for the "natives".

The 35-man deputation, which met the Viceroy at Simla in 1906, was headed by a young man of 29 years, the Aga Khan, who was the spiritual head of the Ismaili sect of Muslims and had close friends in the British hierarchy.⁽⁵⁾ These Muslim leaders informally discussed the question of forming an organization with a view to safeguarding the interests of their community. Nawab Salimullah Khan of Dacca, a powerful Bengali Muslim whose brother did not support the partition of Bengal, circulated a letter which contained a scheme for 'the Muslim All-India Confederacy'. He could not join the deputation because of an eye

⁵ Sir Sultan Muhammad Shah, the Aga Khan, was the spiritual head of the Ismaili sect of the Shi'a Muslims. The Ismailis are also known as 'the Seveners' because of their belief in the seven Imams instead of 'the Twelvers' who form the majority in Shi'a Islam; the list of the thirty-five man deputation who presented the address to the Viceroy can be seen in Wasti's Lord Minto and the Indian Nationalist Movement, pp. 222-223. For a brief biographical sketch, see "His Highness the Aga Khan," G. Allana, Our Freedom Fighters (Karachi: Paradise Subscription Agency, 1969), pp. 252-267.

operation but played host three months later to 'the All-India Muhammadan Education Conference' at Dacca, the capital of the new province.

The All-India Muhammadan Education Conference was still under the powerful influence of Aligarh men, though Sir Sayyid's views--showing greater loyalty to the British Crown and staying aloof from politics--no longer held sway in its new orientation. The Nawab Salimullah Khan's scheme finally became the basis of discussion at Dacca and on December 30, 1906, after the Conference, the decision was made by the delegates to form a new organization to be known as the All-India Muslim League. The purpose of the All-India Muslim League was to promote feelings of loyalty to the British government among the Indian Muslims, to protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Indian Muslims, and finally to prevent the rise of any feeling of hostility toward other communities among the Indian Muslims. The aims were rather modest for the Muslim organization which, though it had humble beginnings, yet ultimately became successful in carving out a separate Muslim state. While it is true that the League was able to protect and advance the political rights of some Muslims, it also miserably failed to prevent feelings of hostility toward other Indian communities. Of course, it was not the League alone which had contributed to the rise of communal feelings, but the Congress party itself failed to check the rising tide of Hindu militancy. Furthermore, no serious or lasting attempts were made by the Congress hierarchy to assure the Muslims that Brahman wisdom and generosity would become the guiding principle in post-independent India. The Muslims, though eager to see the British leave India, also saw the handwriting on the wall: that the British doctrine of 'fair-

play' was likely to disappear from India with the departure of the British. The fear of Hindu majority rule slowly but surely pushed the Muslim elites more and more toward non-cooperation.

The members of the deputation, who visited the Earl of Minto on October 1, 1906, as well as those who founded the All-India Muslim League, were the self-appointed representatives of Indian Muslims. In fact, the anti-Congress Englishmen, serving the British Crown in India, gave the deputation more of a representative character than it really possessed since they believed at the time that the educated Muslim was the most conservative element in Indian society and must not be allowed to join the Indian National Congress. The founding fathers of the League had no vision of a separate Muslim state, and the League was often teetering on the brink of extinction because of a lack of organizational ability and disunity among various Muslim elites. Nevertheless, the League consistently struggled to promote the idea of special representation or a separate electorate for the Indian Muslims. The League continued to remain a feeble organization at least until the late 1930's and only after the Lahore Resolution in March 1940 in which the demand for a separate Muslim state became the official creed of the League, did it gain the political strength to match the Indian National Congress. Muslim elites like Nawab Muhsin-ul-Mulk (d. 1907) and Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk (d. 1917), though responsible for arousing the Muslims toward political activism yet had no illusion of a separate Muslim state.(6) As a matter of fact, those who sought separation were a tiny

6 Sayyid Mahdi Ali and Mushtaq Hussain known as Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk respectively were allies of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan. They were both very active in the Aligarh movement and had played a major part in organizing the Muslims politically during the formative years of the All-India Muslim League. They both served the Muslim State of Hyderabad and were given these titles by the ruler for

minority and the majority of the Muslim elites remained hopeful, to the last days of the British raj, of a unitary form of government. Basically, Muslim fear of the Hindu majority and the failure of the Congress to assure and guarantee special representation, which the separatist Muslim elites had demanded, ultimately contributed heavily to the division of India. But, the Muslims themselves lacked clarity in their objectives since they often demanded more representation than their numerical strength would allow them in a democratic form of government.(7) In fact, psychologically, the Muslim elites could not come to terms with the idea of Hindu rule after the British had quit India. Their forebears had ruled the Hindu majority of India for centuries and they now must carry the burden of history on their shoulders.

It is not that the Congress did not try to win Muslims to its side. It did, but it never quite succeeded in holding the Muslims to its fold. It too had to contend with the strains and stresses of internal politics, and not all its members were of one opinion on the question of Muslims. Some of its Members saw no reason to be generous to Muslims, who had ruled them for centuries, and demanded that the Muslims ought now to adjust their political status as the Hindus had done in the past under similar circumstances. The communal character of Indian politics did not play any significant role in the early stages of the political struggle for Indian independence. This could be attributed to the fact

their relentless devotion to Islam and the State. For additional biographical data, see Our Freedom Fighters, pp. 125-136 and pp. 151-160.

7 John R. McLane, Indian Nationalism And The Early Congress (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 111.

that the founding fathers of the Congress were men of liberal orientation and also that they did not comprehend the grass roots, communal feelings prevalent among the Indian masses. Likewise, the Muslim elites too were out of touch with communal realities since they too lacked the true representative character of the Muslim masses in India.

The first prominent Muslim to join the Congress was Badruddin Tayibji (d. 1906) who in fact presided over the annual session of the Congress in 1887.(8) He was bitterly opposed by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan who openly came out against the Congress in December 1887. Tayibji later acknowledged in his correspondence with Allen Octavan Hume (d. 1912) that the overwhelming majority of Muslims was against the Congress movement.(9) Nevertheless, numerous Muslims joined the Congress in order to pursue the struggle for independence and by so doing believed that once the British were out of India other differences could be resolved from within. Indeed, there is no doubt that both Hindus and Muslims wanted to see the British leave India, but on the question of sharing power, once the British quit India, there was no meeting of minds, and both Hindu and Muslim elites remained poles apart throughout the most critical years leading to the division of India. There were other Muslims, who though they were not as opposed to the Congress as

8 Badruddin Tayibji hailed from a powerful Muslim family of Bombay. He remained very active in the Congress for the first five years, but slowly became less active due to Sir Sayyid's opposition and finally, in 1895, became a judge in the Bombay High Court.

9 Hardy, The Muslims of British India, p. 131; Jamal-Din Ahmad, Historic Documents of the Muslim Freedom Movement (Lahore: Publishers United, 1970), pp. 14-15. Tayibji wrote to Hume, one of the founding fathers of the Indian National Congress and a retired civil servant, in October and November 1888.

Sir Sayyid, yet believed in special safeguards for gaining and protecting political rights for the Indian Muslims. One of these was Sayyid Ameer Ali (d. 1928) who was responsible for establishing the London Branch of the All-India Muslim League in May 1908.(10)

He had permanently settled in England and was married to an English lady, but his zeal to serve Islam in general and the Indian Muslims in particular had not diminished because of the relocation. On behalf of the League he issued various pamphlets and letters to the English press explaining the Muslim point of view on many pertinent questions of the day. Of course, he had served the Indian Muslims well before coming to London. As early as 1877, he had founded the Central National Muhammadan Association which had spread all over India with some 53 branches. He had rendered an invaluable service to the political awakening of Indian Muslims at the time since they had left the political arena altogether after the 1857 debacle. Sayyid Ameer Ali had also established his reputation as a scholar by writing two first-rate books, The Spirit of Islam and A Short History of the Saracens, both published in London in 1891 and 1899 respectively. His crowning glory, however, came in late 1909 when Indian Muslims were granted separate electorates. He had been fighting for separate electorates ever since he made London his home. He had headed a deputation on behalf of the London Branch of the Muslim League on January 27, 1909, and had pleaded the case for separate electorates before Lord Morley (d. 1923) who was then the Secretary of State for India. The granting of separate electorates, according to Hardy, "did enable leading Muslims to behave as the

¹⁰ Sayyid Ameer Ali was a lawyer, a judge, a scholar and a politician. For a short biographical sketch see Our Freedom Fighters, pp. 161-172.

plenipotentiaries of a separate political community when they wished to do so."(11) Nevertheless, this concession to Indian Muslims was more of a British balancing act than the true reflection of the Muslims' political strength.

In seeking separate electorates, absolutely no part was played either by the ideologue of Pakistan, Muhammad Iqbal, or by the architect of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah (d. 1948).(12) Iqbal, who had joined the Committee of the London branch of the All-India Muslim League in 1908, was too preoccupied with personal vows after his return from Europe. Jinnah was not even a member of the League, and in fact stood for a direction away from the British and toward Hindu-Muslim cooperation. Jinnah was to build his political career on the theme of Hindu-Muslim unity. In fact, he had disapproved the principle of the separate electorates as early as 1906 when he had just joined the Indian National Congress.(13)

Jinnah, unlike Iqbal, had no poetic or philosophical message to deliver, nor unlike Gandhi (d. 1948), had he to try out any religio-

11 Hardy, The Muslims of British India, p. 148.

12 Muhammad Ali Jinnah known as Qua'id-i-Azam (Urdu: The Great Leader) was born in Karachi, Pakistan, on Christmas Day in 1876. The family descended from the native stock of Kathiawar in South India. His family was a follower of the Aga Khan and belonged to the Khoja sect of the Ismaili branch of the Shi'ite Islam. The Khojas are known in India for producing a first-rate merchant class. Jinnah was educated locally in Karachi and Bombay and in 1892 was sent to England to study law. He joined Lincoln's Inn and was called to the Bar in 1897. After returning to India, he temporarily joined the Bombay High Court. For a brief sketch of his life see Our Freedom Fighters, pp. 227-249. Hector Bolitho's Jinnah, Creator of Pakistan, published by John Murray in London in 1954 is an excellent introduction to Jinnah's life.

13 V.N. Naik, Mr. Jinnah: A Political Study (Bombay: Sushbkakti Publications, 1947), p. 15.

political ideas.(14) He was neither a social reformer nor an educationist. He was simply a politician or perhaps a politician par excellence who was not only incorruptible but, given the chance, preferred the constitutional approach to politics. He was an ardent nationalist and probably the most scrupulous and undaunted of all Muslim politicians. No wonder Edwin Montagu (d. 1924), after meeting Jinnah, during his official visit as Secretary of State for India in 1917, called him 'a giant of politics.'(15) Jinnah's political orientation was liberal in the manner of a British politician, and being a strict constitutionalist he often singlehandedly opposed the mobocratic tendencies of the Congress leadership, especially after the hierarchy had adopted the Gandhian political philosophy in toto. Although his politics were elitist in character, he neither dressed like the natives (excluding his vote-getting slight modification in appearance from 1916 onward) nor spoke the language of the masses, and used religious symbols to capture the imagination of the Muslim masses only in the last decade of his life. He was thwarted in his aims of political elitism only by the prophet of non-violence, Gandhi, who had descended on the Indian political scene in 1915, and who soon thereafter was to erect a human

14 Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born in 1869 in the Port city of Porbandar on the Arabian Sea coast of the peninsula of Kathiawar in South India. He received his early education in his native India and was sent to England in 1888. He returned to India in 1891 after having become a barrister. He went to South Africa in 1893 and there gained a reputation for passive resistance and as a non-violent agitator. He returned to India as a hero in January 1915 and soon took control of the political situation to try out his religio-philosophical ideas. He was the master of mass psychology and used his power over the masses to gain freedom for India. He was killed by an extremist Hindu in January 1948 just five months after Indian independence from British rule.

15 Edwin S. Montagu, An Indian Diary, ed. by Venetia Montagu (London: Heinemann, 1930), pp. 56-68.

laboratory of his own to try out his well-conceived political experiments.

2. The 'Ulema Enter Politics

There is not a shred of evidence that Indian Muslims wanted a separate state for themselves-at least not during the first quarter of the 20th century. The question of separation for them remained confined to seeking some form of political safeguards within a unitary type of government. They had successfully obtained the separate electorate, in 1909, against an overwhelmingly bitter opposition from the Congress. The 1911 annulment of the partition of Bengal was perceived by Muslims as an anti-Muslim act since the British had vigorously sold the partition scheme as a pro-Muslim move in 1905. Jinnah's entry into the League in 1913--at a time when he had not withdrawn his membership from the Congress--should be viewed as a strongly anti-British and a pro-nationalist move rather than as an anti-Congress act, since he tirelessly strove to promote Hindu-Muslim unity.(16) Even Congress had reluctantly agreed to separate electorates, in 1916, and Jinnah himself was against the concept of a separate electorate. But having accepted it as a temporary measure, Jinnah was hailed as 'the ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity.' G.K. Gokhale (d. 1915), who was the moderate leader of the Congress and universally admired by Indians, had rightfully judged Jinnah as the best ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity because he was free from all sectarian prejudice.(17) While Jinnah and the other elites

16 Sarojini Naidu, Muhammad Ali Jinnah: An Ambassador of Unity (Madras: Ganesh & Co., 1918), p. 11. Jinnah had made it absolutely clear to the Muslim League hierarchy that his membership in the League in no way implied even the shadow of disloyalty to the larger national cause, to which his life was dedicated.

17 M.H. Saiyid, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, (Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad

like him were busy trying to seek political freedom from Great Britain, the Indian 'ulema--the learned men of Indian Islam--were seriously attempting to free Islam from the ethical and ideological onslaught of the West. The 'ulema had withdrawn to their own little theological world after the collapse of the 1857 mutiny. Apart from devotion to prayer in the security of far away places, they had spent all their energies catering to the spiritual and emotional needs of Muslims who had felt humiliated and dejected after the defeat of the 1857 rebellion. In 1867, away from the British administrative centers, they founded a Dar-ul-'Ulum (seminary) in Deoband. Deoband was a small village located about 90 miles north-east of Delhi in the Saharanpur district. The seminary was established by two Islamic scholars of great eminence, Mawlana Muhammad Qasim Nanotawi (d. 1880) and Rashid Ahmad Gangohi (d. 1905). Both preferred traditional Muslim education to the secular English education championed by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan. The Dar-ul-'Ulum was supported by voluntary contributions and did not attract students from the upper echelons of Muslim society. The medium of instruction was Urdu and it offered courses in Arabic, Persian, kalam (dogmatic theology), fikh (Jurisprudence), tafsir (Commentary--generally on religious literature), and tibb (Medicine). Its graduates, of course, could not find jobs in the government sector and had to rely on teaching jobs in other seminaries which were rapidly springing up everywhere. The fact that Hindus were making advances in every sphere of Indian life did not bother the 'ulema. They kept alive the wounds of humiliation against the British and did not take part in the Muslim League except for a tiny minority who were attempting to safeguard political rights

Ashraf, 1945), p. 86.

for the Indian Muslims. The 'ulema were nationalists and made a point of cooperating with the Indian National Congress. They were happy to continue spreading the message of Islam within a united India, as they always had in the past, as long as the leadership of the Congress party was directing its efforts in getting the British out of India. The 'ulema of Deoband and other seminaries did not, however, lead the Muslim masses. There was no mass movement by them to check the separatist tendencies that were slowly emerging among Muslim elites. The 'ulema, due to their conservative outlook, failed to provide proper leadership which the Indian Muslims needed at this critical juncture of their national struggle. The fact that international politics is an extension of domestic politics had no bearing on their behavior. For them, domestic politics had become an extension of international politics. They not only looked westward for spiritual satisfaction but often sought meaning in their daily political life through the eyes of the Ottoman Caliph.⁽¹⁸⁾ It is not that the 'ulema were callous towards domestic politics but the extraterritorial nature of the Islamic 'ummah' demanded that they pay more heed to the sufferings of their brethren everywhere. European imperialism in the lands of Islam stirred a deep passion in them.

The European powers--England, France, Russia, Italy and Spain--were all attempting to dismantle the Ottoman Empire by helping the Ottoman subjects to rebel against the Sultan. In 1830, France had conquered Algeria, and Tunisia likewise fell to the French in 1881. In 1905, Morocco became a protectorate of France while Spain also gained some

¹⁸ Caliph (Arabic Khalifa) is a title of the supreme head of the Muslim community. See "Khalifa," Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974), pp. 236-241

territory. By 1909, France had successfully brought the greater part of the Sahara under its control. In the meantime, the Russian Czar, Alexander I, who ruled from 1801 to 1825, had been encouraging the Greeks to rebel against the Ottomans. The Greeks finally began their campaign in 1821 and the French and the British happily joined in the venture. The Battle of Navarino, in October 1827, brought the Greeks a step closer to independence since five years later the European powers recognized Greece as an independent country. Again in 1896, the same powers helped the Greeks to take away Crete from Ottoman control. The British, against whom the Indian Muslims were struggling, occupied Egypt in 1882 and soon thereafter also subdued the Sudanese nationalists. The Italians, who had been encouraged in their endeavor by the English, invaded Libya in 1911. While the Ottomans were busy defending Libya, the Balkan states--Serbia, Bulgaria, Montenegro and Greece--declared war on the Ottoman Sultan. The Ottoman Sultanate, for all practical purposes, finally breathed its last in 1912.⁽¹⁹⁾ The mantle of the Prophet had fallen on the Ottomans, at least since the 16th century, and the sufferings of the Ottomans were equally shared by all Muslims, especially by the Indian Muslims. The 'ulema, who had glorified the successes of the Ottomans, were now deeply grieved upon the failure of the Caliph to protect the Dar-ul-Islam.

True, the Indian 'ulema had deep historical and emotional attachment to the office of the khalifa but still they were ignorant of the prevalent political undercurrents operating against the very

¹⁹ The details of the European hegemony in the 19th and 20th century near East can be seen in two excellent books, Stanford J. & Ezel Kural Shaw, History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Vol. II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977) and M.S. Anderson, The Eastern Question (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1966).

foundation of the khilafat. The Ottoman elites and Turkish nationalists were far more pro-Western and the political forces operating in the Ottoman Empire were either misunderstood or completely misperceived by the 'ulema. While the external threats to the Ottoman khalifa were clearly understood, the disintegrators from within were neither appreciated nor condemned by the 'ulema. For example, the European pressures on the Ottoman Sultan, Abdul Hamid II (d. 1918) who ruled the Empire from 1876 to 1909, had deeply moved the Indian 'ulema, yet the activities of the Young Turks were neither appreciated nor condemned. The Young Turk decision to side with the Germans in World War made matters worse for the Indian Muslims who were now required to fight against them as subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor.

Iqbal was busy composing his Asrar-i-Khudi and Jinnah was at the height of his political career when Gandhi had returned from South Africa. The architect of Pakistan was able to establish his name in history books as a father of Hindu-Muslim unity when, in 1916, he was able to successfully obtain recognition of his Muslim community by the Congress leadership. On the basis of two distinct communities, the League and the Congress party were to confront the British with a united demand for constitutional reforms. A scheme of communal representation and constitutional reforms, known as the Lucknow Pact of 1916, was drawn up and adopted by the Indian National Congress and the League at their annual sessions simultaneously held at Lucknow. The great communal harmony, achieved by the relentless efforts of Jinnah, could not stand the test of time and the Muslim commitment to Pan Islamism overshadowed the victory of 1916. The Pan Islamic movement was a brainchild of Jamal-ud-Din al-Afghani (d.1897) and proved far more attractive to the Indian

'ulema than the struggle to dislodge the British from India.(20)

During World War I the British had to deal with those Muslims who had shown strong sympathies with the Ottomans; among these were the Ali Brothers, Mawlana Muhammad Ali (d. 1931) and Mawlana Shawukat Ali (d. 1938), Mawlana Abu'l Kalam Azad and a host of lesser luminaries who had shown Pan Islamic tendencies.(21) The 'ulema of Deoband and other seminaries did not show excessive attachment to the cause of the Ottomans though their sympathies were undeniably with their brother Turks. Mawlana Muhammad Ali, through his weekly the Comrade, had aroused the political conscience of Indian Muslims by enumerating the plight of the Turks during the Balkan War of 1912. In 1915, after World War I had broken out, his paper was closed and he was interned with his brother through the duration of the war. Likewise, Mawlana Azad, who had been openly sympathizing with the Turks through his paper Al-Hilal, was also interned in 1916 and remained in jail for some four years. Mawlana 'Ubaid-Allah Sindhi (d. 1944) left India and went to Afghanistan where he worked with German and Turkish agents to stir up the north-west frontier tribesmen against the British.(22) While these Muslims were

20 Jamal-ud-Din al-Afghani, Al-Sayyid Muhammad bin Safdar, was born at As'adabad near Kanar in the district of Kabul in Afghanistan or perhaps at Asadabad near Hamadan in Iran in 1838. He was a great politician as well as a philosopher and journalist. He sought the union of all the Islamic states under a single Caliphate to halt the spread of European imperialism in the Islamic world. See Nikki R. Keddie, Sayyid Jamal-ad-Din al-Afghani A Political Biography, Berkeley, 1972, and "Djamal Al-Din Al-Afghani" Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974), pp. 85-87; Our Freedom fighters, pp. 137-149.

21 Mawlana Muhammad Ali was educated in Aligarh and Oxford and had a brilliant command of the English language. For a short biographical sketch see Our Freedom Fighters, pp. 269-280.

22 'Ubaid-Allah Sindhi was a convert from Sikhism and was a great scholar of Islam. He was a true revolutionary and like Jamal-ud-Din al Afghani had travelled all over the Muslim World. He even went to

working against British interests in World War I, Gandhi was busy hiring men for the British war. He participated in the defense of the Empire. "If the Empire perishes, with it perish our cherished aspirations."(23) Gandhi was willing to provide the British with every available man to fight the Germans and the Turks but refused to consider giving financial assistance. "While, therefore, it is clear to me that we should give the empire every available man for its defence, I fear that I cannot say the same thing about the financial assistance."(24) He did not want the ignorant masses to serve the Empire either but only the above average Indian youths were asked for this sacrifice. Obviously he took his role as the recruiting agent for the British rather seriously, but were not the same "utterly ignorant countrymen" the base of his political power?(25) Talking about the Arms Act--the natives were not allowed to bear arms--the father of non-violence declared, "among the many misdeeds of the British rule in India, history will look upon the act of depriving a whole nation of arms as the blackest. If we want the Arms Act to be repealed, if we want to learn the use of arms, here is a golden opportunity."(26) However, at the end of World War I, he was quick to seize the opportunity by joining the khilafatists who were working feverishly to protect the indefensible khalifa.

The Ali Brothers used the khilafat movement to advance the cause of Russia. For a short biography see Our Freedom Fighters, pp. 173-183.

23 D.G. Tendulkar, Mahatma: Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Vol.I (Bombay: Vithalbhai K, Jhaveri & D.G Tendulkar, 1951) p. 280.

24 Ibid., p. 278.

25 Ibid., p. 284.

26 Ibid., p. 282.

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Pan Islamism, but Gandhi used it to gain mastery over the Muslim masses. Some Muslims joined it to influence the British government toward a more lenient treaty of peace for defeated Turkey. Above all, the Muslim leaders of the khilafat movement came together on a religious platform. They felt that only by lending their support to the independence of the Ottoman Sultan as Khalifa of the Muslim 'ummah could they hope to truly live as Muslims in obedience to God. The khilafat movement was based upon a simple premise that the holy lands of Islam must be ruled by the khalifa of Islam. The separation of the Arab states from the Ottoman khalifa was not acceptable to the Indian Muslims. The fact that the Arabs themselves, although encouraged by the British, were revolting against the khalifa, and that Turks themselves were undermining the authority of the khalifa was not taken into account by the Indian khilafatists. The champion of the khilafat movement, Mawlana Muhammad Ali, headed a deputation, which included some prominent 'ulema, to England to acquaint the British government with the sentiments of the Indian Muslims. Lloyd George, the then Prime Minister of England, clearly stated the British position that the Turks would be left in possession of all those lands which were truly Turkish, and that the Arab lands would no longer be permitted to remain under their control. Nothing could deter the emotional Mawlana who returned home to continue, even more vigorously the agitational politics to achieve his cherished goal of Pan Islamism. The Ali Brothers and Gandhi toured the entire country and brought the Muslims to the forefront of the confrontational style of political activism.

Gandhi began a new form of protest to show the Muslims how much he cared, and to advance their cause, he started the Non-Cooperation

movement. The Ali Brothers declared that it was an irreligious act for faithful Muslims to serve the British Army. They were arrested and sentenced for inciting the British Indian Army to disaffection. Gandhi now took over the cause and jumped into the khilafat movement with renewed emotional intensity. He repeated the declaration of the Ali Brothers throughout the country to see if the British would also arrest him. He was bent on retaining the Muslims under his banner and made the cause of the Muslims his life's mission. His Civil Disobedience movement was meant to paralyze the Government. Gandhi asked students to permanently withdraw from Government-aided schools and colleges. They must spin the wheel for four or five hours a day and then learn Hindi instead of English. They were asked to go to the villages. The students followed his appeal and quit schools and colleges by the thousands. The vague ambition to do patriotic things at the behest of Gandhi, however, found no outlet and they roamed the streets doing nothing. But that is what Gandhi wanted since he himself stated, "Let students remain idle rather than receive education poisoned by the touch of a foreign Government."(27) Destruction of the old order must be accomplished first before construction of the Gandhian edifice could take place, but no clearly defined objectives were presented to the students.

Gandhi was warned that his political battle-cry of Non- Cooperation would bring nothing but disaster. When Gandhi invited Jinnah to join the new life heralded by him, he was warned, "If by new life, you mean your methods and your programme, I am afraid I cannot accept them; for I am fully convinced that it must lead to disaster... Your extreme programme

27 M.R. Jaykar, Story of My Life (London: Asia Publishing House, 1958), p. 369.

has for the moment struck the imagination mostly of the inexperienced youth and the ignorant and the illiterate."(28) On Gandhi's insistence, Congress adopted the Non-Cooperation resolution as well as the new constitution, which made it more of a popular and mass organization. There was only one clear dissenter, the steel-nerved Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Jinnah was the only person out of more than 14,500 delegates (out of the 14,582 delegates present at the 1920 Congress, 1,050 were Muslims), assembled at the regular annual session of the Congress at Nagpur, who spoke out against the use of civil disobedience for the khilafat cause, which in any case he had never favored. In this session, held in December 1920, Jinnah refused to be coerced and was shouted down by the audience. The 'Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity' left the Congress for good and Gandhi thus became the undisputed leader of the organization. Jinnah strongly disapproved the unconstitutional methods of Gandhi not to mention the vehicle--the illiterate masses--by which these methods were to be tried. He refused to become a part of the mass-hysteria. The excessive zeal of the masses, brought about by Gandhi's appeal, struck him as mob-hysteria the result of which he feared would be heightened communal tension leading to chaos and bloodshed. Besides, in his opinion, the British were not likely to bow down to the unruly masses. After all, there was a conservative wing in England which demanded proper submission from coloreds and natives. Had not the Amritsar (Jallianwala Bagh) massacre of April 1919, when General R.E.H. Dyer (d. 1927) had ordered firing on a crowd of demonstrators killing at least 375 and wounding at least 1,200, proven the determination of

28 G. Allana, Quaid-E-Azam Jinnah: The Story of A Nation (Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1945), pp. 264-265.

the British?

The 'ulema, who played an active part in the khilafat movement, began to flirt with the idea of hijrat (Migration) declaring that it was lawful for Muslims to migrate from Dar-ul-Harb to Dar-ul-Islam. They have always been very cagey to declare India as a Dar-ul-Harb for fear of the British-Indian administration. They had not forgotten the lesson learnt during the 1857 rebellion, and had always been very cautious not to declare India as a non-Muslim country. Of course, they had been well known for their duplicity, and during the Khilafat movement, began to give sanctions to those who prefer to live in a Muslim country.(29) The khilafat movement had aroused the Muslims to a high pitch of excitement, and thousands of ignorant and innocent Muslims decided to migrate to Afghanistan. When Afghanistan did not allow their entry, they had to return home. Those who managed to return, and there were thousands who could not make it, had to face a bleak future since they had sold all their belongings prior to their emigration. There was another tragedy as a direct result of the khilafat movement called the Moplas rebellion.

The Moplas were the descendants of the Arabs who had settled in the Malabar coast in south India. The frenzy, aroused by the khilafat movement, made them declare their own khalifa and take arms to expel the British and convert the Hindus. Their atrocious behavior was only surpassed by the victorious British whose reprisals included packing 70 Moplas into an iron wagon which had to travel from Calicut to Madras in the blazing South Indian summer sun. Sixty six Moplas were found suffocated.(30) The Black Hole of Calcutta has become a household word

29 Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, Ulema In Politics (Karachi: Ma'aref Ltd., 1974), p. 265.

30 Ram Gopal, Indian Muslims: A Political History (Lahore: Book

in the West, but the atrocities of the British have scantily been recorded by Western historians. By January 1922 the Moplas rebellion was successfully crushed.

Gandhi's civil disobedience movement came to an end after the gruesome violence of Chauri Chaura. On February 5, 1922 the peasants of the village Chauri Chaura, in the Gorakhpur district of U.P., had formed a procession which was fired upon by the police. The mob soon chased the police back to its station. The police could not defend themselves because they had exhausted their ammunition. The angry crowd pushed the police into the station, bolted the door and set fire to the building. One sub-inspector and 21 constables perished in the flames. Fortunately for those involved, none of the policemen were Europeans or else the British would have set examples of the native like they had already done in the Amritsar massacre. Gandhi quickly abandoned the mass civil disobedience movement. He was arrested on March 10, 1922, and the khilafat movement lost its fervor from this point on. Besides, the khilafat was abolished by Kamal Ataturk altogether, on March 3, 1924, and the khilafatists were left out in the cold only to count their losses.

The 'ulema with the unexpected help of Gandhi, were able to use the khilafat issue to arouse the Muslims, politically. The Khilafat movement had generated a new spirit of defiance and fearlessness among Muslims and thanks to the efforts of Indian 'ulema, an unprecedented political awakening had taken place among the Indian Muslims.

The Muslim League, which was generally run by the non-'ulema, as an institution was considerably weakened. Iqbal's actual participation in

Traders, 1976), p. 156.

the Khilafat movement was zero but he did sympathize with the Pan-Islamic tendencies of the 'ulema and through his poetry contributed much to their cause during these years. Jinnah, on the other hand, being too cool-headed, remained aloof and in fact struggled to hold his political stature against Gandhi. He must have been perplexed at Gandhi's accomplishment. The 'ulema had to come home, thanks to the successes of Kamal Ataturk, and to grapple with the political problems of the day. The communal feelings were considerably heightened in the post-khilafat period. The traditional Hindu-Muslim riots had once again become the order of the day. Even the elites were beginning to feel the pinch of communal hatred. Mawlana Muhammad Ali, Gandhi's comrade-in-arms, publicly held that 'a fallen Muslim was better than Mr. Gandhi.'⁽³¹⁾ The 'ulema had traveled a long road and now were back home to face the disappointed but awakened Muslims.

3. Iqbal's Poetic Reflections and Political Role

Iqbal had remained aloof from practical politics ever since his return from Europe in 1908. But through his poetry he continued to express his Pan Islamic political sentiments regarding Indian Muslims and though he was experiencing personal unhappiness after his return from Europe, his poetic output was considerable: Asrar-i-Khudi was published in 1915, Rumuz-i-Bekhudi in 1918 and Payam-i-Mashriq in 1923. He entered practical politics only in 1926 when he was elected to the Punjab Legislative Council from Lahore.

This was a period of intense frustration for Muslims. The aftermath of the Hindu-Muslim cooperation had shattered their confidence in the Congress leadership. The Muslim elites had begun to develop a Muslim

³¹ Hardy, The Muslims of British India, p. 211.

political position for those provinces which contained a Muslim majority. The principle of election, introduced in 1919, had made the Muslims in minority provinces painfully aware that the majority rule (the Hindu rule) was fast becoming a reality. The 'ulema and the khilafatists had offered no particular political program for safeguarding civil rights for Muslims in the fast-approaching Hindu administration. Instead, they had been busy mischanneling energies of the Muslim masses away from domestic politics. The Muslims of India, at the time of Iqbal's entry into practical politics, had no clear vision, no proper objectives and no political philosophy to face the future.

Contrary to Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's anti-majority or more precisely anti-Hindu views, the majority was coming home to rule the proud Muslims and no one had pondered about what the Muslim behavior ought to be as a permanent minority. The Indian Muslims had simply not prepared themselves to live under Hindu majority rule. Neither were they willing to live under Hindu rule nor were they able to adjust their spiritual life; they simply lacked psychological cohesiveness to preserve and maintain their way of life. The only person who systematically tried to arouse the Muslims to the challenges of the modern world was Iqbal. Through his writings and poetic compositions, he tried to instill a new spirit in the body politic of Muslims everywhere. Being an ideologue, however, he was ill-suited to the art of practical politics. His political achievement nevertheless surpassed accomplishments of a practical politician.

After his return from Europe in 1908, he taught at Government College Lahore and at the same time practiced law. However, after a year and a half he resigned his teaching position and devoted his

energies to poetry and the practicing of law. Occasionally, he wrote articles on Islam but remained entrenched in the task of intellectual Pan Islamism. However, he did take part in some local activities dealing with Islamic causes and he denounced the partition of Bengal.

But, it was the appalling downfall and the utter helplessness of Muslims everywhere which had generated restlessness in his soul. He was so moved by the terrible crisis which the Muslim world was passing through that he chides God, "Your blessings are but on the lands of non-Muslims, but when the tragedy falls it is on the helpless Muslims." (32) Not only is God generous to others but He is also accused by Iqbal of inconsistency, "Sometimes You maintain cordiality with us and sometimes with strangers, it is not worth talking but You too are two-faced." (33) Iqbal, however, absolutely refused to believe in the doctrine of kismet (Fate) and declared human personality to be the ultimate ground of all ethical activity.

Writing in 1909, he reminded the Muslims that a strong will in a strong body is the ethical ideal of Islam. "Man is a free responsible being, he is the maker of his own destiny, his salvation is his own business." (34) Muslims in India were neither in control of their destiny nor possessed the will to live the life of a Muslim. Iqbal did not fear the rule of a Hindu majority provided the Indian Muslim had properly developed the strength of his character:

32 Kulliyat, (Urdu), p. 166.

33 Ibid., p. 168.

34 S. A. Vahid (ed.), Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal (Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1964). p. 38. Originally the article, "Islam As A Moral and Political Ideal" had appeared in Hindustan Review, Vol. XX, July-December, 1909.

In the great struggle for existence it is not principally number which makes a social organism survive. Character is the ultimate equipment of man not only in his efforts against a hostile natural environment, but also in his contest with kindred competitors after a fuller, richer, ampler life."(35)

In the opinion of Iqbal, the life-force of the Indian Muslims had become woefully enfeebled. They lacked the religious spirit and had developed a habit of self-dwarfing. They had no clear perception of national interest nor did they truly appreciate the appalling conditions of their community. They were reluctant to openly advocate their cause, and their brainy graduates of high culture had become timid and submissive. The sole purpose of education for young Muslims was no more than service, and service begets that sense of dependence which undermines the force of human individuality.(36) For Iqbal, "power, energy, strength, yes physical strength, is the law of life."(37) Also, he was well aware that the masses controlled the destiny of India:

It is the masses who constitute the backbone of the nation; they ought to be better fed, better housed and properly educated. Life is not bread and butter alone; it is something more; it is a healthy character reflecting the national ideal in all its aspects.(38)

Gandhi, almost a decade later, successfully built a political base by using mass control psychology. However, Muslims did not produce a man of Gandhi's stature who could successfully understand the mind of the masses. The proper education for Iqbal meant native schools, native colleges, native universities teaching social and historical traditions

35 Ibid., p. 41.

36 loc. cit.

37 Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal, p. 43.

38 Ibid., p. 44.

of Islam and producing good and peaceful citizens. He wanted to create in students that free but law-abiding spirit which evolves out of itself the noblest types of political virtue.(39)

The sufferings of Muslims in the Middle East and the passivity of his own Indian Muslims had germinated in Iqbal the desire to understand the plight of Muslims and then to suggest a remedy through his poetic but philosophical compositions. His Asrar-i-Khudi (The Secrets of the Self) appeared in 1915. The theme of the book was that the moral and religious ideal of man was not self-negation but self-affirmation. Life is individual and its highest form is the 'Ego' (khudi) in which the individual becomes a self-contained exclusive center. The individual attains self-affirmation by becoming more and more individual and by so doing becomes more and more 'unique.'(40) The perfect person is the one who absorbs God into himself. According to Iqbal, the system of the universe originated in the Self, and the continuation of the human race depends on strengthening the Self:

The form of existence is an affect of the Self,
Whatsoever thou seest is a secret of the Self,
When the Self awoke to consciousness,
It revealed the universe of Thought.(41)

The life of the universe comes from the power of the Self; in fact, life is in proportion to this power, and, "When life gathers strength from the Self, the river of Life expands into an ocean."(42) Muslims are told that even today they can circumvent modern-day difficulties if only they

39 ibid., p. 46.

40 The Secrets of the Self, pp. viii-xiv.

41 Ibid., p. 16; Kulliyat (Persian), p. 12.

42 Ibid., p. 22; Kulliyat (Persian), p. 15.

could recreate an Abraham (Biblical patriarch of the Hebrews)-like commitment to the high ideals of truth and honesty.(43) A true Muslim's worth is not in gazing at the stars but properly understanding the deeds of his ancestors:

The Muslim's being is where he manifests his glory:
Many a Sinai springs from the dust on his path.(44)

Iqbal asks his poor, unhappy, melancholy and injured Muslim to set for himself a very high goal and then vigorously struggle to achieve it:

Build a nest on the high mountains,
A nest embosomed in lightning and thunder,
Loftier than the eagle's eyrie,
That thou mayst be fit for Life's battle,
That thy body and soul may burn in
Life's fire!(45)

The Self, says Iqbal can be strengthened in three stages: Obedience, Self-control, and Divine Vicegerency. The most important element in the development of character is Obedience. Only in obedience can an individual attain self-respect:

Endeavour to obey, O heedless one!
Liberty is the fruit of compulsion.
By obedience the man of no worth is made worthy:
By disobedience his fire is turned to ashes.(46)

Within Law all are strong but outside it the source of strength disappears because selfish impulses begin to operate freely without constraints from within. Inner urges in man are often self-conceited, self-governed, and self-willed and unless the man takes control of himself he is likely to err:

43 Kulliyat (Urdu), p. 205.

44 The Secrets of The Self, p. 34., Kulliyat (Persian), p. 21.

45 Ibid., p. 71, Kulliyat (Persian), p. 39.

46 The Secrets Of The Self, p. 73, Kulliyat (Perisan), p. 41.

distinctiveness merges into his being. As a matter of fact, without the nation, the individual is not capable of fully realizing his true potentials. He is tamed by the nation which instructs him with discipline and self-control.(50) But the nation of Muslims is not like any other; it is not a country or a lineage to which Muslims owe allegiance, rather it is the Unity of God which binds them together the world over because they are all children of Abraham.(51)

The central point of all universal activities, according to Iqbal, is the belief in the Unity of God, and only through it can we discover the true meaning of the ultimate end of the Biblical world.(52) The sole purpose of Islam is to preserve and propagate the doctrine of Monotheism. A true Muslim should never rest until and unless the blessed message of Islam is heard in every corner of the world. He should first seek, plan and then conquer his 'Self' and the world with courage and determination. Above all, he must never forget his history because a nation is enlightened by its history. As a matter of fact, if a nation forgets its past it becomes history itself. The study of history makes men responsible to their worldly duties.(53) For a Muslim the study of history is even more relevant because it frees him from narrow nationalism and reminds him of the true foundation of Islam: Freedom, Equality and Brotherhood of Mankind without distinction of race or color. Iqbal asks his Muslim not to attach himself to a particular

50 Kulliyat (Persian), p. 86.

51 Ibid, p. 93.

52 Ibid, p. 139.

53 Kulliyat (Persian), p. 147.

country since the whole world is his abode.(54) While the life of an individual Muslim springs from the Will of God, the life of the Muslim nation springs from the holy Prophet. It is the Prophecy which has united us and we are one only because we believe in the Message of the Prophet. Muslims of the world became 'ummah only through the ideals of Islam, and only through the strength and stability of this unity did they become a Nation.(55)

After writing about the necessity of strengthening the Self and then attaching it to the Ideal Community, Iqbal turned to the modern world of Islam and in 1923 wrote his Payam-i-Mashriq (A Message From The East). The purpose of this Persian composition was to bring about moral, religious and social transformation in the inner development of individuals and nations. The Muslim East has awakened after centuries of slumber, but it must realize that life itself cannot transform unless the revolutionary spirit is infused into its body politic.(56) The citizens of the East must develop a healthy character and a broad outlook to compete against the dynamic political and social activism of the West. Individual self-satisfaction and contentment had no attraction for Iqbal because he believed that the constant restlessness was a prerequisite for keeping the human spirit alive and active:

The mystery of life? you will find in restlessness.
It would be ignoble of a stream to rest at the bottom
of sea.
I am happy that lovers were given restless souls,
And that there is no remedy for the melody of

54 Ibid., p. 113.

55 Ibid., pp. 101-102.

56 Kulliyat (Persian), pp. 181-182.

pursuit.(57)

If the purpose of a statesman is to provide answers for the problems of his people and to lead his constituents to a better future, then Iqbal was able to accomplish it successfully. It was regrettable that his medium of political message was in the Persian language which was not the lingua franca of the Indian Muslims. However his message was meant for Muslims all over the world and besides, he had other avenues open to him to serve the Muslim masses of India.

In 1926, he entered the Punjab Legislative Council as a member of the Punjab National Unionist Party. This party had no mass following, was politically ultraconservative and dominated by the landed gentry. The primary concern of the Unionist was to protect and promote the vested interests of the land-owning class. In short, it was the party of the landlords, and Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims all joined hands to safeguard their vested interests. Its founder was Sir Mian Fazl-i Husain (d. 1936) an urbane and extremely shrewd politician of the Punjab. He was a classmate of Iqbal from Government College days and the elected leader of the Unionist Party. The Unionist Party was the sole power in the Punjab right to the end of British rule since Congress and the League were never quite able to penetrate Punjabi politics. The Punjabi province has rightly been called the bread-basket of British India. Thanks to the British introduction of the canal, rail, and road systems, food production had increased dramatically and so had government revenues. The life of the Province was dominated by landlords, and the Punjabis provided the majority of recruits for the British Army. The lot of the Punjabi peasants, however, had not always been a happy one.

57 Ibid., pp. 323-324.

The majority of the peasants of the Punjab were "born in debt, lived in debt, and died in debt."(58) The British observer was making the point that the money-lender had become all too powerful after the British had annexed the Punjab in 1849. The traditional restraints, under which the money-lender had functioned, had been removed by the British. The first restraint was the existence of a vigorous village community which was able to hold the bania (the money-lender) in check. It is not that he was ever treated unfairly, indeed the community could not function without him and dealt with him on a footing of comparative equality. The second check was the apathy of pre-British administrations--Muslims and non-Muslim alike--towards recovery of the debt. There were no formal courts of justice to render the verdict enforceable.(59) The establishment of civil courts in 1875 resulted in the rigid application of the law contributing to ascendancy of the money-lenders. Mortgages in the early 1870s had averaged only 15,000 a year, but in the early 1880s were averaging 50,000 a year. Likewise, the annual increase in the area under mortgage rose from 165,000 acres a year in 1875 to 385,000 acres a year in 1885. The money-lenders were at the height of their power until 1900 when the British Indian administration finally realized the plight of the Punjabi peasants and passed the Land Alienation Act.(60) The money-lenders were generally almost all Hindus while the peasants were Muslims and Sikhs. Under the Act, peasants could not be dispossessed of their land nor evicted or

58 Malcolm Lyall Darling, The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt (London: Oxford University Press, 1925), p. 279.

59 Ibid., pp. 203-204.

(60)Ibid., p. 209.

arrested for debt. His agricultural tools could not be attached and his ancestral property likewise could neither be attached nor sold.

The value of the land in the Punjab had considerably increased ever since the British reforms, and the granting of the land holding to various families, who had supported the British in the past, had created a landed gentry in the Punjab. It was this landed gentry which had formed the Unionist Party and Iqbal had very little in common with these squires, politically or ideologically. The Provincial Muslim League, led by Mian Muhammad Shafi (d. 1932), a powerful Punjabi politician, was only a paper organization and Iqbal had to enter the Punjab Legislative Council as a card carrying member of the Unionist Party. As a maverick politician, Iqbal proved to be a thorn in the side of the Unionists, but other than making political speeches in the Council, he accomplished very little of any significance in terms of practical politics. As always, his heart was with the downtrodden peasants for whom he pleaded in the Council for reduction of their taxes. Addressing the Council, on 23 February 1928, he decried the Principle of Assessment of Income-Tax, "If a man happens to be a landowner, big or small does not matter, he had to pay land revenue. But if a man earns, from sources other than land, less than two thousand rupees a year you don't tax him at all. That is where injustice comes in. Nobody can deny that the system is unjust."(61) On other occasions, Iqbal proposed the reduction of high salaries for the Punjab government bureaucrats, and the introduction of death duties of inheritance of some fixed amount to the value of Rupees 20,000 or 30,000. On another occasion the Council was subjected to his

61 Latif Ahmad Sherwani, Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1977), pp. 55-56.

tongue-lashing when the government was accused of not doing enough for education of the Punjabi masses.(62) All his speeches in the Council showed his clarity of purpose and indeed compassion for the masses, but in terms of actual accomplishment he achieved zero. In spite of his views, the Muslim members of the Unionist Party were hamstrung in the Council. They did not have the political power to bring about the changes suggested by Iqbal. Their political power had been sacrificed in 1916--the famous Lucknow Pact--to gain a little more power for the Muslim minorities elsewhere. The Unionist's political machine could not have been able to bring about radical changes as demanded by the humanist member from Lahore. The experience, however, was very rewarding for Iqbal; if Muslims could not bring about changes in their own majority province then what on earth were they going to accomplish in the minority provinces? His lofty Islamic utopia could hardly flourish in such political conditions where deals were struck in the smoke-filled backrooms of Lahore rather than in the Council chamber.

Iqbal and the Punjab Muslim League hierarchy, also known as the Shafi League, opposed giving up separate electorates thus rejecting Jinnah's compromise, which he had worked out at the Unity Conference, held on March 20, 1927, at Delhi. Jinnah's political authority was further jolted when Iqbal and the Shafi League decided to maintain a dialogue with the Simon Commission.(63) Jinnah as the head of the Muslim League had refused to cooperate with the Commission but Iqbal at the

62 Ibid., p. 46.

(63) The Commission headed by Sir John Simon was established by the British government to ascertain the views of the natives regarding future constitutional reforms.

same time Iqbal insisted for full provincial autonomy.(64)

While the future constitution must be federal, the maximum autonomy and the residual powers must be vested in the provinces. Also, the reserve seats provision must be maintained and in addition one-third of the seats in the center must be guaranteed for Muslims. Finally, the Muslim leadership demanded that the Central Legislature not change the Indian Constitution, after its promulgation, except with the concurrence of all States constituting the Indian federation, Though Jinnah was not an enthusiastic supporter of the enterprise, the seeds of separation were being planted. In the ensuing constitutional deadlock, the British Government--the Labour Party had come to power in 1929--convened a Round Table Conference of Indian leaders which met in London thrice--every year between 1930 and 1932. The Congress did not attend the first Round Table Conference because its leadership had carried out the threat of non-cooperation. As a result, its leaders were put in jail. Iqbal was not invited to the first Round Table but Mian Muhammad Shafi and Jinnah were among the leaders invited. Prior to his arrival in London, Jinnah had come to the conclusion that he was neither being understood by the Congress leaders nor being listened to by his own Muslim community and as such he bade farewell to Indian politics and settled in London.

There was no other Muslim leader in India who could fill the void left by Jinnah, but Iqbal continued to give concrete political shape to his separatist tendencies. He was elected to preside over the 1930 annual session of the All-India Muslim League, which gave him national exposure to prescribe his political remedy for problems facing the Indian Muslims. In his address, he observed that far from becoming a

(64)Sherwani, Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal, p. 205.

melting pot, India had remained a nation in which various castes and religious groups had stubbornly refused to give up their respective individualities. "Each group is intensely jealous of its collective existence. The formation of the kind of moral consciousness which constitutes the essence of a nation in Renan's sense demands a price which the peoples of India are not prepared to pay."(65) Unlike European countries, the units of Indian society are not territorial; they belong to different races, speak different languages and profess different religions. They are neither a homogeneous group nor is their behavior determined by a common race-consciousness. No political theory can be applicable to India without taking into account the reality of communalism. The Muslim demand for a separate Muslim State within India is "wholly inspired by the noble ideal of the harmonious whole which, instead of stifling the respective individualities of its component wholes, affords them chances of fully working out the possibilities that may be latent in them."(66) The principle that each group is entitled to develop its future freely in the light of its own cultural and historical experience is not based on any feeling of narrow nationalism either: "There are communalisms and communalisms. A community which is inspired by a feeling of ill-will towards other communities is low and

(65)Ibid., pp. 7-8. Ernest Renan (d. 1890) was a French scholar and historian who wrote that a nation is a soul, a spiritual principle, and a great solidarity created by the sentiment of the sacrifices which have been made and of those which one is disposed to make in the future. See Renan's "Meaning of Nationality" in Hans Kohn's Nationalism: Its Meaning and History (rev. ed.) (New York: Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1965), pp. 135-140.

(66)Ibid., p. 9

ignoble."(67) The final destiny of the Muslims of North-West India, therefore, lies in the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State which should include the Muslim majority provinces. The Punjab, the North-West Frontier, Sindh and Baluchistan should be united into a single State which ought to be self-governing within or without the British Empire. This demand by no means meant creation of a separate and sovereign Muslim state, but crystalization of the two-nation theory by a major Muslim figure was finally on the books. Iqbal systematically explained the reasoning behind the declaration of the All-Parties Muslim Conference, which was held at Delhi, and in his closing remarks to the Session reminded the Muslims that at various critical moments in the past they have been saved by Islam and that their faith will rescue them once again.(68)

The second Round Table Conference was attended by Gandhi--he alone represented the Congress--and Iqbal was included in the Muslim delegation. Gandhi insisted that only the Congress represented all the Indian people and refused to listen to inflated demands of the minorities. Iqbal, who was on the subcommittee on minorities, having failed to achieve agreement with Gandhi, was able to produce an Indian Minorities Pact. All minorities had signed the Pact, with the exception of the Sikhs, and the document was duly presented to the British Prime Minister. On August 17, 1932, the British Government published the Communal Award which on balance was fair to Muslims. Other than the Punjab and Bengal where they were given 49 and 47.5 percent of the seats respectively--against their population of over 55 percent in the Punjab

(67)loc. cit.

(68)Sherwani, Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal, p. 26.

and 54.8 percent in Bengal--the Muslims did not do that badly in the Communal Award. They even got their one-third allotment in the center four months later when the British Government announced it at the third and last Round Table Conference. The three Round Table Conferences and the Simon Commission had only highlighted the inability of the Indian leaders to work out an acceptable formula for the future constitution of India. Iqbal was not overly unhappy with the Communal Award and advised Muslims not to join the Congress in rejecting it completely. He thought that the majority rights for the Punjab and Bengal could be obtained, and that Muslims should unhesitantly declare their unwillingness to join the Congress in rejecting the Award.

During his tenure in the Punjab Legislative Council and his involvement in the Round Table Conferences, Iqbal had come to appreciate the uphill task of Jinnah who had to deal with the Congress and the British especially without the help of a disciplined organization. Iqbal deplored the Muslim leadership for not properly guiding the Muslim masses. He scolded the elites for not having clarity of purpose. The Muslim masses were not lacking in the spirit of self-sacrifice, but no one was around to tap their dormant energies. There was no discipline in their organization, and without the unified and disciplined organization, Muslims were not likely to compete effectively with the Congress and the British. They must have only one political organization with provincial and district branches all over the country. This central organization should raise at least five million Rupees, and establish youth leagues and volunteer corps throughout the country. The members of the youth league and volunteer corps must serve the people in every field. Furthermore, cultural institutions must be established

everywhere to promote, advance and enhance Islamic virtues. Finally, an assembly of 'ulema must be formed to protect, expand and reinterpret the law of Islam in the light of modern conditions.(69) Indeed, Iqbal understood the political problems of Indian Muslims and even suggested the proper solutions, but there were no Muslim leaders strong enough to invigorate the weak and confused body politic of Indian Islam.

(69)Ibid., pp. 40-43.

CHAPTER VI
THE CONCEPT OF THE MUSLIM STATE: A POLITICAL
SOLUTION TO THE COMMUNAL QUESTION

1. Jinnah's Adoption and Implementation of Iqbal's Separatist Concept

Indian Muslims, though politically aroused, were a bewildered lot in the post-khilafat era, while Hindu militants were at their peak during the same period. The Indian National Congress had all the fire in it, while the Muslim League was nothing but a smouldering heap. The chief strategist of the League had decided to retire in London after the First Round Table Conference in 1931. The political void left by Jinnah was unfillable even though the chief theoretician of the Pakistan movement--Muhammad Iqbal--had tried to formulate the idea of a separate state for Muslims in the sub-continent of India; there was no one of Jinnah's stature around to give it a concrete shape. Muslims neither understood the implications of their helpless position nor appreciated opportunities open to them for they had no leader to guide them and no political direction to follow during the bleak years of the 1930s.

In fact, it will be true to state that Iqbal and his Punjab Muslim League had helped to hasten Jinnah's retirement since both had refused to agree with Jinnah's compromise of Delhi. Unlike Jinnah, Iqbal was consistently committed to separatist tendencies and was unwilling to yield to the Congress for a greater Muslim cause, what little they had already achieved. The point in question was Jinnah's attempt to sacrifice for political unity the only gain (separate electorates) the Muslims had won in the triangular politics of the early 20th century. At the Unity Conference, held on March 20, 1927, at Delhi, the presidents

of the League and Congress worked out an agreement for the future constitutional development of India. Jinnah, as the president of the League, agreed to joint electorates in return for separation of the Sindh from Bombay province. The introduction of reforms in North-West-Frontier Province and Baluchistan would constitutionally bring the two on equal par with other provinces. The agreement included reserve seats for all communities in all provinces, and proportional representation according to population was reinstated in Bengal and the Punjab. Other than one-third of the total seats for Muslims in the central legislature, this agreement abrogated the Lucknow Pact of 1916. While Iqbal, who should have been happy as a Punjabi politician because proportional representation according to population was reinstated in the Punjab, showed his consistency by opposing this agreement, Jinnah showed his persistency in the politics of cooperation. Jinnah, however, had often gone out on a limb for the sake of cooperation with the Congress and never wholly abandoned this approach right through the most critical years leading to the emergence of Pakistan.

Iqbal, during his tenure in the Punjab Legislative Council, had seen political deals being made among various politicians. He had come to the conclusion that even in the majority Muslim province it was extremely difficult to bring about changes affecting the average Muslim citizen. While he feared the Hindu majority, his separate demand was basically based upon his ideological convictions. He wanted economic emancipation for Muslims because he believed in the equality of the Islamic distribution system. Jinnah on the other hand, was not as ideologically committed as Iqbal nor was he so sure about dogmatic Islamic principles.

In practice, Jinnah often ignored Iqbal's political advice; his suggestion to build a grass-roots machinery for the Muslim League did not receive prompt attention from Jinnah. Almost a year before his death, Iqbal was still warning Jinnah:

The League will have to finally decide whether it will remain a body representing the upper classes of Indian Muslims or Muslim masses who have so far, with good reason, taken no interest in it.(1)

In short, Iqbal was insisting that Jinnah listen to him, because without his advice the League will never become a viable political organization. The League must remove from itself the upper crust of elitism before it could attract the Muslim masses.

Earlier, Iqbal and the leadership of the Punjab Muslim League had rejected Jinnah's compromise proposals that were worked out with the Congress leadership during the All Parties Conference held at Delhi between February 12 and March 15, 1928.(2) The two stalwart politicians of the Punjab--Mian Muhammad Shafi and Mian Fazl-i Husain--and Iqbal opposed giving up separate electorates. The Nehru Report--so named after Motilal Nehru (d. 1931)--did not acquiesce in all of Jinnah's proposals. Subsequently, Jinnah's counter proposals known as the Fourteen Points were thoroughly defeated in Congress caucuses. The Points were essentially the same as his Delhi Proposals plus a milder version of traditional Muslim demands, including strong provincial autonomy in

(1)B.A. Dar. Letters of Iqbal, p. 254.

(2)Jamil-ud-din, Historic Documents of the Muslim Freedom Movement, (Lahore: Publishers United Ltd., 1970), pp. 86-87. See details of the Jinnah's Delhi Proposals; Ram Gopal, Indian Muslims: A Political History, Ist Pakistani ed., (Lahore: Book Traders, 1976), p. 201. See details of the Nehru Report. Jinnah's Delhi Proposals had become the basis of further negotiations and in December 1927, both organizations--the Congress and League--appointed subcommittees to work out details for the future constitution of India.

contrast to the Nehru Report which demanded strong residual powers in the center. After the failure of these proposals, Jinnah felt isolated from Congress hierarchy and alienated from the Iqbal's Punjab (also known as the Shafi) Muslim League.(3)

Against the sustained bickering of Indian politicians, the British decided to set up a parliamentary commission to ascertain the views of the natives and to make recommendations for future constitutional reforms. The Indian National Congress and the League, led by Jinnah, refused to cooperate with the commission because it did not include any native politicians. The Shafi League, with Iqbal as its most vocal member, however, decided to maintain a dialogue with the commission. It began to develop a consensus in anticipation of the commission's visit. Iqbal vigorously demanded full provincial autonomy and would not settle for anything less.(4) He later assisted Mian Muhammad Shafi who gave testimony to the commission on November 5, 1928.

The split in the League had weakened the Muslim cause, and the lack of unity had only strengthened the hands of the League's enemies. An All-Parties Muslim Conference was called for and the leadership was able to bring the two factions under one banner again. On New Year's Day 1929, Jinnah had to bow to political realities and retreat to the political stand of the pre-Delhi proposals. The demand for separate electorates, once again, became the official creed of the League--a

(3) It was at this juncture that Jinnah began to think seriously of retiring from Indian politics. For Jinnah's Fourteen Points see Historic Documents of the Muslim Freedom Movement, pp. 98-100.

(4) Sherwani, Speeches, Writings And Statements of Iqbal, pp. 204-205. On June 24, 1928, Iqbal resigned from the Shafi League because it did not ask for full provincial autonomy but later withdrew his resignation.

triumph for Iqbal and his Shafi League but Jinnah felt completely frustrated and seriously began to think of giving up politics.

In the ensuing constitutional deadlock, the British government (the Labour Party had come to power in 1929) convened a Round Table Conference of Indian leaders which met in London thrice--every year between 1930 and 1932. Congress did not attend the first Round Table Conference because its leadership had carried out the threat of non-cooperation. As a result, its leaders were put in jail. Iqbal was not invited to the first Round Table, but Mian Muhammad Shafi and Jinnah were among the leaders invited. Prior to his arrival in London, Jinnah had come to the conclusion that he was neither being understood by Congress leaders nor being listened to by his own Muslim community and as such he bade farewell to Indian politics and settled in London.

While the Muslim leaders, including Iqbal, had not accepted Jinnah's compromise with the congressional leaders, there was no other Muslim leader in India who could fill the void left by him either. In the meantime, the leaderless Indian Muslims were caught unprepared and could not take full advantage of the new possibilities open to them under the Act of 1935. Various Muslim leaders appealed to Jinnah to return to India and lead the disorganized Muslims who had no notion of how to survive in a democracy where a majority was Hindu. During his visits to London, Iqbal maintained contacts with Jinnah and, though he disagreed with Jinnah's approach to the communal problem, he began to appreciate his political skills. Beginning in 1932 and through to his death, Iqbal worked tirelessly to convert Jinnah to the ideology of separatism.

In the cold and damp climate of London, Jinnah was slowly coming to

the conclusion that if he were to succeed, he must adopt new political methodologies. The constitutional approach, though dear to him, perhaps had to be abandoned to some degree in order to win over the Muslim masses. Jinnah, in fact, was caught up with Gandhi's visionary perceptions and finally came to realize that the twentieth century had ushered in a new era in which the supremacy belonged to the masses. Without the Muslim masses Jinnah could accomplish nothing and without the organization he could not have the mass following.

Jinnah had to find an issue which could fire the imagination of Indian Muslims and make him the undisputed leader of all Muslims of the subcontinent. He decided to return to India and take charge of the weak and disorganized League. When Jinnah returned from London (in January 1935) to take over the leadership of the Muslim League, the leadership of the Congress did not pay much attention to him. In fact, it has been said:

Jinnah tried his level best to come into personal contact with Gandhiji for the purpose of settling Congress-League disputes. But Gandhiji and the Congress High Command did not think it worthwhile to cultivate Jinnah's goodwill.(5)

But Jinnah practically represented no one, had no backing in the two Muslim majority provinces, had been almost abandoned by the Punjab Muslim League and, as such, the Congress leadership saw no point in dealing with Jinnah. As a matter of fact, in 1937, no one could have imagined that Jinnah, who had been shunned by Congress leaders and abandoned by his own community leaders, would become the first Governor General of a separate Muslim State in India.

(5)S.K. Majumdar, Jinnah and Gandhi: Their Role in India's Quest for Freedom (Lahore: People's Publishing House, 1976), p. 159.

When did he change his political stand and convert from being a unitarian to a separatist, and how did this man, who had even opposed the idea of separate electorates, become the champion of a separate Muslim state? In India, personalities have always played a much larger role in politics than ideas. While Gandhi had come to symbolize Hindu nationalism from 1919 onwards, Jinnah had failed to capture the imagination of either the Muslim elites or the Muslim masses. During the five phases of the Indian Muslims' political struggle, prior to the emergence of Pakistan, Jinnah had been able to significantly influence only the second phase. During the second phase, from 1913 to 1919, the Muslims had practically ended the policy of loyalty to the British and, under the leadership of Jinnah, had moved closer to the Hindus to advance the national cause. It was during this phase that Jinnah was hailed as the champion of Hindu-Muslim unity. The loyalists had become the most prominent leaders of the Indian Muslims from the post-mutiny days to the annulment of the partition of Bengal, which had taken place on December 19, 1912. Men like Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, the Aga Khan, the Aligarh men and Sayyid Ameer Ali had dominated the first phase. In the third phase, from 1919 to 1926, the leadership of Indian Muslims came into the hands of the agitationists--the Ali Brothers, Mawlana Azad and even the non-Muslim Gandhi. The fourth phase, the phase of political bewilderment and aimless wandering, began in 1926 and continued leaderless through early 1936, when Jinnah finally took charge after his return from England. Only in the fifth and final phase did Jinnah emerge as the undisputed leader of the Muslim League and thus the symbol of Muslim nationalism.

It had taken him almost 30 years to become the master of the

politics of the Muslims, while Gandhi had been able to achieve the same mastery over the politics of the Hindus in just under four years after his return from South Africa in 1915. Even when Jinnah had become the undisputed leader of the Indian Muslims, he never used his authority to undermine the programs of the Congress--specifically those which were directed against the British for hastening their departure from India--as long as they acknowledged him (they often did not) as the supreme leader of the Indian Muslims, and Congress spoke only on behalf of the Hindu majority. Though determined to revitalize the Muslim League, his speeches for the 1937 election still "stressed the need for an understanding between Congress and the League."(6)

Iqbal though in poor health, had continued his prodding of Jinnah, who on his return from London, had started a grand strategy of revitalizing the League on a national basis. At the same time, he continued his attempts to meet Gandhi for the purpose of settling Congress-League disputes. His offer 'to work as equal partners for the welfare of India' was ignored and Congress leaders did not take any notice of the offer of Jinnah. A slow drift toward the uncompromising stand of seeking a separate state for the Indian Muslims as Iqbal had been suggesting began to take place.

Jinnah, who had been elected again (in his absence) to the Central Legislature in 1934 by the Bombay Muslims during his absence from India criticized the 1935 Act because it contained provisions for a strong Center, but at the same time advised Muslims to accept the part pertaining to provincial autonomy. Congress, having rejected the Act, was split on the question of whether to accept office if victorious at

(6)Ibid., p. 161.

the polls or to reject the mandate to form ministries if by any chance it agreed to contest the elections. Jawaharlal Nehru (d. 1964), as President of the Indian National Congress in 1936, wanted to contest elections--but only to "undermine the Constitution."(7) To accept office in his opinion would be "tantamount to cooperating with British imperialism."(8) Nonetheless, Nehru and the Congress leadership finally agreed to contest the elections and accept office in 1937.

Jinnah continued his 'old policy' (which had forced his retirement and relocation to London) of trying to forge "Hindu-Muslim unity."(9) In the meantime, he was asked by the League leadership during the Bombay session held in April 1936 to organize the Muslims as a separate entity. This separate entity plan had been envisioned in the 1935 Act as a means of contesting elections to the Provincial Legislatures throughout India. Jinnah had less than a year to organize politically fragmented Muslims who had passed through a decade of terrible frustrations.

The Muslims had stubbornly refused to acknowledge the inevitable (introduction of a parliamentary system in India) and were thus ill-prepared to properly contest the forthcoming elections. Now that the system was here to stay, the Muslims were seeking a loose federation in which they feared 'tyranny' of the Hindu majority could effectively be blunted if not checked altogether. Jinnah was appointed to form a

7 B.R. Tomlinson, The Indian National Congress and the Raj, 1929-1942: the Penultimate Phase (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1976). p. 57. Nehru was the first prime minister of independent India, a socialist and one of the Founding Fathers of the Non-Aligned Movement.

8 Saleem M.M. Qureshi, Jinnah and the Making of a Nation (Karachi: Council for Pakistan Studies, 1969), p. 48.

(9)G. Allana, Quaid-i-Azam: the Story of A Nation (Lahore:Feroz sons Ltd., 1967), p. 247.

Central Election Board and given powers to constitute and affiliate provincial elections boards in various provinces. Rules and policy of the Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board were drafted under the careful scrutiny of Jinnah.

This was the first opportunity for him to organize the League nationally, and he wasted no time in setting up the board. He tried hard to win over various Muslim politicians in his attempt to affiliate provincial boards, but success was nowhere to be found since Jinnah was a novice when it came to provincial politics. Besides, he never had any great following in the Muslim majority provinces. There the landed gentry and the special interest groups, without any distinction of race or religion, had joined hands to protect their own interests. Iqbal had kept the flag of the Muslim League flying in Lahore and had kept Jinnah fully apprised about the provincial politics of his native Punjab. Jinnah travelled extensively throughout the country to promote the political manifesto of the League, but there was not enough time nor money to reorganize the League for contesting the fast-approaching elections. Throughout the election campaign, Jinnah showed no visible sign of conversion to separatism though some of his rhetorical pronouncements were becoming increasingly anti-unitarian.

Despite Jinnah's efforts, the League fared badly in the 1937 elections. Congress, with its socialist economic manifesto and secular ideology, succeeded in capturing a majority in Bihar, Madras, Orissa, the Central Provinces and the United Provinces. In Bombay and the North-West Frontier Province it was assured support by other pro-Congress groups. In Assam it had scored the second largest block of seats and only in the Muslim majority provinces of Bengal, Sindh and the Punjab

did it fail to show its strength. Congress won 716 of the 836 Hindu seats but only 26 out of the 482 Muslim seats.(10)

The Congress claim that it represented all of India was indeed a hollow one since it won only 26 Muslim seats, mainly in the North-West Frontier Province, Bihar and Madras. Congress failed utterly in the United Provinces, despite a strong organization, without winning even one Muslim seat, and likewise no Muslim was elected on the congressional ticket for a Muslim seat in Assam, Bengal, Bombay, the Central Provinces, Orissa, the Punjab and Sindh. This is not to suggest that the League did any better; indeed, it failed to win even one-fourth of the 482 seats reserved for Muslims. The League won 109 seats out of the 482, and, though unsuccessful in the Muslim majority province, it was the next best party in India. Jinnah was disappointed but politically far from finished since he had been at the helm of the League less than 12 months and the League itself had been leaderless for over a decade. Besides, unlike Congress, the League had neither the money nor the manpower since it lacked financial backing from the private sector.(11) However, the results of the 1937 general elections showed that neither Congress nor the League represented the Muslims.

Characteristically, Muslim politics remained provincial and fragmented, and both major parties had failed to arouse the Muslims

(10)The Indian Annual Register, January-June, 1937, Vol.1 The number of seats (total as well as the winning) shown on these pages may vary with some other publications. It is extremely difficult to establish a complete and accurate record of the results of the 1937 elections.

(11)While the financial position of the League was in the red, Congress was financially very well off since it had attracted a considerable sum of money from the private sector. On the average, some Rs.4,000 each were spent on every seat won. For details, see Tomlinson, The Indian National Congress and the Raj, 1929-1942, pp. 81-83.

politically. In Iqbal's home province, the Punjab Unionist Party (the party of Hindu, Sikh and Muslim landlords) continued to be the dominant political force. The Congress party and the League both were to double their efforts to win Muslims over to their respective political views, but these efforts were to contribute directly to the demand for a separate homeland for Muslims.

Congress formed ministries in the seven provinces including Bombay and the North-West Frontier Province without considering a coalition with the League. Congress had given tacit understanding to various Muslim leaders, especially in the United Provinces, that they would form a coalition government regardless of the election results. The enormous victories at the polls, however, made the Congress hierarchy rather unyielding and, instead of adopting a conciliatory political attitude toward the League, it decided to approach the Muslims over the heads of the League leaders. By eliminating the League, it thought it could become the sole political authority in India. The British would then have to deal with only one voice--that of the Indian National Congress, and India would thus get rid of all foreign elements and become truly free and independent.

This decision of the Congress High Command not only strengthened the communalists everywhere but also gave Jinnah the opportunity to criticize congressional governments in all seven provinces as anti-Muslim and pro-Hindu. The Congress outside the government was a political party seeking to fulfill national aspirations. But inside the government, it was viewed by Muslim elites as the party bent upon denying the political aspirations to all those who stood opposed to it. Jinnah sharpened his political attacks against Congress, while the

provincial Congress governments began the task of putting the pre-election promises into practice. At the same time, the Congress leadership began its campaign to win over the Muslim masses.

Nehru, the president of the Congress, had steadily increased his influence over Indian politics. He had won various political victories--with the help of Gandhi--against the 'old guard' and was a man of firm convictions. He was an anti-imperialist and a committed socialist, and a man deeply moved with the backwardness of his own Indian people. He genuinely believed that the problem of communalism was of less importance compared to the enormous task of bringing about economic reforms to uplift the standard of life for Indian peasants. Earlier, he had been impressed with the election campaign not because Congress was well organized but because he found in the country a 'wide-spread anti-imperialist spirit.' Besides, the election process had "made clear the class cleavage among the people."⁽¹²⁾ In general, religio-communal problems were treated by Nehru and other congressional leaders as secondary since Congress had not seriously considered any alternative to the cries of communalists.

Nehru thought of Jinnah as an elitist who offered nothing in terms of an alternative social or economic program and treated him practically as a non-entity, especially after the 1937 election results in which the League had fared rather poorly. Unlike Nehru, Jinnah was neither an internationalist nor a pan-socialist. He had no mass following like Gandhi and essentially remained an elite throughout his life. He

⁽¹²⁾B.R. Nanda, "Nehru, the Indian National Congress and the Partition of India, 1935-47," C.H. Philips and Mary Doreen Wainwright (ed.), The Partition of India: Policies and Perspectives, 1935-1947 (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1970), p. 152.

remained a calculating lawyer stubbornly pursuing a place for himself in the history of Indian independence. His aim was first to seek independence for India and then to attain proper political balance for Indian Muslims. In his opinion, the proper balance meant greater political power for Muslims than their numerical strength would allow them in a democratic system. He was not willing to lead the Muslims to an inferior position and in that sense was carrying on the burden of history as other Muslim leaders had done in the past.

Of course, he had to walk a political tightrope since, on the one hand, he insisted that the British leave India promptly and, on the other hand, he tried squeezing out maximum political advantages from Congress before the British quit India. He was convinced that in the absence of the British, the Congress leadership was not likely to acquiesce to the inflated demands of Muslims. Jinnah believed in his righteous cause and so did Nehru and the Congress leadership.

The decision of Congress to win over the Muslim masses and thus destroy the League, and its decision not to form coalition ministries--perfectly justified under normal parliamentary standards--put the League president on "the war path."⁽¹³⁾ The champion of the Hindu-Muslim cooperation elected to accept the Congress challenge openly and aggressively began his own campaign of mass contact with Muslims all over India.

In October 1937, Jinnah addressed the annual session of the All-India Muslim League and declared that, unless Muslims achieve equality in strength, there was no possibility of any settlement between the

(13)Richard-Symonds, The Making of Pakistan (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1949), p. 54.

majority and the Muslims. No Hindu leader with any authority showed any genuine desire for settlement, and besides, unless competing parties respected and feared each other, there could never be an honorable settlement among them:

Offers of peace by the weaker party always mean confession of weakness, and invitation to aggression. Appeals to patriotism, justice and fair-play and for goodwill fall flat. It does not require political wisdom to realize that all safeguards and settlements would be a scrap of paper unless they are backed up by power. Politics mean power and not relying only on cries of justice or fair-play or goodwill.(14)

He demanded that Muslims unite against the British and Congress. He wanted men with faith and resolution who would have courage and determination to fight singlehandedly for their convictions. The Muslims must organize themselves and develop power and strength through solidarity and the brotherhood of Islam. Congress attempts to liquidate the Muslim League were exploited by Jinnah who portrayed Congress actions as anti-Muslim thus helping to create further schism among Hindus and Muslims. He catalogued various actions of Congress as anti-Islamic and warned Indian Muslims not to be misled by Congress leaders who were trying to detach them from their accredited Muslim leaders. He asked Muslims to rally around one common platform and flag of the All-India Muslim League. Jinnah was indeed determined to show to the British and Congress hierarchy that, in spite of the 1937 election results, they could not ignore the League leadership. Above all, he was willing to go to any length to deny the establishment of Congress hegemony over the Muslims.

While Jinnah was positively drifting toward confrontation with the

(14)Historic Documents of the Muslim Freedom Movement, p. 225. For Jinnah's presidential address see pp. 221-230.

congressional leaders, he was also becoming increasingly popular with Muslim masses. Iqbal had advised Jinnah to shed off his elitism and to organize the League from bottom up. The poet was in extremely poor health during these years but had maintained his correspondence with Jinnah. He kept Jinnah fully informed about provincial politics and freely gave him advice on various issues. Jinnah, though, often ignored his advice in order to seek accommodation with the Unionist Punjabi leaders. In the final analysis, he had to do exactly as Iqbal's had demanded--that is, to reorganize the League from bottom up and then to seek a separate homeland for Indian Muslims.

Iqbal's letter, written to Jinnah on May 28, 1937, contained various suggestions which were almost totally incorporated into the resolutions passed at the 25th annual session of the All-India Muslim League in Lucknow in October 1937.(15) Iqbal had pressed Jinnah to demand one or more Muslim states, but nevertheless left it up to him to use his 'genius' to seek a way out for Muslims. Jinnah was in no hurry, but Iqbal wrote again telling him:

You are the only Muslim in India today to whom the community has a right to look up to for safe guidance through the storm which is coming to North-West India, and perhaps to the whole of India.(16)

To win Jinnah over to his separatist cause, Iqbal stressed on him the true nature of the Indian communal politics and stated that there were no such people as the moderate Hindus and that a united Hindu-Muslim nation was impossible in India. Besides, economic conditions of

(15)Ibid, See pp. 207-208 for Iqbal's letter to Jinnah written on May 28th, 1937; For resolutions of the League see pp. 230-234.

(16)Dar, Letters of Iqbal, p. 259. This letter was written to Jinnah on June 21st, 1937.

Indian Muslims have hopelessly deteriorated; but, the real cause of the near civil war--which in his opinion existed at the time--was neither religious nor economic but political, "a desire by the Sikhs and Hindus to intimidate Muslims." Under these circumstances, how can there be a united Hindu-Muslim nation? Therefore, "the only way to a peaceful India is a redistribution of the country on the lines of racial, religious and linguistic affinities."(17)

While Jinnah had not openly come out for a separate state for Muslims, his efforts to contain and indeed curb the mass contact movement of Congress were being appreciated by even the non-League Muslims who had formed ministries in the Muslim majority provinces, especially in the Punjab and Bengal. Both premiers of the Punjab and Bengal, for reasons of their own, did not wish to see the Congress' efforts succeed. In fact, both began slowly to align themselves with Jinnah and his League. They did so, not because they had become converts to the ideals of Jinnah, but simply to protect themselves against the unilateral approach of the Congress' leadership. Besides, Jinnah's rising popularity had practically forced them closer to the League since the Muslim masses had begun to give Jinnah an unprecedented acclaim to power.

From November 1937 through March 1940, Jinnah tried and maintained a proper political dialogue with various Hindu leaders, including Gandhi, Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose (d.1945), and Rajendra Prasad (d. 1963), but did not succeed in impressing them with his political views.(18) He demanded that they agree to grant the League the exclusive

(17)Ibid., pp. 259-260.

(18)Subhas Chandra Bose was a great nationalist. He was strongly anti-British and a leftist in his political views. He was the head of

status for representing the Muslims. However, Congress leaders insisted that secularism was an article of faith for them and, as such, they were unable to compromise on this issue. Jinnah's insistence on making the League sole representative of Indian Muslims was indicative of his stubbornness toward the Congress hierarchy which had been ignoring him in the post-election period.

He began to espouse the two-nation theory by highlighting the policies of Congress ministries as anti-Muslim. The Muslim masses were told that these policies had become increasingly chauvinistic ever since Congress had formed ministries and that Congress was "determined, absolutely determined, to crush all other communities and cultures in this country and establish Hindu-raj." (19) Jinnah warned the Muslims that Hindu revivalism can take place only at their expense. The deeds of Congress ministries were harbingers of things to come. As soon as the British quit India, the Muslims would certainly be left at the mercy of the tyrannical Hindu majority. The only alternative left for the proud Muslims was to regroup and join the League. As a matter of fact, the League was the only organization committed to defend the Muslims' honor and dignity. In short, Jinnah's propaganda brought further deterioration to the communal relations, but the increasing schism also enhanced his political stature among the Muslims. It seems as though Jinnah had finally found an issue (the cause of the Separatists) which could make

the Indian National Army--created by the Japanese from captured British Indian soldiers--and had been president of the Congress prior to his escape from India. Rajendra Prasad was the first president of post independent India and a long term member of the Congress.

(19)Historic Documents of the Muslim Freedom Movement, p. 247. Jinnah's Presidential Address at the annual session of the All-India Muslim League, Patna, 26 December, 1938.

him the undisputed leader of the Indian Muslims.

Jinnah and the League in turn began a campaign to arouse Muslims against congressional rule, and succeeded in uniting them under the banner of the League. Of course, the Muslim masses did not understand the political and economic reforms proposed by Congress ministries under the able guidance of the socialists, including Jawaharlal Nehru, and Jinnah had issued no economic manifesto to challenge Congress programs. The Muslim ruling classes in the Punjab and Bengal, for reasons of their own self-interest, did not want such reforms introduced in their provinces. Jinnah and the League leadership simply appealed to the Muslim fear of a Hindu majority by replaying the old grievances against the Hindus. The difference was that the British were no longer the front-line administrators, and the Hindu administration, for the first time, was on the receiving end. The old song--the Congress national anthem--Bande Mataram (Worship of Mother; Mother India) was touching afresh sensibilities of the Muslim who had only recently and grudgingly begun acceptance of the idea of the majority rule.(20) It was one thing to sing the song when Congress was attempting to dislodge the British from India but quite another when it represented a government, thus giving partiality to Hindu nationalism.

In his address to the annual session of the All-India Muslim League on December 26, 1938, at Patna, Jinnah cited various objections against Congress ministries, including singing of the Bande Mataram in public

(20)The song--Bande Mataram--had appeared in a political novel Anandamath (Joyful Abode) by Bankim-Chandra Chatterjee (d. 1894) who belonged to an orthodox Bengali Brahman family. Chatterjee was "a Hindu rather than an Indian in his outlook and often showed an anti-Muslim attitude." see, Bankim-Chandra Chatterjee, Krishnakanta's Will, trans. from Bengali by J.C. Gosh (New York: A New Directions Paperback, 1962), xii.

schools in front of Muslim children, the hoisting of the Congress flag on government and public buildings, the promoting of Hindi over the Urdu language and "forcing the Wardha Scheme" (so named after Wardha where the All-India National Education Conference had been held) "on Muslim children."(21) The Wardha scheme for elementary education associated book learning with craft learning, with an emphasis on spinning. Hindi textbooks glorified Hindu heroes and Gandhian philosophy of nonviolence was made part of this early education. The scheme was perceived by Muslims as calculated to destroy Muslim culture and secure domination of Hindu culture since it had incorporated practically all the political creed of Congress and Gandhi. Jinnah was positively edging toward the separatists' philosophy when he declared, "I say the Muslims and the Muslim League have only one ally and that ally is the Muslim nation, and one and only one to whom they look for help is God."(22)

While Europe was definitely drifting toward war, India was surely plunging into a sea of troubles, and despite her sacrifices for others, she was to come out as a loser--not because of others but because her own leaders could not overcome difficulties regarding the central issue of communal representation. She got freedom but lost unity. She succeeded in expelling the external enemy but could not subdue her enemies from within.

Jinnah and the League still might not have succeeded in bringing

(21)Historic Documents of the Muslim Freedom Movement, p. 247.

(22)Ibid., p. 252. Jinnah was beginning to use the term 'nation' for Indian Muslims. From post elections (1937 through March 1940), he developed his two-nation theory, and Congress hierarchy unfortunately either did not understand Jinnah's commitment to his cause or failed to properly perceive his threat of singlemindedness and his developing hold on the Muslim masses in India.

down Congress ministries had it not been for the declaration of war by the United Kingdom. England declared war on Germany on September 3, 1939, and Lord Linlithgow (d. 1952), who had been the Viceroy of India since 1936, likewise announced that India too was at war with Germany. He made the announcement without consultation with the congressional leadership; nevertheless, Gandhi and Nehru both showed sympathies on the side of democracy. However, within six weeks, at the behest of the Congress High Command, Congress ministries resigned because they had not been consulted when India had become a belligerent against Germany. By late November 1939, Congress hierarchy not only reaffirmed its old policy of noncooperation but also refused to assist in the war effort unless India was declared independent forthwith.

Apparently, the congressional leadership thought this to be the golden opportunity to force the British hand, but it had obviously miscalculated since Jinnah and his League wanted no part of this new strategy. The British themselves seemed to have suddenly rediscovered Jinnah, who had been indeed making some headway in his quest for supremacy as the leader of Indian Muslims. The British wanted the support of the Indian Muslims in the war effort and valued the Punjab (a Muslim majority province and the major army recruiting area) more than the congressional politicians or workers. The League became not only a useful counterweight to Congress but also an important tool for the war effort. In order to seek cooperation of Jinnah and his League, the British suspended the federation scheme and practically all other constitutional advances pending the outcome of the war. Jinnah himself acknowledged this British tilt:

For it will be remembered that up to the time of the declaration of war, the Viceroy never thought of me but

of Gandhi and Gandhi alone. I have been the leader of an important party in the Legislature for a considerable time, larger than the one I have the honor to lead at present, the present Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature. Yet, the Viceroy never thought of me. Therefore, when I got this invitation from the Viceroy along with Mr. Gandhi, I wondered within myself why I was so suddenly promoted and then I concluded that the answer was the 'All-India Muslim League' whose President I happen to be....(23)

Jinnah and the League leadership, through various reports commissioned and produced by the league's propaganda machine, had already succeeded in portraying the actions of Congress ministries as anti-Muslim and exclusively pro-Hindu. Communal nationalism had begun to take hold among the Muslim masses thanks to Jinnah and his anti-Congress, anti-Hindu political rhetoric. Jinnah was steadily moving closer to Iqbal's concept of separatism. In the meantime, other pragmatic Muslim leaders who were ruling the Muslim majority provinces began flirting with Jinnah, and his hold on the Muslim masses continued to become stronger.

When Jinnah was defining his two-nation theory, Gandhi was still caught up in his Hindu philosophy of finding 'unity out of prevailing diversity.' Even at this stage, when Jinnah was at the brink of joining the separatists, he was not accorded proper respect as the president of the Muslim League. Increasingly, he began to use religious symbolism to accomplish his political goals, but the secular-minded Congress leaders still paid no heed to Jinnah. When Jinnah asked Muslims and other minorities to celebrate December 22 as a 'Day of Deliverance' on the fall of 'tyrannical and oppressive' Hindu ministries, Gandhi wrote to

(23) Historic Documents of the Muslim Freedom Movement, p. 372. This acknowledgement came in his Presidential Address to the Annual Session of The League at Lahore, on March 22, 1940.

Jinnah (on January 16, 1940) noting that several anti-Congress Hindus and other minorities had joined Muslims in celebrating the day. Gandhi was still of the opinion that the character of Jinnah's politics had remained as broad-based and anti-communal as it has been during the early years. But, Jinnah promptly replied on January 21 denying that he had abandoned his communalism:

It was partly a case of 'adversity bringing strange bedfellows together' and partly because common interest may lead Muslims and minorities to combine. I have no illusions in the matter, and let me say again that India is not a nation, nor a country. It is a sub-continent composed of nationalities, Hindus and Muslims being the two major nations. Today you deny that religion can be a main factor in determining a nation, but you yourself, when asked what your motive in life was, 'the thing that leads us to do what we do,' ...said: 'Purely religious!...' (24)

By early 1940, Jinnah began openly to delineate his two-nation theory. In the process, he not only became a great leader of Indian Muslims but also an absolute ruler of the All-India Muslim League. Gone were the days when he sought Hindu-Muslim unity; he was now defining his theory of Muslim nationalism in terms of a separate state. He declared that Indian Muslims were "a nation according to any definition of a nation and they must have their homeland, their territory and their state." (25) He made this famous speech on March 22, 1940, and the Twenty-seventh Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League very next day resolved that:

...no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz., that

(24) M. K. Gandhi, Communal Unity (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1949), pp. 211-216. See Gandhi's letter and Jinnah's reply on these pages.

(25) Historic Documents of the Muslim Freedom Movement, p. 381.

geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial adjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority should be grouped to constitute 'independent states' in which the constituent units should be autonomous and sovereign.(26)

The resolution known as the 'Pakistan Resolution' was moved by the Bengal Premier, Fazl al-Haq, who himself was no lover of the League or its President. Jinnah who had acquired the title of an 'Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity' was now being called as the political vivisector.

Iqbal, who had repeatedly asked Jinnah to demand a separate state, was apparently not forgotten by the president of the League since he was reported to have remarked to a delegate attending this famous Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League at Lahore that had Iqbal (d. April 21, 1938) been with us today he would have been "happy to know that we did exactly what he wanted us to do."(27)

The significance of the Pakistan Resolution was that Jinnah had finally given up hopes of a united India. He had at last succeeded in organizing the Indian Muslims, and Muslim nationalism had taken its natural course in competition against Hindu nationalism. Congress leadership had not only failed to curb Jinnah's rise to power but conversely had failed to accommodate his political views, and through its Muslim mass-contact movement, had failed to win over the Muslims to the secular ideology of the All-India Congress Party. The Lahore Resolution was an acknowledgement of Jinnah that the Iqbal's demand for a separate Muslim state was indeed a plausible one and that Iqbal was right in suggesting that the road to political success was through the

(26)Ibid., p. 382.

(27)Bolitho, Jinnah..., p. 129.

concept of separatism and through the reorganized Muslim League. The old philosophy of the Hindu-Muslim unity, which Jinnah had aspired throughout his political life, was probably a worn out political concept.

2. Emergence of Pakistan

The idea of an Islamic state composed of the Muslim majority areas, was by no means a complete novelty since numerous Muslim scholars and politicians had been offering "various schemes as early as 1923." (28) Two Muslim voices, however, had called out for a separate Muslim homeland--or homelands--more clearly than others. Iqbal had advanced his views in his presidential address at the Annual Session of the League at Allahabad in 1930, while Chaudhary Rahmat Ali (d. 1951) had expressed his views, in a pamphlet Now or Never, in January 1933. (29)

Chaudhary Rahmat Ali claimed that the Muslim majority areas of the west and northwest already constitute a nation by reason of the distinct Muslim culture and the possession of these territories. In addition, he used the Wilsonian doctrine of self-determination for justifying an independent state for the Muslims. It was Chaudhary Rahmat Ali who had coined the word 'PAKISTAN' (literally meaning Land of the Pure in Urdu

(28) Khalid B. Sayeed, Pakistan: The formative Phase, 1857-1948 (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 108-115; Sir Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, Evolution of Pakistan (Lahore: The Punjab Educational Press for The All-Pakistan Legal Decisions, 1963). This book contains a complete list of various partition schemes; Hardy, The Muslims of British India, pp. 231-232; Saleem M.M. Qureshi, Jinnah and the Making of a Nation, pp. 60-65.

(29) Chaudhary Rahmat Ali--a Punjabi by birth--had obtained his M.A. from Cambridge and his law degree from Dublin. He was the founder of the Pakistan National Movement in 1933. See his Now or Never pamphlet, issued on January 28, 1933 in Pirzada, Evolution of Pakistan, pp. 263-269; for Iqbal's views see Sherwani, Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal, pp. 9-11.

and Persian) "by taking P from the Punjab, A from Afghanistan (North-West Frontier Province), K from Kashmir, i used as the Persian/Urdu short vowel (/) which is placed under a letter, S for Sindh and TAN from Baluchistan."(30) The Pakistan scheme of Chaudhary Rahmat Ali was considered by many responsible Muslim politicians as 'only a student's scheme' and nothing but 'a chimerical and impracticable scheme.'(31)

However, Sir Abdullah Haroon (d. 1942) had used the Muslim League platform in October 1938 to advance his partition scheme proposing two federations, one for Muslims and the other for non-Muslims. In fact, he had moved this resolution at the Sindh Muslim League Conference, held at Karachi under the presidency of none other than Jinnah himself.(32) Even the pro-British Premier of the Punjab, Sir Sikander Hayat Khan (d. 1942), had proposed an "All-India Federation on a regional basis into some seven 'Zones' and a weak Center."(33) Nonetheless, until the Lahore Resolution, the bulk of the Indian Muslims had continued to assume that India must remain united.

The war in Europe and the resultant political schism between the congressional leadership and the British proved to be the decisive factor since it had improved the political stature of Jinnah beyond the expectations of all democratic standards. Jinnah had used his newly found political leverage to extract the maximum benefit while Congress leaders had left the political field to him through their politics of

(30)Pirzada, Evolution of Pakistan, pp. 23-33. See complete 'Etymology of Pakistan' on these pages.

(31)Ibid., pp. 135-136.

(32)Ibid., p. 151. Sir Abdullah Haroon was a great businessman and a prominent Muslim politician.

(33)Ibid., pp. 175-181.

negativism. While the Congress hierarchy was in jail, Jinnah was hard at work to give a concrete shape to his two-nation theory.

The Congress leadership bitterly denounced the Pakistan Resolution and condemned Jinnah and the League for it. Jinnah's two-nation theory seemed to have infuriated the Hindu Press, but the press and the Congress leadership seriously underestimated his commitment to his new cause and offered no alternative to dislodge him from his new political course. It has been said that even at this stage, Jinnah could have been won over since "...all that Jinnah and the League wanted at this time was a constitution which guaranteed the rights of self-determination for the Muslims in the Muslim majority areas while retaining the fundamental unity of India."(34)

The British government, under the exigencies of war, made some serious moves to win over Congress and the League leaders by announcing its readiness to authorize the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council, but no progress was made due to widely divergent views held by Congress leaders and Jinnah. Jinnah wanted only the League's representatives to represent the Muslims, while Congress demanded that it be recognized as the only representative of India.

The British government, on August 8, 1940, offered Dominion Status to India after the war on the basis of a constitution drafted and framed by the Indians themselves. However, minorities must be given full weight in any constitutional revision since the British could not contemplate transfer of 'responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life.' This British

(34)Majumdar, Jinnah and Gandhi..., p. 185.

offer, known as the August Offer, was a positive step forward since primary responsibility for framing the new constitution was to be left in Indian hands, unlike the Act of 1935 where the responsibility throughout had rested with the British Parliament. The British had substantially met the Congress demand for a constitutional assembly, but the declaration of obligations to minorities was not to the liking of Congress leaders.

The Muslim League, though happy that no new constitution would be adopted without the consent of the minorities, refused to participate in the Executive Council unless Muslims were equally represented with Hindus. Jinnah was no longer representing a community which amounted to less than a quarter of the population but was demanding equality on the basis of the Muslim nation. He was positively laying the groundwork--even during the interim period--for an ultimate settlement with Congress leaders on the basis of Pakistan.

Congress rejected the August Offer and soon afterwards launched a civil disobedience campaign. Jinnah, on the other hand, kept the League away from all such actions which might prejudice his political ascendancy. From the British point of view, every negative action of the Congress leadership was matched by a positive response from Jinnah and his League. Nevertheless, both major political parties refused to cooperate with the British.

On December 7, 1941, Japan attacked Pearl Harbor, and within 48 hours occupied Shanghai and Siam; the Japanese forces landed in Malaya, and the sinking of the two British battleships, H.M.S. Repulse and H.M.S. Prince of Wales, brought the war to India's doorstep. While the British were facing the greatest peril on both fronts (European as well

as Asian) the Congress leadership, in late December 1941, was passing the resolution openly comparing the British rule with fascism and moving one step closer to rebellion, "...nor can a subject India offer voluntary or willing help to an arrogant imperialism which is indistinguishable from Fascist authoritarianism."(35)

In short, if India was given independence forthwith, Congress would ignore the Gandhian nonviolence doctrine and help the British to defend the empire. Gandhi, however, continued to offer his nonviolence doctrine "not only to his native country but also to all nations."(36) Gandhi actually believed that 'Nazism' and 'Fascism' could indeed be combated through the doctrine of nonviolence. But Churchill, who had become Prime Minister in May 1940, and a host of other Indian leaders did not believe that nonviolence could deter the new forces of aggression.

In March 1942, after the August Offer was rejected by both Congress and the League leaders, the British tried once again to break the deadlock by sending an eminent statesman, Sir Richard Stafford Cripps (d. 1952), to India. Sir Stafford belonged to the British Labour Party and had been the British ambassador to Moscow; at the time he was in Churchill's war cabinet. The Cripps Offer, as it became known, was the farthest the British statesman had ever gone in meeting the demands of various Indian politicians in respect to independence. The Executive Council was to be entrusted to Indians; a new Indian Union with full Dominion status was to emerge at the end of the war and it would have the right of secession from the Commonwealth; an elected constitution-making body was to draft this constitution at the end of the war; and

(35)Menon, The Transfer of Power in India, p. 113.

(36)Lumby, The Transfer of Power in India, p. 30

finally, the British government was to accept and implement the constitution so framed by Indians themselves. Indeed, the Cripps Offer was a real constitutional advance for India even though it was offered to seek full participation of the Indian leaders in the war effort. It was virtually the declaration of independence which Congress leaders had been demanding and, at the same time, a recognition of the strength of the Pakistan Resolution which the League leadership had been vigorously espousing.

But the Congress leadership was not willing to wait for the 'uncertain future', especially at a time when the British were not doing well in the war. The leadership believed that independence could be snatched from British hands only if Jinnah and his League would cooperate. Indeed, it was a golden opportunity to throw the British out of India and only a coward politician would cooperate with the imperialists. Jinnah, on the other hand believed that the British ouster, at the time, would be injurious to the general interests of the Indian Muslims. He would prefer proper constitutional safeguards for minorities prior to the British departure. Also, he was of the opinion that this was no time 'to stab the British in the back.'

Jinnah felt that this was the most opportune time for him and the League to propagate the Pakistan Resolution, since the Congress leadership was determined not to cooperate with the British. For him it meant an opportunity to promote the cause of separatism and to develop an appropriate entente for it with the British leaders. Congress leaders rejected the Cripps Offer because the principle that Provinces and States could be free not to join the Union was not acceptable to them. Furthermore, they demanded that the new Executive Council must function

as a Cabinet with full powers, and the Viceroy should act merely as a constitutional head. The British were unable to meet this demand, and especially not during the war when the very existence of the British nation was in jeopardy. The League leaders, though happy that the right of non-accession had been recognized by the British, also rejected the offer because it did not go far enough in recognizing the necessity of creating more than one union. The British government, as a result, decided not to go any further and waited for Indian leaders to make the next move.

The Congress leadership was furious with the British since it had thought that the British would have no alternative but to accede to the demands of Congress leaders. They thought that the British, due to their precarious political position in the war-torn world, were in no position to antagonize Congress leaders and would have to yield to the natives' demand sooner rather than later.

The most important man in India--Gandhi--had been preaching his alternative of nonviolence, and now demanded that the British "Leave India to God. If that is too much, then leave her to anarchy."⁽³⁷⁾ He was neither worried about the Japanese nor concerned about the communal civil war. All he wanted was to get the British out of India since he was fully convinced that Japan would have no reason to attack India if the British left India. Furthermore, he believed that once the British were gone, Indians themselves would be able to solve all their problems. Talking about Hindus and Muslims he said, "So far as I can see, the two communities are unable to think or see things in their proper

⁽³⁷⁾The Harijan, May 24, 1942. This paper was the official mouthpiece of Mahatma Gandhi.

perspective so long as they are under the influence of the third Power."(38)

On August 8, 1942, the All-India Congress Committee openly asked the countrymen for a 'non-violent rebellion' by passing the famous 'Quit India' resolution. The resolution demanded an immediate end to British rule, and failing that, authorized the starting of a nonviolent mass movement under the leadership of Gandhi. Within 48 hours, Gandhi and Congress leaders were arrested and the resultant political disorders were firmly and promptly quelled. Gandhi stayed in jail through May 1944 while the other leaders were released a year later in June 1945.

In the meantime, Jinnah condemned the 'Quit India' resolution, and had his All-India Muslim League Working Committee pass a resolution strongly stating that:

It is the considered opinion of the Working Committee that this movement is directed not only to coerce the British government into handing over power to a Hindu oligarchy and thus disabling them from carrying out their moral obligation and pledges given to the Muslims and other sections of the people of India from time to time but also to force the Muslims to submit and surrender to Congress terms and dictation. Ever since the beginning of the war and even prior to that, the sole objective of Congress policy has been either to cajole or to coerce the British Government into surrendering power to the Congress--a Hindu body with a microscopic following of other communities--in utter suppression of one hundred millions of Muslims, besides millions of other peoples of this vast sub-continent of India. While claiming the right of self-determination for "India", which is mere Congress euphemism for a Hindu majority, it has persistently opposed the right of self-determination for the Muslim nation to decide and determine their own destiny.(39)

(38)Ibid., May 31, 1942.

(39)Historic Documents of the Muslim Freedom Movement, p. 430. The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League passed this resolution on the "Quit India" Movement at Bombay between August 16 and 20, 1942.

Ever since 1937, when Congress ministries were formed, Jinnah had been fully alert to take advantage of every situation created by the Congress leaders, but never had such opportunity presented itself as had the Gandhian-led Congress High Command's decision to force the British hand by civil disobedience during a major war. Jinnah had the whole field to himself, and while Congress leaders were in jail, he went on the offensive in promoting his Pakistan scheme.

Jinnah not only became a symbol of Muslim nationalism but the importance of his political stature was also acknowledged by various British officials. The British were prosecuting the war successfully, and thanks to the support of Muslims, Jinnah was able to extract a tacit understanding from British officials that the Muslim majority provinces would not be forced to stay in the Union provided the Muslims expressed their common will to definitely stay out of the union. In conclusion, while Gandhi and his followers were in jail, Jinnah was slowly but surely succeeding in promoting his idea of Pakistan, and instead of the 'Quit India' resolution, he was gently telling the British that they must first 'divide' and only then 'quit' India.

The legitimacy of Jinnah's political ideology was further enhanced when Gandhi, in September 1944, agreed to meet and discuss the question of separatism with Jinnah.⁽⁴⁰⁾ On September 24, Gandhi showed his willingness to 'recommend to Congress and the country the acceptance of the claim for separation contained in the Muslim League Resolution of

(40)The man responsible for bringing Gandhi around to the idea of accepting Jinnah's ideology of separatism was Rajagopalachari who was a top Congress leader and the Premier of Madras until the resignation of the Congress Ministries. Earlier, when he had first suggested that the concept of Muslim separatism ought to be considered by the Congress hierarchy, the Congress High Command threatened to expel him but he himself resigned his membership in the Congress.

1940,' provided that certain conditions were met by those who sought a separate Muslim state in India. Jinnah would not accept conditions which would deny him his Pakistan. He was especially incensed at Gandhi's suggestion that even if the inhabitants of the Muslim majority areas did express their willingness to form a separate state now, "it shall be agreed that these areas shall form a separate state as soon as possible after India is free from foreign domination...".(41) Jinnah was convinced that once the British quit India the leaders of the Indian National Congress would surely stifle his Pakistan scheme.(42) Thus, even though the Gandhi-Jinnah talks had failed, Jinnah came out as a winner since it was an open admission on the part of Gandhi that Congress alone did not represent all of India and that the League indeed spoke for the Muslims.

The Cripps Offer was once again renewed, and Viceroy Lord Wavell (d. 1950), who had replaced Lord Linlithgow as Viceroy in October 1943, took the initiative by inviting Indian leaders for a conference to be held at Simla. The conference met on June 25, 1945, in Simla, and the Congress leaders who had rejected the same offer three years earlier were now willing to accept it in the hope of avoiding partition. Jinnah, on the other hand, now refused to yield since he wanted nothing short of partition. When the Viceroy proposed an interim government composed of the nominees of the major political parties and sought a list of the nominees, Jinnah firmly declined to do so unless he was assured by the Viceroy that all the Muslims on the Viceroy's Executive Council would be League nominees. Jinnah wanted the British, the Congress leadership and

(41)Bolitho, Jinnah..., p. 150.

(42)Ibid., pp. 148-152.

all other parties to acknowledge that the League alone represented Indian Muslims. He had been unable to bring into the League's fold the Premier of the Punjab who was also the leader of the Unionist Party. Jinnah's refusal to give even an inch on the question of who represented the Muslims might have had something to do with the attempt of the Muslim Premier of the Punjab to influence the Muslim nominees for the proposed interim government. How can Pakistan be a reality if the Muslim premier of a Muslim majority province refuses to acknowledge the authority of the League president? Therefore, Jinnah's insistence that all Muslims of the Viceroy's Executive Council be nominees of the League alone caused the Simla Conference finally to break down.(43)

In July 1945, the Labour Party returned to power in England and hastened the pace of independence since numerous members in Parliament were sympathetic to the Indian cause. The Socialists under the able leadership of Clement Attlee (d. 1967) decided to hold general elections in India in January 1946. Unlike the results of the 1937 election, the 1946 election results proved that, indeed, the voters were either for the Congress Party or for the League since Congress won all the elective seats in the Central Assembly except those reserved for Muslims and others, while the League won every seat reserved for Muslims. Congress won 930 seats, up 226 seats from the elections of 1936/37 in the Provincial Assemblies gaining an absolute majority in eight provinces, while the League won 428 of the 492 reserved Muslim seats in the Provincial Assemblies, up 319 seats from the elections of 1936/37.(44)

(43)The Times, London, July 16, 1945. According to Times the Simla Conference broke down because Jinnah had refused to make a political compromise.

(44)Lumby. the Transfer of Power in India, p. 69.

While Congress ministries were formed in eight provinces, including two of the provinces claimed for Pakistan--Assam and the North-West Frontier Province, the League was able to form ministries in only two provinces--Bengal and Sindh--which she had claimed for Pakistan. The Punjab (the heart of Pakistan) was to be ruled by the Unionist Party with a coalition of Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims. The League had difficulty ruling Sindh and had to seek a fresh election in December 1946 when it was able to gain a majority over other parties. Baluchistan, the sixth Province claimed by Pakistan, was administered by the British through a Chief Commissioner and it was also partly a princely state. Even though the League was successful in the elections, it could not form ministries in all those Provinces which were to form Pakistan. Its difficulties sprang from the fact that in the Communal Award, minorities were given representation in the Provincial population. For example, although 55 percent of the population of Bengal was Muslim yet only 48 percent of the seats were reserved for Muslims in the Bengal Legislative Assembly. Now that the elections had been held, the British were eager to withdraw from India if only Indians would become responsible in governing themselves!

On February 19, 1946, the British government announced in both Houses of Parliament that a special Mission of Cabinet Ministers would be sent to India seeking an agreement, in association with the Viceroy, with all Indian leaders on the principles and procedure relating to the constitutional issue. The members of the mission, otherwise known as the Cabinet Mission, were Lord Pethick-Lawrence (d. 1961), the Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps, the President of the Board of Trade, and A.V. Alexander (d. 1965), who was the First Lord of the

Admiralty. The mission had no preconceived ideas, and its task was simply to help the Viceroy in bringing about a constitution-making body comprising Indians themselves and, at the same time, help establish an interim Executive Council with the support of the major political parties in India.

On March 15, 1946, the Prime Minister reaffirmed the British position that India would be free to stay or leave the British Commonwealth after the British withdrawal. The Congress leadership gave a positive response to the mission, but the League saw nothing new in the British pronouncements since no recognition was forthcoming as far as the Pakistan scheme was concerned. Nevertheless, Congress and the League leaders met the Cabinet Mission at Simla on May 5, 1946. Once again, the Conference ended without achieving anything and on May 16, the Cabinet Mission announced its own plan: a Central Constituent Assembly was to be formed on the basis of one member for each million of the population. It would frame the new Constitution for the 'Union of India.' Muslim interests were to be safeguarded through a new system of 'grouping' of the provinces in British India.

Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, Bihar, the Central Provinces and Orissa would form the Hindu-majority Group A. The Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province and Sindh would form the Western Muslim-majority Group B. Bengal and Assam would form the Eastern Muslim-majority Group C. Each of these groups would decide both upon the constitution of each of its provinces and upon a constitution for the group as a whole. Through 'grouping', the League was given two semi-autonomous--Group B and C--Pakistans, with a weak center unable to encroach upon the powers of the groups. This constitutional arrangement

was linked with another proposal--the formation of an interim government--in which representatives of all major political parties in India were to participate.

On June 6, 1946, the Council of the Muslim League met in Delhi, and under Jinnah's direction, accepted the Cabinet Mission plan. Jinnah found the basis of his Pakistan in the compulsory grouping of the provinces. He found the plan to be substantive providing sufficient safeguards against interference by the center, which was to be confined to foreign affairs, defense and communications. Jinnah had duly "obtained an assurance from Lord Wavell that if the League accepted the plan and Congress subsequently rejected it, the League would, in terms of the statement of May 16, 1946, be brought into the new interim government."(45) Also, Jinnah wanted to keep the provincial boundaries undelimited so that he could ultimately win his 'unmutilated and untruncated' Pakistan. On June 25, 1946, Congress too gave a qualified consent to the Cabinet Mission plan. The elections for the Constituent Assembly were held in early July, and while the League won all but three of the 79 Muslim seats, Congress won 292 seats contested on the basis of one member for each million of the population. While the Congress High Command had given a qualified consent to the Cabinet Mission plan, it had at the same time refused to participate in an interim government.

Instead of honoring his pledge to Jinnah for asking the League to form an interim government, the Viceroy simply ignored his promise and formed a Caretaker Government of permanent officials. Jinnah had hardly recovered from the Viceroy's duplicity when Nehru, fresh from the new

(45)Hardy, The Muslims of British India, p. 248; Symonds, The Making of Pakistan, pp. 68-69.

victory at the Constituent Assembly polls, declared, "We are not bound by a single thing except that we have decided for the movement to go to the Constituent Assembly."(46) Nehru was no longer expressing his own opinion since he had now assumed the presidency of the Indian National Congress. In fact, he was suggesting that, contrary to the policy statement issued by the British government, he would use the Constituent Assembly--as a sovereign body--to modify the Cabinet Mission compromises. This statement by the Congress President came out at the most inopportune moment since British diplomacy had nearly succeeded in keeping India united. Jinnah was quick to react and vowed never to trust Congress again and even accused the Mission of having played into the hands of Congress. He openly expressed his fear that the Congress leadership was planning to use its steamroller majority in the Constituent Assembly to undo all which the League had obtained under the Cabinet Mission plan.

Jinnah felt that British and Congress leaders were unlikely to respond to the language of constitutional means. He told the Council of the Muslim League on July 27, 1946, that we must bid farewell to constitutional methods since "we have learned a bitter lesson--the bitterest, I think, so far. Now there is no room left for compromise. Let us march on."(47) And, he was not suggesting the constitutional method either. In fact, for the first time in his political career, he was preaching violence to achieve his political end. The League withdrew its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission plan and authorized 'Direct

(46)Menon, The Transfer of Power in India, p. 281

(47)Bolitho, Jinnah..., p. 165; Allana, Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah, p. 413.

Action' to force the cause of Pakistan. It chose August 16 as the 'Direct Action' day, the day Muslims all over India would receive explanation--from the League--as to why the decision to reverse the acceptance was made.

As soon as the League leadership decided to withdraw its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission plan, Congress leaders reversed themselves and informed the Viceroy that they would now join an interim government. The leaders of the Muslim League, on the other hand, warned that if Congress was put in power they would teach the British and the Congress leadership a "civic lesson through their violent noncooperation." (48) The 'Direct Action' day produced 'the Great Calcutta Killing' in which some 4,000 people were killed and over 10,000 injured. (49) In retaliation to this gruesome Muslim brutality, Hindus massacred some 5,000 Muslims in Bihar in October and November 1946. (50)

The reports of these massacres alarmed British politicians at Whitehall, and the top leaders of the League and Congress were summoned to London in early December. The trip produced no results, and the leaders returned to India to continue their political battles. Nehru, who had become the vice president in the interim government, had the whole political field to himself. The Viceroy had invited Congress leaders to form the interim government on August 24, 1946, since Jinnah had refused to participate in the Viceroy's Executive Council. Jinnah soon realized that he could not afford to stand by while Congress

(48)Menon, The Transfer of power in India, p. 294.

(49)Lumby, The Transfer of power in India, p. 117

(50)These official statistics (rather conservative) were given by Sir Stafford Cripps to the House of Commons on December 12, 1946.

leaders consolidated their power everywhere. By mid-October, the League leadership also joined the Interim Government.

In the meantime, the Constituent Assembly met at Delhi on December 9, 1946, without the Muslim League members, who had been instructed by Jinnah not to attend its proceedings. Nehru's sovereign body could accomplish little without the cooperation of Jinnah. The leader of the five ministers nominated by the League in the Interim Government was Jinnah's loyal lieutenant Liaquat Ali Khan (d. 1951) who headed the Ministry of Finance.(51) Liaquat Ali Khan rose to the occasion by refusing to be generous in giving out monies to the members of the Constituent Assembly. The League ministers in the Interim Government were doing their best to hinder the Congress' march towards independence with or without Jinnah's blessings. In addition, Jinnah was doing his best to make the Constituent Assembly a little less 'sovereign' by boycotting it. By February 1, 1947, Lord Wavell openly expressed his opinion to Nehru that without the League, the Constituent Assembly was "an empty show."(52) Seeing no progress, the prime minister announced in London on February 20th that His Majesty's government would transfer the power to 'responsible Indian hands' by a date not later than June 1948. Lord Mountbatten (d. 1979) would replace Lord Wavell as the next and the last Viceroy.

Lord Mountbatten arrived in India in March 1947 and immediately began dismantling the British political edifice, It was obvious that

(51)Liaquat Ali Khan was educated at Aligarh and Oxford. He was the chief aide to Jinnah during the struggle for Pakistan. He became the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, and was assassinated in 1951 at Rawalpindi.

(52)Allana, Quaid-I-Azam Jinnah..., p. 432.

the British were in a hurry to quit India since Mountbatten was eager to transfer power to the natives regardless of the consequences. Mountbatten quickly realized the gravity of the situation and came to the sober conclusion that in order to avert the fast-approaching civil war, India had to be divided. Prior to his final decision though, he tried for the last time by suggesting that India ought to be broken up into several units, and that the option should be given to successor states to unite with two or more sovereign states. Nehru called this scheme an invitation to the 'Balkanization of India' and strongly rejected it by calling it a British attempt to create many 'Ulsters' in India.(53) The Viceroy bowed to the ultimate political reality since his government had given him no choice but to quit India. On June 3, 1947, His Majesty's government made the final statement which contained the partition plan and the transfer of power to the dominions of India and Pakistan.

Once Mountbatten became convinced that India had to be divided, he quickly began consultation with various leaders but particularly with members of the Congress High Command. In order to obtain consent from the Congress hierarchy, the basic unity of some of the provinces claimed by Pakistan had to be sacrificed. Mountbatten produced his final plan in which the Muslim majority provinces--Bengal and the Punjab--were to be partitioned. Furthermore, in his plan, Assam was completely excluded from Pakistan. In short, Jinnah, who had termed this plan as the 'maimed, mutilated and moth-eaten' Pakistan, was given no alternative since Mountbatten and Congress leaders were using similar arguments in favor of excluding the non-Muslim areas from Pakistan.

(53)Menon, The Transfer of Power in India, p. 363.

They refused to agree to the League's claim for the whole of Sindh, Baluchistan, the Punjab, the North-West Frontier, Bengal and Assam since that would have resulted in the creation of a Muslim state containing some 48 percent of the non-Muslim population of East Pakistan and approximately 38 percent of the non-Muslim population of West Pakistan. Jinnah knew that, without the industrial area of West Bengal and the river head waters of the East Punjab, Pakistan indeed would be a 'moth-eaten' Muslim state. But the events were getting uglier by the day and he had fewer political cards in hand to play in the final political game.

Only in March 1947 was the League successful in bringing down the coalitionist government of the Unionists in the Punjab where the anti-Muslim riots by Sikhs and Hindus caused the government to impose the Governor's rule. It was impossible for the League to form a government there since it had only 79 of the 86 Muslim seats in an assembly of 175 seats. Besides, Jinnah also knew that the Muslim League Premier of Bengal H.S. Suhrawardi (d, 1964) "was putting out feelers to the provincial Hindu leaders for an independent and united Bengal..."(54) Besides, the Indian army was still undivided and Jinnah knew that the 'big' Pakistan could not be seized by force. It was either the 'truncated' Pakistan or the looming possibility of the Hindu-Raj. The tired and ailing statesman could not resist the mounting pressure from Lord Mountbatten who was in a desperate hurry to unload British responsibilities. If Jinnah was to see the birth of Pakistan in his lifetime than he had better accept the unwieldy Muslim state. On June 3,

(54)Hardy, The Muslims of British India, p. 252. Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardi was a great Bengali Muslim Leaguer who later became the Prime Minister of Pakistan.

1947, the aging Muslim leader reluctantly gave his consent to the Viceroy's last plan. On obtaining agreement from both Congress and the League leaders, the British Parliament wasted no time in passing the Indian Independence Act on July 18, 1947. As a result, British control was to come to a close permanently on August 15, 1947, when two independent dominions, India and Pakistan, would emerge to replace the British rule in the subcontinent.

It is true that socio-economic factors had played a very large role in the emergence of the Islamic state, but all in all it was the communal disharmony which alone had destroyed Indian unity. If Jinnah's doctrine of separatism was 'indefensible and illogical' then the Congress hierarchy's insistence on further division was likewise irrational, if not altogether brutal. The bitterness and hatred resulting from these provincial partitions had caused the deaths of over half a million people. In addition, there were millions more who were uprooted from the lands of their ancestors in the subsequent unplanned and uncontrolled population exchange. Indeed, the British could not be faulted for quitting India in haste since Indian leaders had agreed upon nothing else than ousting them from their country. Congress leadership had grossly underestimated the severe communal discord which had plagued modern day India. Granted that Iqbal had perhaps 'originally thought over the feasibility of carving out of India' an Islamic State and that Jinnah was the architect of Pakistan, who had helped build the Islamic State brick by brick? Indeed, the contribution of the Congress hierarchy (especially in underestimating the communal factor) in the development of Muslim separatism proved to be a decisive factor in the emergence of Pakistan. Perhaps this emergence was but a logical expression of the

nationalism of Indian Muslims. Or was it a triumph of communalism which gave legitimacy to the state?

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

Convergences and Divergences

At the time of Iqbal's birth in 1876, Indian Muslims had fallen on hard times; their fortunes had been steadily declining during the previous 100 years, but they were especially subjected to harsh treatment by the British in the post-mutiny period.

Though political wilderness had set in much earlier, the British revenge in the aftermath of the great revolt had completely confused the Muslims. Why had the British quickly forgiven the Hindus and made the Muslims pay for their participation in the mutiny, especially when both had vigorously prosecuted the revolt against the British? Utter helplessness during these years generated a sense of exclusiveness, which perhaps eventually gave first rise to a separate Muslim identity.

At the time of Iqbal's birth momentous political events were shaping the Muslim world; European imperialism was advancing against the world of Islam everywhere. While Sayyid Ahmad Khan was promoting goodwill and cooperation between the British and the Indian Muslims, Hindu elites were openly seeking their political rights from the British. Sayyid Ahmad Khan probably was the first important Muslim responsible for planting the seeds of Muslim exclusiveness though he was also wishing that "all the nations of India should live in peace and friendship with one another...."(1) He was perfectly rational in his

(1) Syed Ahmed Khan, The Present State of Indian Politics, p. 28. Sayyid Ahmad Khan gave this speech at Lucknow on Dec. 28, 1887, in the Baradari, Kaiser-Bagh. He called Muslims of India "his nation" and

political approach since he was absolutely convinced that a Hindu will cease to be a Hindu if he practiced democracy: "So long as Hindus remain in Hindustan you cannot succeed in extending the democratic ideas."(2)

Iqbal began his poetic career as a nationalist poet and stayed above sectarian politics during his early years. He was a strong opponent of communalists and his poetry dealt with all aspects of human life, ranging from nature and love to sorrow, hope and the most excellent of all creations, man. His poetry of love for his native India made him a popular figure throughout India, and his emergence as a nationalist poet helped the cause of those who felt low and humiliated under British rule.

Away from his own Punjabi conservative socio-intellectual setting, Iqbal discovered the vitality of Europe. In Cambridge, Iqbal came under the influence of John McTaggart and James Ward, who taught Western philosophy at Trinity College, Cambridge. Poetry seemed to have receded during these years, but larger philosophical questions had begun to challenge his intellectual faculties. His provincial, or more accurately nationalistic, sentiments came under the microscopic scrutiny of greater intellectual capabilities.

The German philosophers had the greatest influence on Iqbal, though it is obvious that all the European philosophers had some impact on the development of Iqbal's philosophical themes. Also, he was highly impressed by many European poets, including Milton, Shelley, Wordsworth and Dante.

Hindus and Muslims of India "two nations" see p. 31 and p. 37.

(2)Ibid, p. 46. In his view Muslims' political rights must be obtained or more precisely apportioned and not left to an untested democratic system.

While it was true that India was under the political rule of the British, the whole Muslim world was under the yoke of European political and economic imperialism. Prior to his arrival in England, Iqbal was not fully aware of the plight of the Muslim world. Since India was ruled by the British, the press in British India was not as free as it was in England. Though he still loved India, the agony of the subjugated East (particularly the Muslim East) became more painful than the sufferings of his native India.

Although excessively fascinated with the West, Iqbal's disillusionment with the West was even greater; he willingly acknowledged the material and technical progress of the West but vehemently condemned its moral and religious decay. Iqbal was aghast at the destructive power of the West. In his opinion, the West used science and technology simply as an instrument of destruction because all its actions lead to greed for power over the weak nations.

The West sermonizes democracy at home and practices political hegemony and imperialism abroad. The Western man is so preoccupied in gathering material goods that he has lost all moral fiber. Iqbal thought there was a symmetrical relationship between material progress and spiritual decline. He traced the origin of this spiritual decline directly to the introduction of secularism, which he believed led to the worship of a nation rather than the worship of the Ultimate Reality.

The European experience had aroused in Iqbal a new spirit of understanding about Islam. In fact, it would be fair to say that he discovered Islam only after leaving his native India. The key principles of Islam which impressed Iqbal most were the Unity of God, Prophecy,

Islamic Brotherhood, Islamic Equality and Islamic Freedom. He felt that Islam's great virtue lay in the absolute equality of all members of the Muslim community, and the absence of a priesthood and the caste system made Islam a truly universal religion. He thought the whole world could benefit from these principles.

In the meantime, the foundation of the political triangle was laid down and the seeds of communalism were planted in the guise of the All-India Muslim League in 1906. The League however, remained a feeble organization, though it consistently struggled to promote the idea of special representation or a separate electorate for the Indian Muslims. The founding fathers of the League had no vision of a separate Muslim state but neither could these elites come to terms with the idea of Hindu rule after the British had quit India.

The founding fathers of the Indian National Congress, though generally liberal in orientation, really did not comprehend the prevalent grass root communal feelings of the Indian masses. The Muslim elites likewise were out of touch with communal realities and they also lacked the true representative character of the Muslim masses. However, there were others, like Sayyid Ameer Ali (he had settled in England), who genuinely believed in special safeguards for gaining and protecting political rights for Indian Muslims. There is no record to show that Jinnah and Iqbal had played any part in seeking the separate electorates at the time of the annulment of the Bengal partition in 1911. Jinnah joined the League in 1913 without withdrawing from the National Congress where he had tirelessly promoted Hindu-Muslim unity.

The Indian Muslims ('ulema and elites alike) did not understand the politics of the Young Turks; they continued to be more Ottomans than the

Turks. The Khilafat movement, though unsuccessful and brutal, nonetheless succeeded in politically arousing Muslims who were at the forefront of political activism during this period.

Iqbal, who had remained preoccupied with his poetry after his return from Europe, entered practical politics only in 1926. Politically, Punjab politics was ultraconservative and represented the landed gentry. Iqbal had little to do with these squires, but since the Provincial Muslim League was only a paper organization, he had to enter the Council as a card-carrying member of the Unionist Party. As a maverick member though, Iqbal proved to be a thorn in the sides of the Unionists.

The poet's heart was with the downtrodden peasants; he persistently pleaded their case but, in practical terms, accomplished very little. He was not cut out to make political deals in the smoked-filled backrooms of the Punjab Council chamber. Besides, his Islamic utopia could not be tested in the company of these esquires (Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs), especially when he was not one of them. Nonetheless, this experience had a sobering influence on his utopian Islamic ideas.

Iqbal strongly opposed Jinnah's compromise on the separate electorates and it seems that Iqbal appeared to have a better grasp of the Hindu psychology. He warned Jinnah that, in order to fight the National Congress, he must remove the upper crust of elitism from the League and build a grass-roots machinery for the All-India Muslim League. However, there appeared to be no one in India in charge of Muslim politics in 1930, though it was at this time that Iqbal first made a serious proposal for a separate homeland for Muslims in India.

Soon, Iqbal found out that the only Muslim who possessed the true

moral conviction and political acumen to guide the Indian Muslims through the stormy days ahead was none other than Jinnah. Jinnah, who had accused Gandhi of bringing politics to the inexperienced and the illiterate, now reversed himself and decided to do exactly what Gandhi had done after his arrival from South Africa.

Indian Muslims feared that Hindu majority rule would be dangerous for them. The history of their dominance demanded they be wary of the expected Hindu rule. Unfortunately, the National Congress did not succeed in allaying their fears and, as such, it was imperative they obtain proper political safeguards prior to the British withdrawal from India.

The Indian National Congress, of course, had to deal with numerous diversified power bases and often failed to agree to provide special safeguards for Muslims due to its commitment to secularism. But Gandhi and the Congress leaders did possess the power to make appropriate compromises and very often failed to truly appreciate the true nature of Jinnah's genius. They also underestimated the diverse communal character of the Indian masses.

Iqbal, though in poor health, kept on his pressure to win Jinnah over to his separatist viewpoint and Jinnah began a grand strategy of revitalizing the League on a national basis just like Iqbal had suggested. Iqbal knew provincial politics well while Jinnah was unable to master provincial politics; as a matter of fact, Jinnah had no political support in the Muslim majority provinces. Nonetheless, Jinnah travelled extensively throughout the country to promote the political manifesto of the League, but Jinnah and his League fared badly in the 1937 elections.

The Congress formed ministries in several provinces and made a fateful decision to eliminate the League and become the sole political authority in India. This was the perfect opportunity for Jinnah, who sharpened his political attacks against the Congress ministries. In Nehru's view, Jinnah was an elitist and offered nothing in terms of an alternative socio-economic program.

Jinnah began his own campaign of mass contact against the mass contact movement initiated by Congress to win the Muslims. By October 1937, Jinnah was using the language not of compromise or goodwill but of political power on an equal footing with the majority party. He was now attempting to deny the establishment of Congress hegemony over India.

Jinnah's aggressive political posture brought some results since his popularity with Muslim masses increased dramatically. Iqbal, though in poor health, kept Jinnah informed about provincial politics of the Punjab, but Jinnah often ignored his advice and tried to deal with the Muslim Unionists. Iqbal insisted that he be more forthright in demanding one or more separate states for Muslims. Jinnah was steadily drifting toward a two-nation theory between 1937 and 1940.

Nothing may have come of Jinnah's reorganization of the League--though he was becoming more and more popular with Muslim masses--had it not been for the declaration of war in Europe on Sept. 3, 1939. Within six weeks, the Congress ministries resigned because the declaration of war (India too was declared to be at war with Germany) was made without consultation with these ministries. The Congress leadership felt this time to be the most opportune for getting rid of the British but it miscalculated, since Jinnah refused to cooperate with this strategy. The Congress hierarchy made a major tactical blunder by reaffirming its old

policy of non-cooperation; in fact, it refused to assist in the war efforts unless India was declared independent forthwith.

Jinnah was promptly rediscovered by the British, who wanted the support of the Indian Muslims in the war effort. In order to win Jinnah's cooperation, the British suspended the federation scheme pending the outcome of the war. Jinnah took advantage of every opportunity that was presented to him by the Congress hierarchy.

By early 1940, Jinnah was defining his theory of Muslim nationalism in terms of a separate home state. He declared that Indian Muslims were a nation by any standards and that they must have a homeland, their territory and their state. A day after this speech the famous 'Lahore Resolution' was overwhelmingly approved by the All-India Muslim League.

Iqbal began as an Indian nationalist, turned into a strong Pan-Islamist but intensely disliked the concept of nationalism both on political as well as religious grounds. Basically, his reasons for disliking nationalism were more Islamic than political; European imperialism, which had developed through modern nationalism, was generally directed against the Muslim world and its message was completely against the teachings of Islam.

Iqbal was opposed to the separation of the Church and State (secularism) and believed that Western-type nationalism would split the Muslim world. Basically, he thought nationalism was very much akin to tribalism, which the Prophet of Islam had wished to destroy in seventh century Arabia. Iqbal believed that allegiance to God is an article of faith for Muslims--an absolute requirement--since Almighty Lord expressly demands that a Muslim not only be fully committed in his

obedience but also must not share his allegiance with any other. Sovereignty belongs to God alone and He alone is worthy of the supreme loyalty of the individual.

Iqbal considered the concept of democracy the most important political ideal in Islam but rejected Western-type democracy because the Western man lacked the proper development of his khudi. However Iqbal did not cite too many examples of the Eastern man (the Muslim in particular) who possessed that strengthened khudi which made him a unique 'individual' capable of practicing the true Islamic ideal of democracy in modern times. The democracy of the West was laden with moral bankruptcy, since the West practiced democracy at home and waged political and economic war abroad. While the poet criticized this particular type of democracy again and again, he absolutely condemned nationalism because it gives rise to hatred among nations. Nationalism promotes Machiavellian ethos in politics, and stronger nations use it as a tool for the economic and political exploitation of weaker nations. Above all, nationalism shatters the very foundation of the Muslim 'ummah.(3)

Iqbal does not discuss nor does he acknowledge that the founding fathers of nationalism--Herder, Rousseau and Bolingbroke--disapproved of political chauvinism and had shown perfect respect for all nations. They were men of international flavor who truly believed in the uniqueness of each nation and hoped that each nation would be free to develop its own distinctive potentials without interference of the other. Is not the Muslim 'ummah a distinctive nation developed out of a particular experience of a unique 'individual'?

(3)Kulliyat (Urdu), pp.160-161.

To be sure, nationalism, like other ideologies, has been exploited by various zealots. Has not Islam been exploited by its zealots? Iqbal suggests that the Islamic edifice be reconstructed through proper reinterpretation of Islamic law. But can other ideologies also be reinterpreted or even be rediscovered? It seems that Iqbal simply rejects nationalism because it was the very antithesis of Islamic universalism. But Islamic universalism has existed only for a very short period and it was more of a utopia than a reality.

It was Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan who had stubbornly promoted the idea of the Muslims' exclusiveness and called them a great nation among other nations of India. This uniqueness had sprung from the experience of dejection and helplessness in the post- mutiny period. Again, Indian Muslims felt the pain and humiliation of the Ottomans and the Uzbeks at the hands of the Russians and the West, which instilled a sense of common grief and generated feelings of distinctiveness.

These feelings of deep anguish and humiliation had not only led to self-appraisal but also created a simmering discontent which directly promoted nationalism among the Muslims of India. Jamal-ud-Din al-Afghani's Pan Islamic crusade further aroused feelings of Muslim universalism and anti-West attitudes. Indeed, his resolute efforts had promoted political activism among Muslims everywhere. However, in India there was also a jealousy of Hindu political advances which had aroused the Muslim political consciousness. Additionally, the post khilafat blues of Indian Muslims were quickly turned into a hopeful future when the Turks, despite their defeat in World War I, were able to rid their Fatherland of Western imperialism. It was an excellent example of how a Westernized Muslim leader could successfully play politics with the West

through the 'balance and obtain' policy. After all, the West was not such a monolithic political monster as Iqbal has repeatedly suggested it was!

In short, nationalism had slowly but steadily crept into the Indian Muslim psyche throughout the early nineteenth century. Beginning with the Congress ministries, it rapidly became a part of their political outlook. Throughout the duration of the war and immediately in the aftermath of World War II, Jinnah began planting the seeds of separatism which were duly nurtured by the Congress leaders who either underestimated Jinnah's resolve or overestimated their own strength. Iqbal had persistently asked Jinnah to abandon his long-held views on unitarianism and had written to him on several occasions insisting that he seek a separate homeland for Muslims.

Iqbal, who believed the West was aiming to shatter the oneness of the Islamic 'ummah through nationalism, did not approve of the glorification of pre-Islamic history by Egypt, Iran and Turkey. Iqbal's belief in the Unity of God, his firm convictions about Islamic brotherhood and solidarity and his anti-Western views prevented him from truly analyzing the fact that, in reality, there was neither a unity in the West nor a universal Islamic 'ummah. It does seem as though the Islamic enthusiast had knocked down the great humanist poet.

The gist of Iqbal's objections to modern nationalism was based, however, upon his belief that it lacked spiritual and moral content. Despite haughty accomplishments in science and technology, the 'spirit of freedom' and the 'dignity of man' have been trampled by various political ideologies in modern times. Nationalism had raised the state to the level of a deity, and in the affairs of men, religion had been

relegated to an inferior position. It had 'divided God's children' on earth and it had helped in the 'oppression of the weak.'(4) Iqbal insists that man could never find unity in these modern political ideologies because a true unity springs not from political concepts but from the 'brotherhood of man.' In his view then, only an Islamic ideal stands above race, color, nationality and language.

Jinnah, the political architect of Pakistan, had not given a detailed structural political exposé for his separate Muslim state. He was not a strict constructionist in terms of operational capabilities of his Islamic state. As long as Muslims were in control of their political, economic and cultural destiny, they need not follow the narrow dogmatic Islamic injunctions as defined by the 'ulema. Jinnah did not absolutely dislike secularism and certainly did not believe in theocracy:

Pakistan is not a theocracy or anything like it. Islam demands from us the tolerance of other creeds and we welcome in closest association with us all those who, of whatever creed, are themselves willing and ready to play their part as true and loyal citizens of Pakistan.(5)

Iqbal, being the ideologue of Pakistan, did have some distinctive views about his Islamic state. He had only grudgingly moved toward territorial nationalism for Indian Muslims; he feared Hindu political hegemony and saw no alternative other than his Muslim state. In his opinion, political sovereignty belonged to the people and Islamic spirituality does indeed embody the fundamental principle of election,

(4)Ibid., pp.160-161..

(5)Rizwan Ahmed (ed.), Saying of Quaid-I-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah (Karachi: Pakistan Movement Research Centre, 1970), p. 69. Broadcast to the people of Australia on Feb. 19, 1948.

though the Kur'an did not enumerate this principle in any particular specificity. The poet was highly impressed with the political theory of Al-Mawardi, which appears to correspond with virtues and capabilities of Iqbal's perfect man (the Momin).

The principal of Islamic religio-political theory is that 'Sovereignty belongs to God' and that Islamic nationality springs from the belief in the 'Prophecy of Muhammad'.--because he was the Prophet from whom the Muslim community had received its unity, its laws, its constitution, its strength and its inspiration. In an Islamic state God's Sovereignty will reign supreme, a momin with strong character (possessing qualities of Muhammad) will rule justly, the Kur'anic injunctions will be obeyed and a greater use of ijtihad will be made.

In reality, this political theory did not give any concrete shape to the development of a unique Muslim political behavior as described by Iqbal nor did it prevent abuses in the Muslim body politic, nor did it slow emergences of monarchies and/or dictatorships. Iqbal found hope in the concept of ijtihad and looked to modern Turkey and its Grand National Assembly where he thought it was being practiced. Alas, such hopes did not go any further, though the territorial concept of nationalism which the poet had hated so much, on the other hand, had succeeded only too well. Practically all Muslim countries were to adopt the concept of nationalism. His hope for a Muslim commonwealth (United Republics) continues to be a utopia just like his perceptions of the romanticized Islamic history.

Iqbal's visionary Islamic state has not measured up to his lofty political ideals. Also, Jinnah's advice has not been heeded; after

independence of his Pakistan, he advised rulers of the infant state that their first duty was to maintain law and order, and the second to root out corruption. Furthermore, he asked that they treat the Pakistani minorities with absolute fairness and that the State has no business meddling in any religion, caste and/or creed of its citizens. In his address as the first President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, the founder of the new Muslim state categorically condemned 'provincialism' and projected that it will be the "biggest curse to Pakistan."(6)

On the question of law and order, Pakistani leaders have failed; corruption has become rampant and the evils of nepotism have become planted deep into the Pakistani elite; the minorities have been mistreated; the State has been definitely meddling in the affairs of religion and creed; and provincialism, 'the biggest curse' had indeed triumphed when it succeeded in dismembering Pakistan. The brutal and ugly repression of the Bengali Muslim by the West Pakistani armed forces in 1971 showed clearly the differences between theory and practice of the hollow claim of Islamic equality, solidarity and brotherhood so romantically championed by Iqbal.

Would Iqbal's anti-secular temperament accept and approve Jinnah's words at the first constituent assembly of Pakistan?

You are free: you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place of worship in this state of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed--that has nothing to do with the fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one state. Now,

(6)Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Speeches as Governor-General of Pakistan 1947-1948 (Karachi: Pakistan Publications, n.d.), pp. 7-9; Richard Symonds, The Making of Pakistan (London: Faber and Faber, 1949), p. 93.

I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal, and you will find that in the course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus, and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizen of the state.(7)

The ideologue of a separate Muslim State in the subcontinent and the political architect of Pakistan were men of divergent political views. Jinnah remained an aristocrat in his manners, liberal in his political orientation, strict constructionist in his approach to law, secular in his political outlook, cool and calculating in his political strategy and only reluctantly became a latter-day convert to Iqbal's concept of Muslim exclusiveness. Iqbal on the other hand remained a romantic during the majority of his adulthood, had nostalgic views of Islamic history, possessed no wealth, was highly impressed with the German vitalism, intensely grieved for his Muslim 'ummah, truly believed in Islamic universalism, ideologically mistrusted the West, disliked the concept of nationalism and only in the last decade of his life did he realize the importance of the concept of the territorial nationalism for his own community in India. Once convinced that Jinnah was the only incorruptible Muslim in India who could put into practice his separate state theory, Iqbal earnestly began to ask Jinnah to lead the Muslims to his utopian Islamic State.

Has the State of Pakistan measured up to the Iqbalian vision of the ideal Islamic State and/or has it adopted the Jinnah's secular/humanist approach to politics? The answer appears to be a resounding no in both cases though despite dictatorships the average Pakistani, when given a

(7) Ibid., p. 9. Jinnah's Address to the first constituent assembly of Pakistan at Karachi on August 11, 1947.

choice, has avoided political and religious extremes in order to choose the path of moderation in almost every sphere of life.

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