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IQBAL-MAN OF FAITH AND VISION

Professor Muhammad Munawwar

The Qur'an directs the attention of its readers to the following phenomenon :

ومن الناس من يعبد الله على حرف ج فان اصابه خير ن اطمان به ج وان
اصابته فتنة القلب على وجهه ج خسر الدنيا والاخرة ط ذالك هو الخسران
المبين-¹

["There are among men some who serve Allah, as it were, on the verge : if good befalls them they are, therewith, well con-tent; but if a trial comes to them, they, turn their faces; they lose both this world and the Hereafter; that is loss for all to see."]

People do have affection for their ideologies. They love their religion But the fact remains that all are not firm. There are many who, though not hypocrites, are not men of courage. They lack steadfastness Face to face with a trying situation, they give way and thus lose face before their society as well as Allah. Feeble-minded people are believers as long as all goes well. They are believers in Allah as long as they are not called upon to make genuine sacrifice in His cause. They are easygoing persons. Their ideologies are oral. They recite the name of Allah only mechanically. They exhibit devotion. But they never defend the object of their devotion if defence entails some risk. Comfort is. not to be imperilled. Wealth is not to be parted with. Their own

¹ xxii. 11. English traslation by A. Yusuf Aii.

lives and the lives of their kith and kin look too valuable to be sacrificed for the sake of faith. Quite obvious. Their belief is not even skin-deep. Says Allamah Muhammad Iqbal:

زباں سے کہہ بھی دیا لا الہ
تو کیا حاصل!
دل و نگاہ مسلمان نہیں
تو کچھ بھی نہیں²

['Recitation of 'There is no god but Allah' is of no avail ; if both vision and heart do not surrender before Allah, faith has no meaning at all."]

Loving an ideology should mean living it. If ideology goes, life should go alongwith it. Faith is not a detachable article. True and genuine faith is much more valuable than all valuables, be they even blood-relations. Faith is a love above all other loves. And that one love can be demonstrated in obeying the commandments and injunctions of the One Who, in all respects, is above all else in the universe.

The Qur'an has expressly laid down the difference between embracing Islam and believing in what Islam stands for :

قالت الا غراب انا ط ق ل لم تو منوا ولكن

² Darb-i Kalim/Kulliyat, p. 35/497.

قولوا اَسَلْمنا ولما يدخل الايمان في قلوبكم

ط³

["The desert Arabs say, 'We believe.' Say' (unto them) (O Muhammad !): You believe not, but rather say, 'We submit' (accept Islam), for the faith has not yet entered into your hearts."]

This shows that, according to the Qur'an, Islam and 'man are two different degrees of faith, as is maintained by Imam Ahmad

ان الايمان غير الاسلام⁴

["Imān (belief) is something other than Islam."]

To accept Islam orally is one thing, but to have faith in Islam is quite another. It is obvious that a certain principle which becomes faith enters into one's soul. The believer begins to live his faith. Before that it can have no reforming impact on the thinking and behaviour of the individual concerned. A belief not bringing about any change in the personality of the believer means that it has served no more than a piece of information. Iqbal elucidates this point thus:

تو عرب هو يا عجم هو ترا لا اله

³ albs. 14.

⁴ Al-Ghunyat li Talib al-Hagq (Mustafa al-Bābī, Egypt), I, 83.

الہ!

لغت عربیہ، جب تک ترا دل نہ
دے گواہی!⁵

["Whether you be an Arab or a non-Arab, your reciting 'no god but God'

is simply a foreign vocabulary unless your heart stands
a witness to what your tongue offers."]

It is the sincerity of heart that matters and not lip-service. Faith has to be heartfelt. Leaving aside the non-Arabs, even the Arabs cannot understand the connotation of *LI yl w-tJl* 'If though the words are Arabic, their mother tongue. The significance of these words is that, after bowing before God, one has to discard all other gods from the sanctuary of one's conscience. The world of man is replete with false gods in the form of human beings as well who, with gestures of pride, go on drumming their godly authority into the ears of those who happen to be inferior to them as subordinates, dependants, aid-seekers, or servants. These false gods, commensurate with the extent of their authority, behave as if power has infused in them a sort of intoxication. They suppose they are the sustainers, protectors, preservers and masters of the souls of individuals, tribes, societies and even of nations. At all these levels these false gods have to be discarded. But this is more than an uphill task. Iqbal says :

⁵ Bdl-i Jibrfi/Kulliyat, p. 45/337.

چومی گویم مسلمانم ،
بلرزم
که دانم مشکلات لا اله
6
را

["When I say I am a Muslim, i.e. a believer, in God, I shiver, for I understand the magnitude of hardships hidden in the words 'no god but God.' "]

But a firm belief in one God is an eternal happiness. It is not a passing shadow. It strengthens the determination of the believer. It makes him steadfast and enables him to stand against the forces of evil, manfully. It is unfaltering faith in God which integrates the personality of the person concerned. It is this strength which transforms the outlook and the behaviour of the believer. It is not worshipping God and yet remaining right on the fence, ready to flee, if called upon to face some trying situation. Such an individual, even though he may claim to be a believer in God, is not so in His eyes. God addresses all those who belong to this category of "believers" thus :

ياايها الذين آمنوا بالله
ورسوله⁷

⁶ Armughān-i Hijāz/Kulliyāt, p. 59/941.

⁷ he 136.

["O you who believe, do believe in Allah and His Apostle."]

God, through this verse, has ordained the pretenders to be-lief to become believers in all earnest. This is a call to caution all those who 'deceive themselves and others by their profession of faith in God. They cannot deceive God. Their infirmity is found out very easily. This verse, moreover, directs all believers to be always on the alert and in a state of stock-taking. Are they really men of faith ? Has their faith evolved into conviction ? Have they begun to live their conviction ? The fact is that it is always a long way from accepting some principle as one's faith to a point where faith becomes a distinct entity and identity hard to dismantle. Conviction is a state when an individual begins to be treated as faith personified.

It is obvious that the state of certitude is not something out there, ready-made, which can be picked up, swallowed and digested. This state is ;to be achieved by dint of constant effort. Shaikh `Abd al-Qādir Jilānī of Baghdad, quoting Hadrat Ibn Abbās, Abū Hurairah and Abū Dardā', states الايمان ⁸يزداد وينقص["Faith increases and decreases"].

And these ups and downs continue in the mind of the believer. Sometimes he feels satisfied with what he believes in and sometimes he finds himself confused. Then he, again, as many times before, struggles hard to regain faith and get away from were dark shadows of doubt and fear hover, over his head. There are innumerable things which confuse the mind of a believer and cause his return to uncertainty. But a person who goes on striving untiringly to keep to the path of belief may, at some stage in his life, find that the state of certainty stays much longer in his mind than that of uncertainty. His firmness begins to get the better of his infirmities. Then, by and by, it is possible that the state of certitude becomes stable to a great extent and therefore immune from frequent disturbances. A person who gets

⁸ Al-Fath al-Rabbānī (Mustafā al-Babī, Egypt), p. 156.

at stable certitude finds for himself goals different from others, because the vision of such a person undergoes a definite change. Things do not seem to him exactly as they do to others.

Yet the intriguing question remains: How many are there who consciously strive to conquer doubts, suspicions and fears? We may even ask: How many are there who bother about the need to understand what increase and decrease in faith signifies? For an analysis of this kind faith is a prerequisite, because it is the strength of faith which is sought after.

And we know Rome was not built in a day. Iqbal also became what he came to be, gradually. His vision widened, by and by. His faith grew in strength slowly and slowly. He rose from an ordinary plane of poetry. He was not as one would say "head and shoulders above others" as a young poet. He could end up as a middle-class poet, whose poetry could smack of philosophy. He could have become a good lawyer leading an easy life. As a beginner he was just one of them. But by dint of his hard work and devotion to the cause of his religion and society, he progressed visibly, though gradually. This progress he made in the province of thought and poetic art. He made a mark in the sphere of politics also. He was active in the field of education as well. His conduct as a lawyer was just an "aside" in the activities of his life. God Almighty says in His last Book revealed to His last Prophet (peace be on him):

والذين جاهدوا

فينا لنهد ينهم

سبلنا ط⁹

("And those who strive in Our (Cause),—We will certainly guide them to Our Paths.")

⁹ xxix. 69.

As a responsible human being Iqbal had tried to know his vocation. He sought after God's Grace. And God led him to the path of his duty. He rose to what he rose, not only as a poet and a philosopher in the usual sense, for there have been poets as well as philosophers like Lucretius, Goethe, John Dewey and others. None of them changed the political course of his nation. None of them assumed the distinction of a religious revivalist. None of them rejuvenated his nation's dormant vitalities as Iqbal did. And, moreover, none of them visualised a homeland and an independent State for his enslaved nation and guided the will of his nation to that goal. Iqbal's responsibilities were manifold. He was differently placed. He was born in a country enslaved by the British. He belonged to the Muslim Ummah of the Pak-India subcontinent who had ruled the subcontinent magnificently and gracefully for centuries and then, like other Muslim dynasties and societies elsewhere, had fallen on bad days. His nation's decline had begun with the beginning of the eighteenth century, like the decline of the Muslim peoples all over the world. But Iqbal believed in the mighty truth of Islam; hence according to him Islam could not remain subjugated for long. This penetrating vision and unfaltering conviction was the reward of his firm belief in God and his Godward endeavours which nothing could enfeeble to the last moment of his life.

Reverting to his start. He, as a conscious human being who possessed an agitated soul, tried to know his own self. He found this was not easy. Who he was and what he had to perform, was a state too elusive for his grasp. This is how he felt about it :

اقبال بھی اقبال سے
اگاہ نہیں ہے
کچھ اس میں تمسخر

["Iqbal himself does not know Iqbal. I am not joking, by God! not."]

And then there came a stage when he began to understand his stance but could not communicate clearly to others what he felt. He in this regard stated:

نالہ ہے بلبل شوریدہ
ترا خام ابھی
اپنے سینے میں اسے
اور ذرا تھام ابھی¹¹

["O restless nightingale! your lamentations are still not up to the mark.

Keep them to your breast for a while more."]

Iqbal was sure good days were not far off. Yet in his poetry, he felt, he could not paint such a clear picture of the shape of "things to come" as would be vividly visualised by his listeners. Trust in the truth of what he saw was gaining ground within him day by day. He had been breaking good news since March 1907, as will be elaborated in the pages to follow. In spite of it

¹⁰ Bāng-i- Darā/Kulliyāt, p. 60.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 278.

his own confidence in the certitude of his pre-vision grew gradually. It is but natural with every responsible believer. He has to accept critically whatever is revealed to his mind Iqbal's rational eye was always wide awake. And he judged that he saw what others did not. He felt what others could not.

His confidence in the accuracy of his vision continued gaining strength. There came a time when he became perfectly certain of the correctness of what he visualised and prayed to God Almighty in the following manner:

جوانوں کو مری اَہ
سحر دے
پھر ان شاہیں بچوں
کو بال و پر دے
خدایا اَرزو میری
یہی ہے
مرا نور بصیرت عام
کر دے¹²

["Grant the youth my complaints of the early morn.

Furnish again these eaglets with strong wings.

My only prayer to you, my Lord, is that

¹² Bāl-i Jibrīl/Kulliyāt, p. 86/378

The light of my vision be diffused amongst all.”]

He repeated the same theme in his celebrated poem "Sāqī Nāmāh"

جوانوں کو سوزِ جگر
بخش دے
مرا عشقِ میری نظر
بخش دے¹³

["(O God) bestow on the youth the warmth of my feeling.

My unbounded love, and my vision."]

His insight was the reward of his unfaltering faith in God. Howsoever depressing the circumstances might have been, he, with his penetrating and far-reaching vision, remained hopeful. He was sure, Islam, the last of the revealed religions, had to remain operative as long as human societies should last in the universe. For Iqbal Islam was not only the epitome of all that had been I revealed to all the prophets before Muhammad (may peace be on him), it rather contained much more than all that. And it had to be so because it had to provide guidance to all coming generations through all circumstances. With the passage of time Iqbal's faith in the profound truth contained in the Islamic tenets continued illuminating his spirit to his last breath. His health dwindled. His physique, by and by, became frail. He, for years, suffered from a number of ailments. But his soul always remained stout. A believer in God can never lose hope.

¹³ Ibid., p. 124/416

He was in England studying law when he saw some phenomena with the eye of his intuition. The ghazal containing those divinations is the only one whose year and month of composition is expressly mentioned. It is March 1907. No other ghazal, before or after it, has been given such an importance. Here are some verses of the said ghazal :

سنا دیا گوش منتظر کو حجاز کی خامشی نے اَخر
جو عہد صحراء یوں سے باندھا گیا تھا پھر استوار
ہوگا

نکل کے ص حرا سے جس نے روما کی سلطنت کو
الٹ دیا تھا
سنا ہے یہ قدسیوں سے میں نے وہ شیر پھر ہوشیار
ہوگا

دیار مغرب کے رہنے والو ! خدا کی بستی دکان نہیں
ہے !
کھرا جسے تم سمجھ رہے ہو، وہ اب زر کم عیار ہو
گا !

تمہاری تہذیب اپنے خنجر سے اَپ ہی خودکشی
کرے گی
جو شاخ نازک پہ اَشیانہ بنے گا، ناپائیدار ہوگا

سفینہ برگ گل بنا لے گا قافلہ مور ناتواں کا
ہزار موجوں کی ہوکشا کش، مگر یہ دریا سے پار ہو
گا

میں ظلمت شب میں لے کر نکلوں گا انپے درماندہ
کارواں کو
شرر فشاں ہوگی اہ میری، نفس مرا شغلہ بار
ہوگا¹⁴

[At last the silent tongue of Hijāz has announced to the ardent ear the tidings that the covenant which had been given to the desert-dwellers is going to be renewed in strong terms.

The lien who had emerged from the desert and had top: led the Roman Empire,

Is, as I am told by the angels, about to get up again (from his slumbers)...

You, the dwellers of the West, should know that the world of God is not a shop (of yours) :

Your imagined pure gold is about to lose its standard value (as fixed by you).

¹⁴ Bring-i Dara/Kulliyat, pp. 43-42.

Your civilization will commit suicide with its on dagger. A nest built on a frail bough cannot be (durable.

The caravan of feeble ants will take the rose petal for a boat And, in spite of all blasts of waves, it shall cross the river...

I will take out my worn-out caravan in the pitch darkness of night. My sighs will emit sparks and my breath will produce flames."]

Iqbal in this ghazal, as is obvious, prophesied that European civilization was not going to live long. And he said so when European imperialism had already conquered almost the whole world and its power was seemingly still enhancing day by day. The other important declaration which he made was that the resurgence of Islam was about to take place. Muslims who had once established their rule over a sizeable part of Europe as well were going to regain their past glory. And this he said when the world of Islam lay subjugated by Western Powers. Only Turkey was still holding out as an independent State. But Turkey's strength was fast dwindling. The European Powers called Turkey the "Sick Man of Europe". God knows how Iqbal could sing such hopeful songs in those days of utter misery and despondency obtaining in almost all Muslim societies. Besides this, Iqbal made manifest that he had taken a decision about himself too. That decision was a very bold one and high sounding, keeping in view the contemporary circumstances. He had determined upon giving a lead to the Muslim Ummah and bringing it out of the dark dungeons of slavery to the sunny vistas of independence. It was a big decision and he declared it boldly. How odd it all might have looked during those days !

To Iqbal it was something he received from Above. He was sure of the truth of these tidings, yet he remained a bit baffled how it all happened to be revealed to him. This he disclosed to his listeners in December 1921 in London when he was invited to Cambridge to address students. The Urdu words, as laid down by Mr Rafiq Afzal, can be translated as under :

"I would like to offer a few pieces of advice to the young men who are at present studying at Cambridge. Cambridge is a fountainhead of knowledge which has contributed more to the shaping of European culture than all other institutions. I advise you to guard against atheism and materialism. The biggest blunder made by Europe was the separation of Religion and Government. This deprived their culture of moral soul, and diverted it to atheistic materialism.

"I had, twenty-five years ago, seen through the drawbacks of this civilisation and had, therefore, made some prophesies. They had been delivered by my tongue although I did not quite understand them. This happened in 1907 After six or seven years, my prophesies came true word by word. The European War of 1914 was an outcome of the aforesaid mistake made by the Europeans, i.e. the separation of the Church and the State and the emergence of atheistic materialism. Bolshevism is a natural result of the separation of the Church and the State."¹⁵

The point I wanted to stress was that Iqbal felt he had received something as a message from Above in 1907 which even to himself was, at that juncture, not clearly understandable. He came to know its implications afterwards.

He composed his famous poems Sham'-o Shā'ir in 1912, and Jawāb-i Shikwah in 1913. During this period the Muslims suffered severe setbacks in Tripoli (Libya) and Bulgaria in the Balkans. Turkey, the only independent Muslim State, appeared to be dwindling. Any moment it could fall to the ground. Apparently this was a season of utter helplessness. Yet Iqbal had the courage to say, at the end of Sham's- o Shā'ir

اَسْمَانِ هُوَ گَا س حَرِ كِے نَوْر سے

¹⁵ Guftar-i Iqbal (Lahore : Research Society of Pakistan, Univ. of the Punjab), p. 254.

اَءَينہ پوش

اور ظلمت رات کی سیاب پا ہو جائے
گی

اس قدر ہوگی ترنم اَفریں یاد بہار
نکمت خوابیدہ عنچے کی نوا ہو
جائے گی

اَملیں گے سینہ چاکان چمن سے سینہ
چاک

بزم گل کی ہم نفس باد صبا ہو جائے
گی

دیکھ لو گے سطوت رفتار دریا کا مَال
موج مضطر ہی اسے زنجیر پا ہو جائے
گی!

اَنکھ جو کچھ دیکھتی ہے لب پہ
اَسکتا نہیں۔

محو حیرت ہوں کہ دنیا کیا سے کیا ہو
جائے گی!

شب گریزاں ہوگی اَخر جلوہ
خورشید سے!
یہ چمن مغمور ہوگا نعمہ توحید
سے!!¹⁶

["The firmament shall glitter with the light of morn,

The darkness of night shall vanish.

The spring breeze shall sing so luxuriantly

that the dormant scent will turn into the song of the bud.

With bleeding breasts the roses of the garden shall embrace
one another.

The zephyr shall again become the intimate companion
of the company of roses... .

You will see the consequence of the grandiose flow of the river :

How the distressed eddy turns into the fetters for the feet of the river. I
cannot express what I visualise

I stand wonder-struck on seeing the shape of things to come. Night shall
be vanquished by the rising sun :

And this garden shall resound with the song of T'auhīd (God is One)."]

¹⁶ Bāng-i Darā/Kulliyāt, pp. 194-95.

It can be presumed by some readers that such rosy pronouncements made by Iqbal were like the usual fits experienced by poets at large. Sometimes the poets are happy and they issue forth good news. Sometimes they are in a gloomy mood, hence paint gloomy pictures of everything. Even a shining sun looks dusky to their eyes. But Iqbal was not a poet in the ordinary sense carried by the word poet. His optimism was of permanent nature, at least since 1907, when he heard a Voice from Above, as stated in the foregoing pages. He was different from the general fraternity of poets who follow not their ideology, because they have none ; instead, they follow their wild imaginings.

The Qur'ān paints poets in general and their blind followers as under :

والشعراء يتبعهم الغاؤون • الم تر انهم في كل واد يهييمون • وانهم يقولون ما لا يفعلون • الا الذين وعملوا الصلحت وذكروا الله كثيرا و انتصروا من يغد ما ظلموا ط وسيعلم الذين ظلموا اى منقلب ينقلبون •¹⁷

("As for the poets, they are followed by those who stagger in evil. Do you not see that they wander distractedly in every valley (of aimless imagination) and that they say what they do not practise?—Except those who believe, work righteousness and engage much in the remembrance of God And they vindicate them-selves (or prepare for victory) after they were wronged. And soon will the unjust assailants know what vicissitudes their affairs will take.")

And, as already mentioned, Iqbal wrote his renowned poem *Jawāb-i Shikwah* in 1913. The world of Islam looked steadily drifting towards

¹⁷ xxvi. 224-27.

ruination and defeat Black clouds of dismay had spread over the horizon for the Muslims. Turks stood defeated at the battle-front of Bulgaria. The combined Christian forces of Balkan territories and those belonging to the adjoining States were continuing their attacks on Turkish forces. But Iqbal said that it all meant to wake Muslims up from their slumber. It all meant to see how much sacrifice the Muslims could offer for the sake of their religion and honour. It was to test their faith in Islam. Could they remain faithful to Islam even in apparently most horrible and depressing circumstances ? Iqbal speaks, as is his wont, encouragingly.

دیکھ کر رنگ چمن ہو نہ
پریشاں مالی
کوکب غنچہ سے شاخیں ہیں
چمکنے والی
خس و خاشاک سے ہوتا ہے
گلستاں خالی
گل بر انداز ہے خون شہدا کی
لالی
رنگ گردوں کا ذرا دیکھ تو
غناہی ہے
یہ نکلتے ہوئے سورج کی اُفق
تالی ہے !

ہے جو ہنگامہ بپا شورش بلعاری
 کا
 غافلوں کے لیے پیغام ہے بیداری
 کا
 !!
 تو سمجھتا ہے یہ ساماں ہے دل
 کا
 اَزّاری
 کیوں ہراساں ہے صہیل فرس
 اغداد
 سے
 اور حق بچھ نہ سکے گا نفس
 اغداد
 سے¹⁸

("The gardener should not feel disgusted over the lamentable condition of the garden.

Boughs are about to sprout from the bud-star.

The area of the garden is about to be cleared of the rubbish.

The flush of the blood of martyrs is spreading roses (all around). Look at the sky. It has turned red.

It shows the horizon has become ruddy on account of the rising sun...

¹⁸ Bang-i Darā/Kulliyāt, pp. 205-06.

All this consternation created by the Bulgarian invasions

is but a message to the forgetful people so that they may (ready) come to their senses.

Do you think it is meant only to torture you?

This is rather to test your capacity to make sacrifice and defend your honour.

Why are you flabbergasted over the neighing of enemy's stallions? Divine light cannot be put off by the blows of unbelievers."]

On this point the Qur'ān directs thus:

احسب الناس ان يتركوا ان
يقولوا اٰمنا وهم لا يفتنون¹⁹

("Do men imagine that they will be left (at ease) because they say ; `We believe, and will not be tested with affliction?' ")

And here is a saying of the Holy Prophet on the same subject:

الصبر من الايمان
كالراس من

¹⁹ nix. 2.

["Certitude has the same relation with belief as head has with body."]

This shows that according to Iqbal the fortitude of the Muslim Ummah was being put to test. Could they believe only as long as they ruled or were they firm as true Muslims even in slavery and under most miserable circumstances? Were they easygoing people only or could they prove they were also capable of facing vicissitudes boldly? A believer must always be hopeful and happy. He knows he is not going to be asked to show to God Almighty the map of territories conquered. He is not going to be asked to relate to God accounts of his victories against the forces of evil and unbelief. A believer will have to be accountable to God for his deeds only and that too commensurate with his worth. How much was a person capable of doing and how much did he actually perform? A Muslim conqueror may not necessarily be a very sincere believer in God. Hence his victories may not inspire other Muslims as much as the defeat and martyrdom of a true believer who tries his best according to his worth and sacrifices his all including life. God Almighty is the best judge of intents and purposes. It is He Who knows the quantum of sincerity with which a believer acts and it is He Who rewards accordingly. If that be the case, then a believer in God can never feel despaired. He is always on duty. He may succeed. He may fail. But he is sure he has done his duty according to what he could possibly do. This internal assurance becomes a sort of satisfaction—a satisfaction which does not slow down his urge to be always up and doing. This satisfaction is rather a state of hopefulness that some way out of all difficulties is about to open upon him. His attitude conforms to the following words of the Qur'an

²⁰ Al-Fath al-Rabbani, p. 125.

لا تدرى لعل الله
يحدث بغد ذلك
امرا²¹

["You know not it may be that Allah will afterward bring some new thing to pass."]

Similarly, the mental stance of a true believer in God is de-scribed by the Qur'an in these words :

الا ان اولياء الله لا خوف
عليهم ولا هم يحزنون²²

["Hearken! the friends of God certainly neither fear nor are they aggrieved."]

They fear God only and none else. Circumstances cannot aggrieve them. And this is how Iqbal characterises the significance of a believer's conviction :

يقين افراد كا سرمايه تغمير

²¹ lxv. 1.

²² x. 62.

ملت
ہے
یہی قوت ہے جو صورت گر
تقدیر
ملت²³

["The conviction of individuals is the material which builds society. This is the only force which shapes its destiny."]

ولایت ، پادشاہی ، غلم اشیا
کی جہاں گیری
یہ سب کیا ہیں ؟ فقط اک
نقطہ ایمان کی تفسیریں²⁴

["Sovereignty, government, and the world encompassing knowledge of (the essence of) things is nothing but the, elucidation of one single point, that is belief."]

And now we come to a celebrated poem by Iqbal, i.e. Khidr-i Rāh, which had been written after World War I. With the end of this War the independence of Turkey had also come to an end. This meant Muslims had lost their last sovereign State. With the end of Turkey, apparently all fronts of the Muslims be-came silent. All flags had bowed down. Iraq and Palestine

²³ Bāng-i Darā/Kulliyāt, p. 273.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 271.

now went to the British, and Syria was taken over by the French. Iran already had lost its independence. Northern Iran was under the Russian sway and its southern regions were virtually being ruled over by the British. The Moghal Empire in India had long ago gone to the winds. The British had succeeded the Moghals in India. Indonesia was under the Dutch. Malaya, Nigeria, Egypt, Sudan, Aden, Yemen were British colonies and protectorates. Libya had become an Italian territory and so was Somalia. Tunis, Algeria, Chad, Mali, Mauritania, etc., were French colonies. Morocco was partly under France and partly under Spain. Afghanistan's foreign policy was governed by the British.

In short, the independent Muslim countries that we find to-day on the map of the world and which are so many that their names cannot be committed easily to memory were all colonies of Western imperialism around the end of World War I. That was the lowest ebb of the political decline of Muslims. Iqbal, like all other poets and thinkers who were alive to the critical situation of the Muslim Ummah all over the world, felt immensely aggrieved. Yet he could see that something was about to take place for the good of the Ummah. He felt that the circle of decline had become complete, hence the new round was about to start. He bewailed like all other sincere and emotional interpreters of Muslim sentiment, but he behaved differently. He wielded a bleeding pen but with it he painted the word-picture of a rosy day which was about to dawn. Thus his laments did not carry the feelings of defeat. He was capable of singing his grief in en-livening tunes. This is how he does it in *Khiir-i Rah* written in 1922:

لے گئے تثلیب کے فرزند میراث خلیلؑ
 خشت بنیاد کلیسا بن گئی خاک
 حجاز! _____

حکمت معرب سے ملت کی یہ کیفیت
 ہ—————وئی
 ٹکڑے ٹکڑے جس طرح سونے کو کر
 دیتا ہے گے از
 ہو گیا مانند اَب ارزاں مسلمان کا لہو
 مضطرب ہے تو کہ تیرا دل نہیں داناءے
 راز²⁵

["The Trinitarians took away the heritage of Prophet Ibrahim and the clay of Hijāz has served as foundation bricks of the Church...]

Western diplomacy has done to the Muslim Ummah

what Gāz does to (a lump of) gold. It cuts gold into pieces. Muslim blood has becomes cheap as water.

You are fretful over it because you do not know the secret."]

The mental prospective of these verses is not difficult to understand. Iqbal has alluded to Sharif Husain of Mecca and his followers who played into the hands of the British and rebelled against the Turks—their Muslim brothers. For a Muslim there is no distinction of race and colour, but the Christian West injected into the body politic of the Arabs poisonous germs of narrow nationalism. Hence Turks were defeated.

²⁵ Ibid.,p. 264.

And now Iqbal's discourse takes a turn and tries to soothe Muslims all over the world using words of Maulānā Rūmī :

گفت رومی ہر بناءے کہنہ
کا باداں کنند
می ندانی اول اّں بنیاد را
ویراں کنند ؟²⁶

["Says Rumi that to make an old abode habitable again, the former structure has to be demolished?."]

For Iqbal, then, the_ whole political structure of Muslim Ummah had been razed to the ground to build it anew. And what he visualised was his conviction. It was not just a "poetic truth," nor was it a state of wishful thinking. In the same poem, the last paragraph contains the following verses :

عشق کو فریاد لازم تھی سو وہ بھی ہو چکی
اب ذرا دل تھام کر فریاد کی تاثیر دیکھا!
تونے دیکھا سطوت رفتار دریا کا غروج
موج مضطر کس طرح بنتی ہے اب زنجیر
دیکھ

²⁶ Ibid.

عام حریت کا جو دیکھا تھا خواب اسلام
 نے
 اے مسلمان اَج تو اس خواب کی تغیر
 دیکھ
 اپنی خاکستر سمندر کو ہے سامان وجود
 سر کے پھر ہوتا ہے پیدا یہ جہاں پیر
 دیکھا!²⁷

["Love had to lament and it has done so.

Now take heart and see what effect this lamentation makes. You have seen the pompous flow of the river at its best.

And now discern how a restive eddy is about to fetter its feet. Islam had dreamt of universal freedom.

Now, O Muslim ! see, that dream is about to be interpreted.

For a salamander its own ashes serve as a material to regain existence. Similarly you can see the worn-out world is about to resuscitate "]

As already explained, and not once, Iqbal's message of hope was not just a vain hope. This was his strong conviction. He was immensely sure that the revival of Islam was about to begin. One can imagine that during those days of seemingly dismal des-pair, his readers and listeners, in general, with all their devotion to him, would not have taken his words as they were and what

²⁷ Ibid., p. 266.

they connoted. For a great majority of them, I am sure, his glad tidings could not but be a far cry. He lived as an ordinary citizen among the individuals of his society. Apparently quite a normal person. He was just one of them. But inwardly he belonged to some other sphere. In other words, we can say he was a blend of ordinary and extraordinary. He, as an ordinary individual, shared the general feelings of those among whom he lived. But his "extra-ordinariness" had always the upper hand. Therefore he, had his way. It does not mean that the Muslim Ummah had compromised with their lot. Not the least. They abhorred slavery from the core of their heart. But they could find no way out. Imperialist Powers looked formidable. Muslims had lost the courage to stand to them. And Iqbal told them that the Westerners could not maintain their sway for long because they had their own inherent weaknesses which they could not overcome. Iqbal had studied Western civilisation with a penetrating eye. He saw what those who go by the appearances could not see. It does not mean that he had never experienced the onslaught of doubts. He had such experiences, but his hope was too strong for doubts. The following two verses from Sāqī Nāmāh show how he stood and what he withstood :

میری فطرت اَئینہ

روزگار!

غزالان افکار کا

مرعزار

مرا دل، میری رزم

گاہ حیات!

گمانوں کے لشکر،

["My nature is the mirror of the Age.

It is like an orchard for the gazelles of ideas and thoughts. My mind is the battlefield of my life

where there are armies of doubts but where conviction is steadfast."]

Iqbal encountered armies of doubts because he belonged to an age when lofty castles of belief stood demolished. But his vision surveyed much above and beyond his age. Therefore his stance was different from that of others. And he was tremendously sure of the truth of what he saw with the eyes of his intuition. So much so that he prayed to God Almighty to infuse in every Muslim individual the same warmth of faith and fidelity. His prayer was as under :

یہی کچھ ہے ساقی متاغ فقیرا

اسی سے فقیری میں ہوں میں

امیر!

مرے قافلے میں لٹا دے اسے

لٹا دے! ٹھکانے لگا دے اسے!²⁹

²⁸ XI-t Jibril/Kulliyat, p. 125/417.

²⁹ Ibid.

["O the Cup-Bearer (God) ! this is all what I a poor man possess. And on account of only this, I am rich in poverty.

Distribute it gratis among the people of my caravan,

Distribute it lavishly, to the last drop."]

To be so sure of one's authenticity of vision and conviction is really an extraordinary phenomenon. And now for awhile we go back to Tulū-i Islām, a very important poem written after Khidr-i Rāh, already mentioned. This I am doing to show how things went on changing gradually, for the better. Tulū-i Islam was written in 1923. The opening verse is :

دلیل صبح روشن ہے
ستاروں کی تنک تابے
افق سے اَفْتاب اُبھرا ،
گیا دور گراں خوابی!³⁰

["When the glow of stars becomes dim it indicates a brilliant morn. The sun rose from the horizon. And the era of sound sleep vanished."]

Here the first line refers to the dark days when all outward omens were disheartening. Even the stars had lost their lustre. Iqbal says with vehemence that the moment the stars become dim is proof that the shining morn is approaching fast. The second line of the verse refers to the changed conditions then prevalent. The sun of hope and success had risen and it had

³⁰ Banged Darā/Kulliyāt, p. 267.

put the night of despair to rout. The next verse is more illustrative than the first :

عروق مردءه مشرق ميں خون
زندگى دوڑا
سمجھ سكتے نہيں اس راز
كو سينا و فارابى!³¹

("Now the life-blood has begun to run (again) in the dead veins of the East.

This is a mystery beyond the ken of Abū `Alī Shiā and al-Fārābī."

We know in Iqbal's poetry, East, on occasions, stands for the world of Islam. In the verse just quoted Iqbal wants to explain that the world of Islam, about which he was imparting good news over so many years, had now, in 1923, begun to regain her independence. Tables now looked turned upon the Western imperialists. Reawakening of Muslims had begun. Once begun it could not be stopped. But this was a fact which had nothing to do with philo. sophical arguments. Therefore Abū `Alī Sīnā and al-Fārābī could not be taken for proper guides in this regard. In respect of pre-vision philosophy is much slower than intuition. Philosophy can say something about what is obvious in Nature but can see no-thing of what is hidden.

During this very period the movement against Husain, the Sharīf of Mecca. began to gain momentum. Husain, the British agent, found himself

³¹ Ibid.

occupying a shaky chair of authority. In short, Tulū-i Islam presents the concrete picture of the beginnings of a revolution in the world of Islam. Iqbal had already indicated clearly to that effect. Such indications can be characterized as prophecies of a man of vision. This is how Iqbal made a happy declaration with full confidence:

سر شک چشم مسلم میں ہے
 نیساں کا اثر پیدا
 خلیل اللہ کے دریا میں ہوں گے
 پھر گہر پیدا
 کتا بملت بیضا کی پھر شیرازہ
 بندی ہے
 یہ شاخ ہاشمی کرنے کو ہے پھر
 برگ و بر پیدا!³²

["The tears of Muslims are about to create the effect of spring clouds. The river of Ibrāhīm (may peace be on him) wilj again give birth to pearls.

The Muslim Ummah is reuniting, as if scattered leaves of a book are being arranged for binding.

The twig of Hāshim is about to produce flowers and fruit again (twig of Hāshim standing for Muslim Ummah.)"]

³² Ibid., p. 268.

The fact is that Iqbal had full faith in the Truth and Righteousness of Islam. Addressing the Muslims of Lahore who had convened a meeting to think over the future of Turkish Caliphate, he maintained:

"Why should we present our complaint to human beings. We should, rather, present our complaint to God. Supplications, flattery, and begging will not move the persons concerned. Obedience of none save God is binding on Muslims. Be sure that a community born to fulfil a high purpose cannot die just for nothing."³³

His hopes were high contrary to the circumstances which looked tremendously depressing. What he believed in was that the "Word of God must predominate". To him it was the religion of God that was destined to prevail. He would never despair. This is why he said :

نہ ہو نومید ، نومیدی زوال
غلم و عرفان ہے
امید مرد مومن ہے خدا کے
راز دانوں میں!³⁴

Do not lose hope ; losing hope causes decay of knowledge
and vision.

Hopes of a believer are amongst the co-sharers in Divine secrets."]

³³ Bashir Ahmad Dar, Anwar-; Iqbāl (Lahore Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1977). p. 44.

³⁴ Bāl-i jibril/Kulliyāt, p. 1201412.

Writes Professor Rashid Ahmad Siddiqi :

"I have read books. I have listened to discourses. I have enjoyed conversations. I have seen He. I have reflected and de-liberated. The essence of all this which I characterise as a long and varied experience is the simple fact that the Muslim, in whatever circumstances he may be, would never feel small. He would not cow down It may be knowledge and scholarship, wealth and majesty, devotion and courage, but he knows and is confident that as a Muslim he had been the master of all this and can becomes so again."³⁵

Believers, according to Iqbal, cannot bow before the passing shadows of failures. They know they have to succeed in the long run. Iqbal maintains :

وہ چنگاری خس و خاشاک
سے کس طرح دب جائے
جسے حق نے کیا ہو نیستان
کے واسطے پیدا³⁶!

["A spark created by God for burning the whole forest (of falsehood) cannot be overwhelmed by straws and grass sweepings."]

The Holy Qur'ān declares

³⁵ Iqbal: Shakhshyat our Shā'irī, p. 4.

³⁶ Bāl-i Jibrīl/Kuiliyāt, 25/317.

هُوَ الَّذِي ۸ أَرْسَلَ رَسُولَهُ بِالْهُدَىٰ وَدِينِ الْحَقِّ لِيُظْهِرَهُ عَلَى الدِّينِ كُلِّهِ وَلَوْ كَرِهَ
المُشْرِكُونَ³⁷

["He it is Who has sent His messenger with guidance and the religion of Truth, that He may cause it to prevail over all Religion, however much the idolaters may be averse."]

And says Iqbal:

مقام شوق بے صدق و یقین نیست
یقین بے صحبت روح الامیں نیست
گر از صدق و یقین داری نصیبی
قدم بے باک نه ، کمس درکمیں
نیست!³⁸

["The desired status cannot be achieved without truthfulness and faith, And faith we cannot have without becoming a companion of Gabriel. If you have relished even a little bit of faith

then plant your foot fearlessly. None is in ambush."]

Becoming a companion of Gabriel means possessing thorough knowledge of the Qur'an which Allah revealed to Muhammad (S.A.S.)

³⁷ ix. 33.

³⁸ Armughān-i Hijāz/Kulliyāt, p. 143/1025.

through Gabriel. It was God Who taught Gabriel the Qur'ān word by word. And Gabriel taught Muhammad (S.A,S.) the same, word by word.

In another verse Iqbal says:

ترے ضمیر پہ جب
تک نہ ہو نزول کتاب
گرہ کشا ہے نہ رازی ،
نہ صاحب کشاف³⁹

["As long as the Qur'an is not revealed upon your souj,

Neither Rāzī nor the author of Kashshāf (al-Zamakhsharī) can solve the riddles.""]

According to Iqbal, it is obvious, then, that the Qur'an can-not be followed unless faith in the truth of the Qur'an becomes soul deep. Iqbal's undaunted and hopeful stance all his life shows the depth of his faith in the truth of the Qur'ān. Even the darkest moments when the Muslim Ummah suffered total defeat and underwent complete subjugation could not shake him.

His confidence in the ultimate victory of Islam never wavered.

He believed that the tide that had turned against the Muslims was not to remain like that for long. It was soon to turn in the favour of Muslim Ummah. We know every person does have, at times, fits of optimism. But

³⁹ Bāl-i Jibrīl/Kulliyāt, p. 78/370.

fits are always afloat. Such a fitful person, off and on, returns to despondency which, in actual fact, becomes a dominant feature of his nature. Fits of hope are passing shadows for a common man, whereas Iqbal's hopeful utterances are a message which is flavoured with a steadfast and unmitigating faith. In fact, there is a world of difference between being fitful and faithful.

Here is an anecdote:

"A man came to Mu'ādh b. Jabal (R.A.) and said: 'Please inform me about two persons. One of them is very particular about saying prayers. He always performs good deeds. He does wrong rarely but he suffers from lack of conviction and is never free from doubts.' Mu'ādh (R.A.) answered: 'His doubts will ruin all that he performs.' Then the man said : 'Now, inform me about a person whose good deeds are not very many but his belief is strong, occasionally he may sin as well. Mu'ādh (R.A.) kept silence. On seeing this the man stated : 'if the doubts of the former certainly ruined all his good deeds, then the conviction of the latter must do away with his sins.' On hearing this Mu'ādh (R.A.) caught hold of the man's hand and said : 'I have not seen a jurist better than myself save this man.'"⁴⁰

Keeping the above anecdote in mind our understanding of the following verse of Iqbal, already quoted in the foregoing pages, becomes clearer still:

مرا دل مری رزم گاه
حیات!

⁴⁰ 'Abd al-Qāhir b. 'Abd Allāh, 'Awārif al-Ma'ārif (Beirut : Dar al-Kitāb), p. 42.

گمانوں کے لشکر
یقین کا ثبات⁴¹

["My mind is the battlefield of my life

where there are armies of doubts but where conviction is steadfast."]

Lothrop Stoddard, in his book *The New World of Islam*,⁴² dealt exhaustively with the process of subjugation of the Muslim territories by Western Powers. But the main theme of the book, according to what the author had observed and felt, was that the spirit of Muslims had not accepted defeat. He threw light on their inner restlessness He depicted even what the Muslims of Bukhara and Samarqand had in their minds. The book can inspire Muslim youth even today. The author laid down clearly that the dominion of Western Powers was not going to last long. He expected a strong reaction on the part of the world of Islam in the near future.

Iqbal who, as a seer, could peep into the innermost recesses of Muslim's conscience, could more surely and with more confidence know what was up there. It was Iqbal's conviction in the truth of what he foresaw that made him announce in 1923 with full force :

مسلمان کو مسلمان کر دیا طوفان
مغرب نے
تلاطم ہائے دریا ہی سے ہے گوہر کی

⁴¹ Bāi-i Jibrīl/Kulliyāt. p. 125/417.

⁴² London : Chapman & Hajl Ltd.. 1922.

سیرابی
 غطا مومن کو پھر درگاہ حق سے
 ہونے والا ہے
 شکوہ تر کمائی، ذہنِ ہندی، نطق
 اعرابی⁴³

["The Muslims were obliged to feel like real Muslims on account of Western storms.

It is surely the slappings of waves which nourish a jewej. What the believer is about to be granted again by Providence Is the majesty of Turks, the intellect of Indians, and the fluence of the Arabs."]

Iqbal's reference to Turks, Indians, and Arabs connotes the grandeur of Muslim conquerors and rulers, the loftiness and depth of their thought, and their convincing manner of saying things.

The onslaught of Western imperialism continued for more than two centuries. The West had mustered material might. New inventions had equipped the West with much superior killing devices. Asia and Africa lagged behind in this respect and thus were beaten down. The imperialists under the umbrella of their sway tried to spread their religion, culture and language. Every European nation imposed its own language as the medium of instruction and learning along with its own syllabi. They spread books containing what could engender doubts in the minds of subjugated peoples regarding their own history, religion and cultural traditions on the one hand and make them feel ignobly inferior and thus kill their souls on the other.

⁴³ Bāng-i Darā/Kulliyāt, p. 267.

The result was as could be expected. The subjugated peoples, barring the honourable exception of the men of faith, began to hate whatever was theirs and eulogise whatever was Western. In fact, everything Western was neither good nor bad only because it came from the West. Similarly, everything Eastern was neither good nor bad only because it belonged to the East. Islam enjoins upon the believers to pick up whatever is good from wheresoever it comes and is to be made use of. Good and bad do not belong to the East or the West.

But the eyes of the enslaved peoples, in general, lose the sense of correct evaluation. Normally they accept whatever rulers bring and offer because all that relates to emperors looks imperial, hence superior. Especially so is the language of the rulers. Their dress also becomes attractive. Likes and dislikes of the masters are accepted almost unquestioningly and with a grain of pride. The needy and lower strata of subjugated societies are exploited much more than others. Morsels do affect morals. King's prize kills pride. Therefore iron chains look no more like a bond of servitude. Iqbal explains this phenomenon thus :

جادوئے محمود کی تاثیر سے
چشم ایاز
دیکھتی ہے حلقہ گردن میں
ساز دلیری⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 261.

["Under Mahmūd's spellj the ring around the neck of Ayāz Looks to his eyes like a beautifying device."]

We still remember some big-wigs from amongst us who pronounced Urdu words as the English rulers did. By doing so they thought they became English and hence belonged to the aliens and not to their own countrymen. There were many who were more anglophile than the English themselves. They got good jobs but lost honour. They got high-flown titles, but were looked down upon by those who possessed sense of self-respect and appreciated the same in others. This conflict between the conquering West and the conquered East, according to 'Azīz Ahmad, did the greatest harm to the East in turning the peoples of the East into sheer emulators of those of the West. The East started begging even for values at the door of the West. Yet it was not the zest to work untiringly and not the will to conquer Nature which was emulated fondly. The enslaved communities copied their masters in respect of phoney glitter only.⁴⁵

Iqbal had no sword to wield. He had a pen. He wielded his pen. And the pen of a believing poet is a mighty weapon of war. Iqbal warned the Eastern nations, especially the Muslims, that the West had no values to live by or offer to others. Europe, in his opinion, had become powerful on account of advanced technology and material affluence. No dominion, according to him, could last long if it was not buttressed up with values. A society, though apparently strong, is inwardly weak without morals. It can be characterized as a "delicate bough" on which "no nest can rest". This Iqbal had declared in 1907 when European imperialism was at its highest.

Sir Agha Khan has mentioned how arrogantly the English people were proud of their political strength:

"I recall the breakfast party which I gave in Bombay for some senior British officials. Another guest was a cousin of mine—a devoted and loyal

⁴⁵ Iqbāl, Na'ī Tashkūī (Karachi : Kutub Khanah Taj Office), p. 464.

subject of the Queen and profoundly pro_ British. But he was a student of history. He discoursed on, the fact that an Asiatic race, the Arabs, had ruled Spain for .five hundred years and after their departure had left indelible .and splendid marks of their civilization all over Southern Spain and on the fact that another Asiatic race, the Turks, had established a major empire in the Balkans and around the Eastern Mediterranean and were still ruling it after several centuries. My British guests took this as an affront.

"We will not have such comparisons made,' they said. 'Our rule is permanent, not something that lasts a few centuries and then disappears. Even to think as you think is disloyal.'

"Ideas like these seem strange indeed now in the 1950's, when we have seen British rule in India dissolve and pass away like early morning mist before strong sunlight. But this was the atmosphere in which my later boyhood was spent, with its unhappy, brooding awareness of deepening difference and of growing misunderstanding and hostility."⁴⁶

Iqbal never tired of mentioning the magnitude of Europe's moral bankruptcy. He with vehemence expressed his belief that the power and majesty of the West was nothing more than a passing shadow. He could not be taken in by its outer glitterings He looked to the moral foundations of the modern civilisation emanating from the West. For Iqbal European way of life was basically inimical to moral values. And in his opinion, without morals no society could stand firm for long.

Arthur Jones ends his articles "Science and Moral Responsibility" with these words :

"Humanity without God is bound to succumb to the spirit of the age, and to seek its highest ideals in purely mundane objectives, of which the various fashionable ideologies are the latest example. Humanity without God

⁴⁶ Memoirs of Agha Khan, Foreword by Somerset Maugham (London : Cassel & Co., Ltd.), p. 467.

is destined to overwhelm the world with suffering and disaster. No doubt there have always been those who tried to live without God, but never had it been more ruinous, more suicidal to live without God than at the present."⁴⁷

Iqbal exhorted the Muslim East to imbibe the spirit of hard work and taste for scientific discovery in which lay the real strength of Europe. Iqbal praised the Europeans for their efficiency and labour. Enslaved peoples could learn a lot of beneficial things from their masters in various fields of learning. But as is the rule, the subjugated societies are easily hoodwinked by appearances. In slavery, human potentialities slacken. To follow easy morals suit their lethargic outlook. The good is what the rulers declare to be good. Faculty of discrimination between good and evil becomes dormant in declining societies or societies under foreign domination. Slaves take to apparent manners of their masters. This is why in the eye of a realist, slaves do not live. They are breathing dead bodies. Their spiritual death is made manifest by blind imitation of their rulers. European domination brought dancing-halls, taverns and free mixing of genders. The colonists themselves always attended Church service but propagated secularism amongst the lovers of learning coming up from the subjugated society. The Western authorities spread their own flashing fashions in countries under their dominion. And the "uppish" groups of enthralled intellectuals become liberals, thinking they had been liberated from uncalled-for restrictions, not knowing that they had fallen victims to their animal lusts blindfolded. Right choice is rarely the lot of the vassals. Enthralled eyes look without seeing. Iqbal shook his coreligionists as well as others, with whom he shared fate, to keep the discerning eye open. He urged them to observe things critically telling them to accept and reject judiciously. He explained thus :

قوتِ مغربِ نہ از چنگِ و

⁴⁷ Science and Freedom (London : Martine Seeker and Warbugh Ltd.), p. 254.

رباب

نے زرقصِ دختران بے حجاب

نے ز سحر ساحرانِ لاله

روست

نے زغریاں ساق ولے از قطع

موست!

محکمی او را نہ از لا دینی

است

نے فروغش از خطر لا طنی

است!

قوتِ افرنگ از غلم و فن

است

از ہمیں اَتش چراغش

روشن است⁴⁸

["West is powerful neither on account of its musical instruments (or musicaj concerts)

nor because of the dances by immodest (naked) girls.

⁴⁸ Jāvīd Nāmāh/Kulliyāt, p. 173/766.

Its power depends neither on the magic of beauties with glowing faces nor does it come from naked shins and cut-out tresses.

Its might does not lie in secularism.

Its prosperity is not the outcome of Latin alphabet.

Strength of Europe rests on Sciences and Arts.

This is the fire that keeps its jump burning."]

Iqbal exhorted his coreligionists to look at things with critical eyes. All that glitters is not gold. Sometimes even dross may glitter Iqbal urges upon his Muslim brethren, all the world over, to penetrate into the secret alloys of the ascendancy of Europe.

He pinpoints the reason behind it. According to him, European strength grew from the hard work done by its people in the fields of knowledge and discovery. It was their unremitting toil in all spheres of study and research. In respect of industrial know-how Western societies were far advanced than the Eastern who had fallen into the cosy lap of lethargy. Moreover, the ruling societies neither provide nor allow enslaved communities opportunities for progress. The masters, instead, lead their slaves towards the orchards of ease. They are fed on literature and thought meant to confuse their thinking and render them inert.

They are taught the culture patterns suitable to slaves. The result is as it has always been. The ruled fall into the trap of their rulers. The ruled emulate what the rulers seem to do. The ruled go by appearances. They do not try to look behind the wall. As is well known, what the Europeans showed to the subjugated communities was the obvious glamour and pomp. They built dancing-halls, taverns, theatres and clubs. They drank, they danced and they demonstrated how freely the opposite genders mixed. They exhibited fascinating fashions of costumes and haircut. But they did not try to train their "wards" to inculcate in them active habits and enterprising spirit. Iqbal

could see the trees in spite of the forest. And he went on drumming this fact into the ears of the East, especially the Muslim East. He declared that whatever was good had to be picked up and appropriated. This, according to his belief, had been enjoined upon the Muslims as is given in the following verse of his :

گفت حکمت را
خدا خیرِ کثیر
ہر کجا ایس خیر را
بینی بگیری⁴⁹

["God has stated that Wisdom is enormous good. Whosoever you find wisdom get at it.")

Yet the fact remains that to choose judiciously is an uncommon phenomenon. First, a person should really understand relevance and reference. What is good, in what respect and to whom? One has to learn a lot of history, philosophy, ethics and what not to be able to choose correctly. One has to plunge into the recesses of one's own self to know what one ought and what one ought not to learn and unlearn. Iqbal did so the whole of this life:

اس کشمکشش میں گزریں مری

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 74/602.

زندگی کی راتیں
کبھی سوز و ساز رومی، کبھی پیچ و
تاب رازی!⁵⁰

["The nights of my life were spent in a state of constant conflict, now fervent like Rūmī and then agitated like Rāzī."]

After long and toilsome pondering over the surrounding circumstances and observing the laws of Nature, he got at the satisfying conviction, as has been elaborated in the beginning of this article. He was right and convinced when he said:

الفاظ کے پیچوں میں الجھتے
نہیں دانا
غواص کو مطلب ہے صدف
کہ گہر سے؟
پیدا ہے فقط حلقہ ارباب جنوں
میں
وہ غفل کہ پا جاتی ہے شغلے
کو شرر سے⁵¹

⁵⁰ Bāl-i Jibrīl/Kulliyāt, p. 17/309.

⁵¹ Darb-i Kalim/Kulliyāt, p. 42/504.

["The wise do not get entangled in the intricacies of words, The diver minds the pearl and not the shell.

The intellect that discerns the flame in spark can be found in the circle of mad folk only (those who are generally deemed as unreasonable persons).”]

Iqbal had come to know that he was an abnormal person who saw what others could not. Such abnormal persons are called "unreasonable" by those who take themselves for reasonable individuals. There is an old Persian saying, *ہنر ور در بے ہنراں خر* which means that an experienced person among the coterie of inexperienced ones is equal to a donkey. A folly agreed upon among the foolish majority becomes the standard wisdom, and whosoever would not conform to it should be called a fool. The wise, the thoughtful and the seers have always been ridiculed and tortured by the haughty majority of the self-styled Aesops.

Iqbal also looked strange to his contemporaries. What he said sounded improbable during those days. But he was sure of the authenticity of what he said. As against other poets and philosophers, he saw with an eye possessing a spectrum of things quite different from that of the eyes of his co-visionaries. As has been expressed in a verse just quoted above he did not much bother about words and phrases. He had his eye on meanings. This is what, in all humility, he has laid down about his verses, Yet all who can read his poetry know that, as a master artist, he has chosen words, phrases and rhymes which make his thought sing. His philosophy sometimes descends upon souls directly, bypassing intellect. He had declared around the year 1926 in the following words :

خضر وقت از خلوتِ دشتِ حجاز آید

برو

کاروانِ زینِ وادیِ دور و دراز آید

برو

من به سیماءِ علامانِ فر سلطان دیده

ام

شغله محمود از خاکِ ایاز آید برو!

عمر با در کعبه و بت خانه می نالد

حیات

تازبزمِ غشقی یک داناءِ راز آید

برو !

طرح نو می افکند اندر ضمیرِ کائنات

ناله با گر سینه اهل نیاز آید برو !

چنگ را گیرید از دستم که کار از

دست رفت

نغمه ام خون گشت و از رگِ باءِ ساز

آید برو⁵²

⁵² Zabūr-i 'Ajam/kulliyāt, p. 73/465. English trans. by A.J. Arberry : Persian Psalms (Lahore : Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1968), p. 64.

["Out of Hejaz and the lonely plain
The Guide of the Time is come.
Back from the far, far vale again
The Caravan hastens home.
Lo, on the brow of the slaves I see
The Sultan's splendour bright.
The dust of Ayaz shines radiantly
With Mahmud's torch alight.
In Kaaba and Temple long, long years
The deep lament arose,
Till from Love's banquet now appears.
One Man who the Secret knows.
The sighs that out of the bosom break
Of a people at earnest prayer
A brave and new foundation make
In Life's mind everywhere.
O take the trembling lute from me,
For my hand can play no more ;
In streams of blood my melody
From the heart of the harp cloth pour."]

These five couplets are immensely prophetic.

In the first couplet Iqbal indicated clearly that the appearance of the Guide of the Time was just round the corner. And the Caravan was about to start and emerge from this valley. Iqbal did not say that the awaited Guide had to emerge from the centre of Hijāz. He said he was going to appear from a far-flung valley. For Iqbal the desert of Hijāz, at times, serves as a symbol for the Muslim Ummah. This meant that Muslims of the Pak-Indian sub-continent were about to have a man who was destined to guide them to the goal of victory and that victory was to become the starting point of the resurgence of Islam.

In the second couplet, he breaks the news of the dawn which was near at hand. The slaves were turning into magnificent masters.

In the third couplet he stresses the point that Seers come to the world of man after centuries. He was one of those Seers.

In the fourth couplet he refers to some ideology or principle quite new to the world which would affect the conscience of all humanity. And what else could it be, if it was not the right of self-determination which the Muslims of the subcontinent were about to exert ? After the emergence of Pakistan this right became a powerful reference, It served as the advent of a new principle. The Muslims of the Philippines, perhaps, would not have striven for the achievement of their "Pakistan" in their Muslim majority islands. Muslims of Thailand's sea-shore areas with Muslim majority, perhaps, would not have demanded a separate State for themselves, had Pakistan not come to be.

Then in the fifth couplet Iqbal clearly indicated that he would die before the coming of Freedom. He was sure that his verses which epitomised his

most earnest sentiments would stand in good stead in respect of exhorting the Muslims of the subcontinent on to the goal of Freedom.

And it was Iqbal who at the Allahabad session of the All-India Muslim League, in his Presidential Address, put forward the idea of a Muslim State in the North-Western majority regions of India. It was in December 1930. In the beginning, as was but natural, this idea was vague. That State could be a big autonomous Muslim province within Indian Federation. It could be out of India but within British Commonwealth. And so on. It went on evolving until it assumed the shape of Muslim State or States in the North-Western and Eastern Muslim majority zones as is obvious from the following lines occurring in Iqbal's letter of 21 June 1937 to the Quaid-i Azam, only ten months before his death :

"A separate federation of Muslim provinces, reformed on the lines I have suggested above, is the only course by which we can secure a peaceful India and save Muslims from the domination of non-Muslims. Why should not the Muslims of North-West India and Bengal be considered as nations entitled to self-determination just as other nations in India and outside India are ?"⁵³

Some vested interests of blurred vision state that Iqbal's proposed Muslim State comprised only the regions which make the present Pakistan. On the contrary, as is shown in the above extract from Iqbal's letter, Iqbal's Pakistan was what we had before the War of December 1971.

One thing more. It was Iqbal who called upon the Quaid-i Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah to lead the Muslims of India to their cherished goal. He preferred Quaid-i Azam to all other Muslim leaders. Amongst them were giants of politics who had lots of political experience and vision, for example Sir Agha Khan, Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Nawwab Muhammad Ismail Khan, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Nawwab Hamidullah Khan of Bhopal, Sir Ali Imam,

⁵³ Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah (Lahore : Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1974), p. 24.

Maulvi Tameezudin Khan, Maulana Abut Kalam, Allamah al-Mashriqi and others. But Iqbal's vision had its own reasons. He had found his Khidr-i Rāh, the "awaited Guide," in Quaid-i Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah who was destined to lead the Indian branch of Muslim Ummah to their goal of Freedom. Iqbal's words in this regard were as follows :

"I know you are a busy man ; but I do hope you won't mind my writing to you so often, as you are the only Muslim in India today to whom the community has a right to look up for safe guidance through the storm which is coming to North-West India, and perhaps to the whole of India. "⁵⁴

Similar sentiments were expressed by Iqbal, about three months before his death, regarding Quaid-i Azam Jinnah. Sayid Nazir Niyazi, in his book *Iqbāl Ke Hadūr*, has stated on pages 297 and 298 (first ed.) that the future of Indian Muslims was being discussed and a tenor of pessimism was visible from what his friends said. At this Iqbal observed.:

"There is only one way out. Muslims should strengthen Jinnah's hands. They should join the Muslim League. Indian question, as is now being solved, can be countered by our (Muslim) united front against both the Hindus and the English. Without it our demands are not going to be accepted. People say our demands smack of communalism This is sheer propaganda. These demands relate to the defence of our national existence... .

"The united front can be formed under the leadership of the Muslim League. And the Muslim League can succeed only on account of Jinnah. Now none but Jinnah is capable of leading the Muslims."

And as is stated by Matlubul Hasan Saiyid the Quaid-i-Azam, after the Lahore Resolution (subsequently called the Pakistan Resolution) was passed on 23 March 1940, talking to him said :

⁵⁴ Ibid:, pp. 20-21. Italics ours.

"Iqbal is no more amongst us. But had he been alive he would have been happy to know that we did exactly what he wanted us to do."⁵⁵

But the matter does not end here. Iqbal in his letter of 20 March 1937 had expressed as under :

"While we are ready to cooperate with other Progressive Parties in the country, we must not ignore the fact that the whole future of Islam as a moral and political force in Asia rests very largely on a complete organisation of Indian Muslims."⁵⁶

It means that, according to Iqbal, the future of Islam as a moral and political force not only in India but in the whole of Asia rested on the organisation of the Muslims of India.

Iqbal had believed in the emergence of the Guide of the Time and had declared accordingly in about 1926. He found that guide in the person of Muhammad Ali Jinnah as elucidated above. The Guide organised the Muslims of India under the banner of the Muslim League. He then put up a strong opposition to both the Hindus and the English who wanted a United India where Hindus had an overwhelming overall majority, i.e. seventy-five per cent of the total population of the subcontinent. Muslims, through their united efforts under the able guidance of Quaid-i Azam, succeeded in getting India divided into Pakistan and Bharat. The Muslims achieved their independent homeland. But, as has been laid down above, in Iqbal's view, the organisation of Indian Muslims who achieved Pakistan has also to defend other Muslim societies in Asia. The caravan of the resurgence of Islam has to start and come out of this Valley, far off from the centre of the Ummah. Let us see if, how and when Pakistan prepares itself to shoulder that august responsibility. We are sure it has to be like that. It is Iqbal's pre-vision. The

⁵⁵ M.A. Jinnah : A Political Study (Lahore : Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1962), p. 329.

⁵⁶ Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah, p. 13.

Holy Prophet has said : "Beware of the foresight of a Believer, for he sees with the Light Divine."

IQBAL'S CONCEPT OF AN IDEAL SOCIETY

Dr Muhammad Baqir

Ideal human beings create the ideal society. Islam brought together God and the World and this was a preparation for the realisation of an ideal society. Iqbal visualized this role of the religion in shaping the ideal human society. In his seventh lecture entitled "Is Religion Possible?" he says:

"Both nationalism and atheistic socialism, at least in the present state of human adjustments, must draw upon the psycho-logical forces of hate, suspicion, and resentment which tend to impoverish the soul of man and close up his hidden sources of spiritual energy. Neither the technique of medieval mysticism nor nationalism nor atheistic socialism can cure the ills of a despairing humanity. Surely the present moment is one of the great crisis in the history of modern culture. The modern world stands in need of biological renewal. And religion, which in its higher manifestations is neither dogma, nor priesthood, nor ritual, can alone ethically prepare the modern man for the burden of the great responsibility which the advancement of modern science necessarily involves, and restore to him that attitude of faith which makes him capable of winning a personality here and, retaining it hereafter".⁵⁷

The ideal man who would ultimately create an ideal society on earth is still to come. In his own words:

⁵⁷Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, pp. 188-89.

"For the present he is a sure ideal, but the evolution of humanity is tending towards the production of an ideal race of more or less unique individuals who will become his fitting parents. Thus the kingdom of God on earth means the democracy of more or less unique individuals, presided over by the most unique individual possible on earth. Nietzsche had a glimpse of the ideal race but his atheism and aristocratic prejudices marred his whole conception."

Thus the ideal society, comprising ideal human beings is yet to be created through whole human efforts. And these efforts according to Iqbal are to be based on (1) the knowledge of self ;(2) the knowledge of God.

These themes are extensively discussed by Iqbal in his prose and poetical writings in Urdu, and English. The question arises as to the source of these excellences and delving deep into Iqbal we find that the best source of his inspiration has been the Qur'an wherefrom he picked up these guidelines to attain happiness in an ideal world and the next world. Thus it will be an interesting study to briefly examine these expositions in the light of the Qur'an and the consequent trends of Iqbal to lead humanity to an ideal society.

The knowledge of self is the key to the knowledge of God. The Holy Prophet (may peace be upon him) says "He who knows himself well, knows God." That is by contemplation of his own being and attributes, man arrives at some knowledge of God. Thus, he finds in his own being reflected in miniature the power, wisdom and love of the Creator. In this way the knowledge of oneself becomes a key to the knowledge of God. Not only are man's attributes a reflection of God's attributes, but the mode of existence of man's soul affects some insight into God's mode of existence. Both God and the soul are invisible, not confined to space and time and outside the categories of quantity and quality. Nor can the ideas of shape, colour or size be attached to them. The Holy Prophet said.

”خلق الانسان على صورته“

"God created man in His own likeness"

And that is why Iqbal insists that the combination of the knowledge of self and God creates the ideal man:

خودی کا سر نہاں لا الہ
الا اللہ
خودی ہے تیغ ، فساں لا
الہ الا اللہ

Iqbal feels that the ideal man is reflected in the ideal society and unless he improves, the ideal society cannot exist and for creating ideal men he has suggested very sure and certain ways of following the Faith:

فرد و قوم اےینہ یک
دیگر اند
سلک و گوہر کہکشاں و
اختر اند
فرد می گیرد ز ملت
احترام

ملت از افراد می یابد
نظام

خوشترا آن باشد که
ایمان آوری
تا بدست آبد نجات و
سروری

IQBAL'S CRITICISM OF NIETZSCHE

Dr Muhammad Maruf

It is a common misbelief, engendered by the Western press and accepted uncritically by the Eastern scholars, that Iqbal was influenced, in certain very important respects, by Nietzsche to-wards the formulation of his concept of the Perfect Man. In this regard, however, we cannot afford to ignore Iqbal's own reaction to any such Western hypothesis in the following words : "I wrote on the Sufi doctrine of the Perfect Man more than twenty years ago, long before I had read or heard anything of Nietzsche."⁵⁸ Iqbal, then, refers to his article on Abd al-Karim al-Jili which was published in *Indian Antiquary*,⁵⁹ Bombay, September 1900, and later in 1908 formed part of his thesis on *Persian Metaphysics*.⁶⁰ He himself suggests⁶¹ for the benefit of the Western scholars that they should reach his idea, not through Nietzsche, but through Samuel Alexander (1859-1939), his senior contemporary; though even this should be done with sufficient care, for there are certain very important differences so far as the two thinkers are concerned. Thus, pointing out one important difference Iqbal writes : "I believe there is a Divine tendency in the universe, but this tendency will eventually find its complete expression in a higher man, not in a God subject to Time, as Alexander implies in his discussion of the subject."⁶² It is obvious from his own account that Iqbal was, in the first instance, influenced by such

⁵⁸ Letter dated 24 January 1921, to Dr Nicholson. reproduced in S.A. Vahid, Ed., *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal* (Lahore : Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, (1964). p 93.

⁵⁹ Full title the article is: "The Doctrine of Absolute Unity as Expounded by Abdal Karim al-Jilani [sic I]", reproduced in *ibid* , pp. 4-27.

⁶⁰ *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia* (Lahore : Bazm-i Iqbal, 1964), p. 134.

⁶¹ In his letter to Nicholson, See. S.A. Vahid, Ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 93-94.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 94.

Sufi thinkers as al-Jīlī⁶³ and Ibn al-`Arabī⁶⁴ in the formulation of his doctrine of the Perfect Man, and had already drawn the outline of his idea before he happened to read Nietzsche. To those who would suggest that he might have read Nietzsche in his M.A. classes I will simply say that courses in the history of Philosophy in those days practically went up to Hegel, and post-Hegelian thinkers, including Nietzsche, were not taken seriously. Commenting on the concept of Superman as propounded by the German thinker Iqbal suggests : "It is probable that Nietzsche borrowed it from the literature of Islam or of the East and degraded it by his materialism."⁶⁵ In his Introduction to *Payām-i Mashriq*⁶⁶ (pub. 1923), Iqbal traces, in general, the impact of Persian literature on the German literary thought which was quite profound and enduring. This shows a direct influence of the Eastern thought on the West, especially Germany.

Iqbal regrets that his position has usually been confused with that of Nietzsche through some minor and cursory resemblances, and Dickinson is among those Europeans who have done some work to create this confusion. While commenting on *Asrār-i Khudī*, he gives the impression that Iqbal has "deified physical force in the poem".⁶⁷ To this Iqbal protests that he believed in the "power of spirit" rather than in "brute force" as Nietzsche did. He believes in "conflict," no doubt, because "reality is a collection of individualities tending to become a harmonious whole through conflict..."; but his interest in conflict was ethical and not political like Nietzsche.⁶⁸ To Iqbal, this conflict is "a necessity in the interests of the evolution of higher

⁶³ Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī (1465-1508), a mystic-philosopher, who wrote the book *Insān al-Kāmil* which inspired Iqbal in forming his theory of the Perfect Man.

⁶⁴ Muhyid Dīn Ibn al-'Arabī (1165-1240), a renowned mystic-philosopher of the world of Islam who advocated the doctrine of *Tauhīd* and *Wandnt al-Wujūd*.

⁶⁵ "Note on Nietzsche" in Vahid, Ed., op. cit., p. 241. In his footnote Vahid states that this note was dictated by Iqbal to late Sayyid Ivazir Niyazi in the summer of 1937

⁶⁶ *Kulliyā .i Iqbal Fārsi*, pp. 7-13/177-83.

⁶⁷ Iqbal's "Letter to Nicholson," Vahid, Ed. op., cit., p. 94.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

forms of life, and of personal immortality".⁶⁹ Nietzsche did not believe in personal immortality and he remarked: "Do you wish to be a perpetual burden on the shoulders of time?" Iqbal criticised this view on the ground that he misconceived the notion of "time".⁷⁰ Thus, Iqbal, under the inspiration of the Qur'an, justifies "a righteous war" on the moral basis that conflict or war, if righteous and lawful, shall help the evolution of higher forms of life.⁷¹ Nietzsche's interest in conflict was political, i.e. it was for the political dominance of a certain limited group or band; that is why his philosophy led to Fascism in its various kinds.

According to Nietzsche, the "I" or self is a fiction. He was actually following the premises of Kant's First Critique. They both took an intellectual point of view which had nowhere else to lead to. Iqbal, however, contends that there is another point of view of "inner experience" from which the "I" is an indubitable fact, a fact which even F.H. Bradley was forced to admit despite his cold logic. Remarking on this aspect Iqbal says in his "Note on Nietzsche" : ". . . in its essence 'Asrar-i-Khudi' and Nietzsche are diametrically opposed to each other. 'Asrar-i-Khudi' wholly depends on the factum of khudī in which Nietzsche does not believe",⁷² Again, he adds: "When I say 'Be as hard as the diamond,' I do not mean as Nietzsche does callousness or pitilessness. What I mean is the integration of the elements of the ego so that it may be able to obstruct the forces of destruction in its means towards personal immortality."⁷³ What is really paradoxical is that Nietzsche, while denying the factum of khudī or self, should be devoting his whole time and energies to developing a doctrine of the "Superman".

As said before, Nietzsche's doctrine of the Superman is, perhaps, borrowed from the East and degraded by materialism. Iqbal compares his

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid., p. 240.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 244.

idea to the Overman of Emerson.⁷⁴ In Islamic mysticism they prefer to use the phrase *Insān-i Kāmil* which is a right amalgamation of the Divine (*lāhūt*) and the human (*nāsū't*).⁷⁵ Nietzsche was, however, devoid of this concept as his approach was purely materialistic. He failed to understand "the term spirit except in the sense of life in the metaphysical manifestations".⁷⁶ Life, according to Nietzsche, passes through three metamorphoses, namely, "camel" which is a symbol of load-bearing strength, "lion," a symbol for strength to kill without pity, and "a child" who is "beyond good and evil" and is a law unto himself.⁷⁷ This series of metamorphoses goes on repeating after a specified time, for the time movement to him is circular. It lays the foundation for his view of Immortality which is called the doctrine of Eternal Recurrence. Iqbal remarks on his hypothesis thus: "It is only a mere rigid kind of mechanism, based not on ascertained fact but only on a working hypothesis of science. Nor does Nietzsche seriously grapple with the question of time. He takes it objectively and regards it merely as an infinite series of events returning to itself over and over again."⁷⁸ This view of time and 'creation, as propounded by Nietzsche, cannot account for originality and creativity. His view is, in fact, a cloaked form of "a Fatalism worse than the one summed up in the word 'Qismat'. Such a doctrine, far from keying up the human organ-ism for the fight of life, tends to destroy its action-tendencies

and relaxes the tension of the ego."⁷⁹ According to Iqbal, Nietzsche was endowed with a true and keener insight and a heart afire, but "he broke from God, and was snapped too from himself. He desired to see, with his external

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 241.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p

⁷⁶ under the inspiration of al-Jilī to whom *Insān-i Kāmil* "is the point where *Abudiyyat* (Man-ness) and *al-Wahidiyyat* (God-ness) beco E e one and result in the birth of god-man".

19. Vahid, Ed., op. cit., p. 241.

⁷⁷ Ibid

⁷⁸ The Reconstruction of Religeous Thought in Islam, p. 115

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 116.

eyes, the intermingling of power with: love;... What he was seeking was the station of Omnipotence, which station transcends reason and philosophy".⁸⁰ He failed to reach his goal because of his materialistic traditions. As Iqbal remarks, a really "imperative" vision of the Divine came to him which gave him a kind of prophetic mentality. "Yet Nietzsche was a failure; and his failure was mainly due to his intellectual progenitors such as Schopenhauer, Darwin, and Lange whose influence completely blinded him to the real significance of his vision."⁸¹ Thus, "instead of looking for a spiritual rule . . . Nietzsche was driven to seek the realization of his vision in such schemes as aristocratic radicalism."⁸² Iqbal regrets that a great genius failed "whose vision was solely deter-mined by his internal forces, and remained unproductive for want of external guidance in his spiritual life."⁸³ Had he got to the real depth and immensity of his vision, including its spiritual significance, he would have known the Omnipotence he was groping for so zealously. Like Karl Marx, Nietzsche was also prophetic; both failed because of their materialistic interpretation of the historical processes. Again, Nietzsche's Superman was a biological product, rather than the product of moral and spiritual forces. He

⁸⁰ A.J. Arberry, Javid Name (London : Allen & Unwain, 1966), p. 112. The relevant verses are (Jāvīā Nāmāh/Kallijāt, p. 153/741)

از خدا بپريد و هم از خود
گست
خواست تا بيند بچشم
ظاہری
آنچه او جوید مقام
کبرياست
اين مقام از عقل و حکمت
ماوراست!

⁸¹ Reconstruction, p. 195.

⁸² Ibid-

⁸³ Ibid.

failed to understand the spiritual heights of which man is capable of reaching. Had he realised the significance of moral and spiritual forces in the fashioning of perfect manhood, he would not have lost his way. It was his materialistic background and his atheistic stance which seduced him away from the right path which his vision had shown him. This explains why Iqbal described him thus: "His heart is a believer's, but his brain an infidel's."⁸⁴

Iqbal feels that Nietzsche "was fully conscious of his great spiritual need. 'I confront alone', he says, 'an immense problem : it is as if I am lost in a forest, a primeval one. I need help. I need disciples; I need a master. It would be so sweet to obey,'⁸⁵ He is looking for a man who can see higher than, him-self, but he is finding none to his regret. This amply shows his dissatisfaction with his own predecessors and traditions of the West. As Iqbal says: "His eyes desired no other vision but man; fearlessly he shouted, 'Where is man?' and else he had despaired of earth's creatures and like Moses he was seeking the vision. Would that he had lived in Ahmad's time, so that he might have attained eternal joy."⁸⁶ So, like Jalāluddīn Rumī,⁸⁷ Nietzsche

⁸⁴ Payām-i Mashriq/Kulliyāt, p. 2031371

قلب او مومن دماغش کافر
است

⁸⁵ Reconstruction, p. 195.

⁸⁶ Arberry, Tr., op. cit., p. 113. The Persian verses (as in. Jāvid Nāmāh/Kulliyāt, p. 153/741) are

was also looking for "man"; but Rūmī was privileged to have a mystic proclivity, which the German sage lacked. As a result, says Iqbal in the final analysis, he failed to comprehend his own vision: he could not go beyond the stage of "negation," "being a stranger to the station of 'His servant' "⁸⁸—that is, he did not know what a servant of God is, else he would have grasped the real significance of his experience. In short, he could not comprehend the

چشم او جز
 رویت اَدَم
 نخواست
 نگرہ بیے باکانہ
 زد، اَدَم کجا
 ست
 ورنہ او از
 خاکیاں بیزار
 بود
 مثل موسیٰ
 طالب دیدار
 بود!
 کاش بودے در
 زمان احمدے
 تا رسیدے بر
 سرورے
 سرمدے

⁸⁷ Iqbal quotes Rūmī's verses in the beginning of *Asrār-i Khudī*, see *Asrār-o Rumūz/Kulliyāt*, p. 4.

⁸⁸ As-berry, *Tr.*, op. cit., p. 113. *Jāvīd Namāh/Kulliyāt*, p. 153/741 : u.. 31.

depth and spiritual immensity of his own being, a fact which caused his failing. Iqbal calls him a Hallāj who was a stranger to his own people; "he saved his life from the mullahs, and the physicians slew him".⁸⁹ What is worthy of note here is that Iqbal has placed him on the outskirts of Heavens ("Beyond the Spheres": An Sū 'i Aflāk in the Jāvid Nāmāh, i.e. he lies in between the two worlds.

Iqbal and Nietzsche differ in yet another respect which is seldom noticed, viz. in their choice and interpretation of symbols. Both make use of the symbol of "eagle," though interpreting it differently. To Nietzsche "eagle" was a symbol of "pride," calling him "the proudest animal under the sun"⁹⁰ while for Iqbal "eagle" (shāhīn) symbolises "lofty ideals,"⁹¹ "relentless

⁸⁹ Arberry, Tr., op. cit., p. 112. See Jāvid Nāmāh / Namāh/Kulliyāt, p. 152/740:

بود حلاجی
 بشهر خود
 عریب
 جاں زملا
 بردو کشت او
 را طیب!

⁹⁰ Thomas Common, Tr. (F. Nietzsche), Thus Spake Zarathustra

(New York : Modern Library), p. 19

⁹¹ Bāl-i Jibrīl/Kulliyāt, p. 120/412:

نہیں تیرا نشیمن قصر سلطانی
 کے گنبد پر
 تو شاہیں ہے! بسیرا کر پہاڑوں
 کی چٹانوں میں!

[A palatial dome is by no means your abode,

Being an eagle make your dwelling among the rocks.]

struggle"⁹² for the good, restlessness till the object is achieved, contentment and "dervish-like qualities".⁹³ In the "Zarathustra's Prologue," "eagle" is intertwined with another animal "serpent" : "And behold ! An eagle swept through the air in wide circles, and on it hung a serpent, not like a prey, but like a friend: for it kept itself coiled round the eagle's neck".⁹⁴ Zarathustra ejaculates ; "They are mine animals," and proclaims : "Let mine animals lead me !" ⁹⁵ He describes the serpent as "the wisest animal under the sun" and adds that the eagle and the serpent "have come out to reconnoitre".⁹⁶ He rather wishes to have been as wise as the serpent, which he regrets that he cannot be. He, however, combines in him the "pride" of the eagle and the "wisdom" of the serpent; his "pride" helps him in his "folly" and

⁹² Ibid., p. 61/353:

پرندوں کی دنیا کا
 درویش ہوں میں
 کہ شاہیں بناتا نہیں
 اَشیَانہ !

[O eagle ! be in perpetual flight for

You have heavens to everfly before you.]

⁹³ Ibid., p. 165/457 :

پرندوں کی دنیا کا
 درویش ہوں میں
 کہ شاہیں بناتا
 نہیں اَشیَانہ!

[I am a dervish of the kingdom of birds,

As an eagle makes no dwelling place for him.]

⁹⁴ Thomas Common/Nietzsche, op, cit., p. 19.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

compensates for his lack of wisdom.⁹⁷ Now, taking these symbols in their common meaning, the wisdom of serpent lies in its maliciousness, cowardice, hatred, and harmfulness; while eagle stands for cruelty, sadism, swiftness, arrogance and pride. Iqbal, on the other hand, gives no place to serpent; in him serpent is replaced by "lion"⁹⁸ which is the symbol of courage, nobility, strength, and pride in straightforwardness rather than in hypocrisy. As said above, he has placed a specific interpretation on his symbol of "eagle". Consequently, how unlike Nietzsche's is the picture which emerges from Iqbal's interpretation and use of symbols: a fact which differentiates his idea

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 20.

⁹⁸ Bā1-i Jibril/Kulliyāt, p. 57/349 and 128/420 respectively ;

اَءَينِ جوا
نمرداں حق
گوءِ و
بيباكى
الله كے شيروں
كو اَتى
نہیں روباہی !

[Law unto the fearless is truthfulness and frankness,
for the "lions of God. know no cunning and guile".]

خودى شير مولا، جہاں اس
کا صيدا!
زمین اس کی صيدا! اَسماں
اس کا صيدا!

[Khudī being the "lion of God." the World is its prey,
it hunts for the heavens and the earth, and nothing less.]

of the Perfect Man fundamentally from the concept of Superman of his German counterpart.

To sum up, then, despite his appreciation of Nietzsche for his keen vision and burning heart, Iqbal subjects his philosophical system, especially his idea of the Superman, to criticism on the following scores:

- (1) His materialistic interpretation of historical forces;
- (2) His misconceived notion of time which, according to him, is circular;
- (3) His denial of self or khudī as a fact;
- (4) His denial of immortality and the Hereafter ;
- (5) His mechanistic view of evolution which he conceived as an Eternal Recurrence;

(6) His failure to comprehend the true significance of his own vision; and he epitomises Nietzsche's total failings in the lack of proper spiritual guidance and ascribes this to his intellectual progenitors like Kant and his Western traditions.

IQBAL AND OUTER SPACE

Shaheer Niazi

Almost all the poetical works of Iqbal are philosophical, but his Jāvīd Nāmāh is of course an everlasting epistle of love, wisdom and insight. It is a descriptive celestial journey wherein he discussed most intricate philosophical problems and portrayed the lives of great men in the hereafter, placing them in different planets according to their calibre. Iqbal was of opinion that inter-planetary travel is possible, and to support his point of view he refers to the Ascension of the Holy Prophet. He says:

سبق ملا ہے یہ مغراج مصطفیٰ

سے مجھے

کہ غالم بشریت کی زد میں ہے

گردوں! ⁹⁹

⁹⁹ Bāli – Jibrīl, Kullīyāt, p. 27/319

[I learn from the Ascension of the "Chosen One" (Mustafa) That "Heaven" is within the reach of mankind!]

فضا تری مہ و پروین سے ہے ذرا

اگرے

قدم اٹھا یہ مقام آسمان سے دور

100
نہیں

[The sphere that may suit you is beyond the Moon;

And if you venture a step forward, the place is not very far away.]

مہرومہ و انجم نہیں محکوم

ترے کیوں؟

کیوں تیری نگاہوں سے لرزتے

[Why you (the Viceregent of Mine on the Earth) have failed in conquering outer space, and ruling the Sun, the Moon and other planets.]

In the Sun's family Mars is the next step¹⁰² beyond the Moon from our Earth. It is sometime 35,000,000 miles from Earth when it is nearer and in such a state it outshines even Jupiter. Its diameter is 4200 miles. The gravity is one-third of our Earth's and its atmosphere is relatively thin. A year on Mars amounts to 687 days and we will become younger if we are there (30 years =16 years). The day is nearly equal to ours, say about 14 hours, 37 minutes and 22.6 seconds. The cycle of its seasons is slightly different but basically similar. A suspicion about the possibility of life on Mars was aroused with the discovery of the Martian canals by an Italian named G.V. Schiaparelli in 1877 and then in 1892 when W.H. Pickering spotted some oases on the surface of Mars. The best photographs of the Martian canals were those taken by E. Pettit in 1939 and this was one year after the death of Iqbal (21 April 1938).

So far as the question of life on Mars is concerned, it may be pointed out that Mars is not the only planet where life is suspected, but it is probable

¹⁰¹ Armughān-i-Hijāz/Kulliyāt, p. 27/669.

¹⁰² Patrick Moore, *The Planets* (ed, 1962), p. 81

that life or, more accurately, some sort of living organism may exist on Venus and other planets also, to be discussed later. According to Patrick Moore,¹⁰³ Lowell was convinced that the canals on Mars were artificial and constructed by some intelligent being, to whom Mars was the abode of life.

It is surprising that Iqbal has portrayed the life of the Martians in a most singular style as if he were a real witness of it and he did this at a time when adequate information about Mars was not at hand. However, we should record his statement before we discuss it. The following translation of his verses is not exactly literal, but I have tried my best to interpret them as correctly as possible. He says:

"After a pause H found myself in another world wherein the conception of time and space was altogether different. Despite the fact that the same Sun shone there, it sanctioned' a new order of the day and night to that planet. The most striking was that the body (of the inhabitants) was unaware of the customary way of maintaining the soul. There was no pain, no fatigue and no excess of work (including flight) that could cause old age.

"My guide Rūmī, the teacher of the men of insight, diverted my attention towards the wonders of this planet saying: 'Look at it, this is Mars.' I saw that in a great plain there was a very huge building of an observatory erected on a hillside where a very big telescope was installed.

"Rūmī said : 'This is a world of the lure of varieties like that of our Earth, having cities, countries, palaces and streets. The inhabitants are well

¹⁰³ Ibid ., p.98.

versed in physical and spiritual sciences. like learned men of the West ; in comparison with us they are more advanced in all respects. They have got a perfect hold on space and time because they are better versed in cosmology and astrophysics. Contrary to the dwellers of the Earth, their body is subordinate to their soul. The Law of Nature for this planet is that when a soul enters a body it moves the physique as it wishes. There all the rapture and intoxication is due to the command of the soul over the existence and the non-existence of the physical body, while on our planet the existence is double-sided, i.e. the soul which is unseen and the body which is seen. To the people on Earth, the body and soul are like a bird and a cage but on Mars "Life" is something like mental behaviour. When some-one is about to die on Mars, he becomes more active and happy than before, because of this change (departure) and usually one or two days before his death he declares it in the presence of his people, telling them what is going to happen. Their souls are not the product of their biological process and undoubtedly they are not dominated by their physical environment. When a Martian dies, it means nothing to him but to dissolve his body into his soul or to retreat from the physical life into "himself". This discourse is above your understanding because your soul is sub-merged in your body. Let us relax for some time here. Indeed such an interval would not have been granted to anyone by God.'

The Emergence of the Martian Astronomer from His Observatory "An aged man wearing a snowlike beard (came out of an observatory) who seemed to have been busy with literary and philosophical works for a

number of years. He was like a Seer of the West and his brief-case too was like theirs. He was a man of good height having a radiant face. He was well versed in all the manners and etiquettes and from his look he seemed to be a very serious thinker.

"When he saw a man (i.e. me) he was extremely glad and he addressed me in the language of Tūsī and Khayyām (Persian) and he said: 'It is strange that the "Man" made of clay has ascended so high despite all his disadvantages and drawbacks. The "Dust" (Man) has flown so high without an aeroplane. To those who were stationary has been given the trait of the moving.'

"His conversation was very fluent and flawless and I wondered how he was so eloquent and I doubted very much whether it was a dream or a magic that a Martian was speaking of the secrets so frankly. He spoke again: 'In the days of the "Chosen" (i.e. the Holy Prophet) there was a man amongst the people of Mars who resolved to visit the land of Adam. He propelled his wings in space and reached the desert of Arabia and then he re-corded all that he had seen from the East to the West. His works are more attractive than the heavenly garden. I too myself have been to Iran and Europe and I have gone round the country of Egypt, the land of the Nile, and I have been to India, the land of the river Ganges. I have also visited America, Japan and China for my geophysical research work. I keep myself well informed about the day-to-day changes on the Earth and for this purpose I have been visiting the Earth. I know all about the soil and the oceans of the Earth. All the

movements of the sons of Adam are in our knowledge while, contrarily, they are unaware of our adventures.'

"Rūmī told him: 'I am from the heaven and my companion belongs to the Earth and he is intoxicated without a cup of wine. He is a carefree man and his name is Zindah-rūd (the Living Stream) and his rapture is due to keen study of the "Nature of Things". Now when we happen to be in your city and being in the world without any bondage, we are naturally in the quest of new manifestations and we do request you to be with us for a while.'"

The Martian Philosopher Speaks

"These are the suburbs of Marghadīn-i Barkhiyā, named after the Father of our forefathers (the Father of the Martians) whose name was Barkhiyā. It happened (once) that Farzmurz (Satan), commander of the evil character, went to see Barkhiyā in Paradise and said to him : "Why are you resting here in sub-ordination to the God of Goodness, while there is a better world than yours ? That paradise is the abode of everlasting pleasure while this one where you stay is a timely blooming. That world is above all the worlds, even above 'Nothingness'. The God of Goodness is not aware of that and (I assure you that) I have never seen a world of more freedom than that because there is no interference of any god in its administration. There is no Book, no Prophet and no Gabriel. There is no circumambulation, prostration, prayer and the praise of a Prophet." Barkhiyā said: "Ye the Charmer! go away from here and cast your spell in that world." "

"Then he (the Martian philosopher) told us : `Simply be-cause our Father Barkhiyā did not fall a victim to the evil designs of Satan, God (Almighty) gave us a new world. Come and see this God-gifted country "Marghadīn," its customs and its laws.'

Round the City of Marghadīn

"How should I describe the grandeur that was the city of Marghadīn and its magnificent buildings? Its citizens speak softly and gently. They are handsome, cultured, polite and plainly dressed, Their way of thinking is free from the pains-taking studies and still they are aware of the secret of the chemical formation of the Sun (Solarology—the science of the elements of what the Sun is made of). Any of the Martians who wants to have some silver or gold immediately produces it from the Light juntas we procure salt from the water of the sea. On Mars the sole purpose of knowledge is the service of living beings. They take no interest in the arts and crafts for the sake of monetary gains. They have no coins or currency and these idols could make no headway in their temples. The devil has cast no shadow on their minds. Their sky is not crowded with gaseous clouds. Their cultivator or tiller of the earth is always immune from the high-handedness of the landlords. Their farms and the means of irrigation are free from disputes in connection with the water-supplies and their crops are shared by none. There are no military forces and no one earns his livelihood by fighting against anyone or by killing people. This is also remarkable that in Marghadīn people do not use the pen to tell lies or for the propagation of Evil. There is no crowd or

humming in the Bazaars of Marghadīn caused by the jobless people (as it is on the Earth) and no noises of the beggars tease the ears of the passersby.

A Dialogue between the Martian Philosopher and Zindah-rūd "The Philosopher:

"There is no beggar here and no one is in want of anything. There is no master and no "slave" here, no "governor" and no "governed".

"Zindah-rūd:

"To be a beggar or in want of anything is by the Will of God. To be the "governor" or the "governed" is also by the Will of God. There is none other than God to will the destiny of any-thing and there is no remedy when it is His Will.'

"The Philosopher:

"If you are aggrieved because of a certain destiny, you pray to God for another destiny. It is legitimate to pray for another destiny because the Will of God is not limited. The inhabitants of the Earth have lost the sense of self-respect because they do not understand the meaning of "destiny". I imply that God behaves¹⁰⁴ with you as you behave with yourself and that is the secret of life.

¹⁰⁴ "God will behave as you expect him to behave with you," says Ibn 'Arabi'. See, A.E. `Affifi, *Mystical Philosophy of Ibn 'Arabi'* (ed. 1939), p. 163.

"If you live like dust, He will blow you in the air ; if you are like stone, He will smash you against a glass. If you are like a drop of dew, then a fall is your destiny and in case you are like an ocean, your destiny is a long life. But you have been in-venting and introducing all the time new images of Lāt and Manāt¹⁰⁵ and pray to them for the safeguard of your pleasures and interests. The unawareness of the "Self" has become your faith and your thoughts have become a bondage for you. You have grasped that there is a kind of destiny that gives you sorrows without any wealth and another destiny that gives you wealth without sorrows, but you do not understand that such a doctrine will make the poor poorer. Woe be to such a faith that gives you a deep slumber and keeps you sleeping for the worse! Is it a religion or a lure or a magic? Is it a religion or a pill of opium?

"Do you know from where the¹⁰⁶ intellect" emanates ? And from where a Houri comes in the dream of a man? Do you know what is the source of the philosopher's thought?

Do you know what is the secret of the prophetic prayer? Do you know what is `insight' and "manifestation"? Do you know what is the origin of the arts and the miracles?

The power of eloquence that you possess is not from within yourself;

And the fire that kindles in your heart to work is not from within also.

¹⁰⁵ Lāt and Manāt were two female deities which were worshipped by the Arabs at Mecca.

¹⁰⁶ vii, 55.

It is all from 'Blooming Nature' and "Nature's from God, the Creator.

What is life? It is like a mine of precious stones.

You are simply a custodian while the owner is someone else (God).

An enlightened heart is a grace for the righteous man, for whom the object of life is nothing but the service of humanity.

The service of humanity has been a tradition of the Prophets but it becomes a bargain for those who want something in return.

Like air, dust, cloud, farm and field, garden, forest, palace, street, stone and clay, there is nothing that may be claimed as your property. All of them belong to God. The Earth that belongs to God, you say it is yours; what is this way to interpret the Quranic verse *lātufsid fi'l'ard*?

The sons of Adam are busy in evil deeds and naturally the result of satanic deeds is always disruption.

It is of course conventional that the security is not violated by the custodian himself and therefore righteous are those who believe that the State belongs to God! "

There are seven or eight verses more in this poem, but they are not useful here and the rest of the chapter deals with the illegal entry of Qurrat al-'Ain Tahirah,¹⁰⁷ in this region of Mars and we should see whether his

¹⁰⁷ Tāhirah was one of the most fanatic followers of Bahā'ullāh, the founder of Bahaism.

statement is simply poetic imagination, intuition or a scientific speculation. The first part of this question can be dropped easily because the nature of his statement is evidently not poetical only and it seems to be based either on intuition or on some sort of scientific information, and that is what we are going to discuss further. There are some fundamental questions which may be posed as under: (1) What is "Life? (2) Should "Life" exist on our Earth only and if not then what is the possibility of life on other planet and in what circumstances? (3) What are the so-called 'Unidentified Objects' (U.F.O.'s = Flying Saucers) and from where do they come? (4) Is it true that some visitors from outer space have been on our planet from time to time and what is the purpose of their visit?

The meaning of "Life" (a living organism) is very difficult to define particularly when we are prone to prove it a result of some chemical or biological process, as we do in connection with the Psyche (Mind). However, I will take into account the opinion of the ancient and the modern scientists to solve the problem.

Life or A Living Organism

The most ancient thought was that the anima (shade) which can be identified with "soul" is the main source of living organisms whether this is human life or the life of the animals and plants. Plato (427-347 B.c.) and Aristotle (387-322 B.c.) ascribed the various functions of living bodies to the Psyche and distinguished vegetable, animal and intellectual functions. Plato

believed that the human Psyche was largely independent of the body and capable of a separate existence, but Aristotle regarded Psyche (Man or Soul) and Soma (Body) as inseparable. In the seventeenth century an Italian biologist Francesco Redi (1668 C.E.) worked on the biological analysis of living organisms and it was the beginning of an experimental approach towards this problem. In the eighteenth century Spallanzani (d. 1799 C.E.) added a lot of information to our biological knowledge. In 1857 C.E. Cagniard de la Tour, a French investigator, found that the fermentation of beer was the result of the activities of tiny organisms. Then the theory of the complicated microbes took a new turn with the germ-theory of Louis Pasteur.

During the latter part of the nineteenth century there was a considerable change in the method of discussion on the question of the origin of life. The writings of Charles Darwin, T.H. Huxley, Tyndall, Schafer and others had marked the beginning of a pure materialistic point of view just opposite and contrary to all the religious philosophies and revelations. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, European writers and thinkers were busy in presenting the old wine in the new cups to the world on the pretext of original thinking. I will not go into the details of such transmutations except to say that the Western scholars were reproducing the works of Muslim philosophers without making any reference to them, otherwise they could have mentioned Ibn Rushd, Ibn Sīnā' and Ibn Maskawaih, who had not only propounded the theories of Plato and Aristotle but had added a lot to it and improved the ideas of Democritus, Anaximander and Empedocles.

Those who have gone through the essay of John Tyndall on "Vitality." (1866 C.E.) can recollect without being confused that he borrowed his idea from Anaximander (600 B.C.) who observed that the energy for life was derived ultimately from the Sun and that plants were essential for trapping solar energy and playing an intermediary role in the transmission of energy from the Sun to animals. I wonder how Charles Darwin's theory of Evolution, termed the "Origin of Species," could be popularised despite all its absurdities. I think it will be interesting if I quote some lines from a letter written by Charles Darwin to his friend Sir J. Hooker, wherein it reflects that Darwin was not serious on the point of physical evolution and the "Origin of Species". He wrote to Hooker: "It is mere rubbish thinking at present of the origin of life; one might as well think of the origin of matter."¹⁰⁸

It is evident that -modern biologists are still under the influence of Plato, Aristotle and Anaximander as we have already cited. In modern biology Psyche (Mind) is the product of certain elements and compounds and we cannot separate "Mind" from "Body" and this is what Aristotle said in 322 B.C. Thomas Henry Huxley¹⁰⁹ and Julian Huxley, the most noted biologists of the West, have discussed these theories in detail. Jackson and Moore¹¹⁰ have surveyed the modern theories while discussing the possibility of life on other planets. There was a time when the Christian Church committed to flames all the scientific works and killed many of their scientists for

¹⁰⁸ Jackson and Moore, *Life in the Universe*, p. 22.

¹⁰⁹ The author of a book, *On the Physical Basis of Life*.

¹¹⁰ Jackson and Moore on, *cit.*, p. 23

propounding Pseudo-Christian doctrine, but the Church failed and David Hume very boldly declared:

"If we take into consideration any religious material we should try to find out whether there is some philosophy, logic or reasoning or not to establish some fact and in case it contains nothing but sophistry and illusion, then commit it to the flames."¹¹¹

With the spread of academic teachings, European scientists, materialists, biologists, biochemists, bacteriologists, and embryologists were gradually becoming antinomians. After working for a long time on the "Theory of Elements" of Empedocles, a great biologist of Alexandria, they propounded two new theories of life. One of them was termed "Radiopanspermia," which proposed that "Life" may not have originated on the Earth itself but the "Seed of Life" or dormant forms of organisms might have been spread in Space and life could grow only where circumstances were favourable. The other one was termed "Lithopanspermia," which suggested that the "Seed of Life" was transported from another planet to this Earth by means of the meteorites. Both these theories were propounded by a Swedish scientist, Svante Arthenius. In my opinion these theories were a sort of religious hypothesis and were derived from the story of Adam's migration from Heaven to this Earth. It will not be out of place if I recollect once again that the "Four Elements" of Empedocles have become more than ninety-two now according to a Russian biologist Vinogradov,¹¹² but still some elements

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 24.

¹¹² A.P. Vinogradov, Biological Elements (English translation from Russian)

like carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, nitrogen, phosphorus, sulphur, sodium, magnesium, chlorine, potassium, calcium, iron, copper and iodine are regarded as more important. Then in 1920 two biologists, J.B.S. Haldane of England and A. I Oparin of Soviet Russia, by chance reached one and the same conclusion in their hypothesis on the origin of life on this Earth and this theory was called the "Haldane-Oparin Theory"¹¹³ according to which the source of life on this earth was ultra-violet radiation, reminding us of the Theory of Anaximander once again but it should be noted that some organisms can survive without oxygen and water.

After a critical survey of opinions about the origin of life, no one can deny that almost all the biological definitions of "Life," "Psyche" (Mind), Soul (Arabic, Nafs) or the "Spirit" (Arabic Rūh) are entirely unsatisfactory and it is all due to our so-called "Rationalism," otherwise the Divine Message would have satisfied those who claim to be Christians or Jews. The Muslims are satisfied and they believe that "Life" or "Spirit" (Rūh) is the "Will of God"¹¹⁴ which cannot be explained despite all our efforts and attempts. We find that all the attempts are abortive time and all the efforts are futile. Evidently the "Spirit" the (of some a separate "Entity" and not a bi-product biological process as the modern scientists believe. It is clear that the first hurdle to be removed is the misconception of the "Origin of Life" without which we cannot solve our problems quickly.

¹¹³ Haldane, *The Inequality of Men*, Penguin Books, 1937.

¹¹⁴ Qur'ān xxii. 85.

Exobiology: The Extraterrestrial Life

The second question is: "Should life exist on our Earth only and, if not, then what is the possibility of life on other planets and in what circumstances?" In reply we have nothing to argue against the possibility of life on other planets but to admit plainly that this is not necessary for a living organism to exist on our planet alone despite the fact that some scientists insist that there should be similar circumstances on another planet for the exist- once of a living organism. This is the point where I differ and in my opinion they are slightly mistaken because a different kind of living organism can survive in a different atmosphere and circumstances as plant life does on our Earth. I find that some European astro-biologists are gradually conceding this. However, it will be easier to discuss the problem if we take into account some specific points of view and fundamentally I prefer the views of Sir H. Spencer,¹¹⁵ who has stated :

"In attempting to discuss whether life can exist on any other world, we come up against the difficulty that we have no certain knowledge of how life originated on the Earth. Suppose we could show that on some other world the conditions were essentially similar to those on the Earth, would it be legitimate to assume that because life has come into existence on the Earth,

¹¹⁵ Sir H. Spencer Jones, *Life on the Other Worlds* (A Mentor Book, 1960),pp. 20-21.

there must necessarily be life also on the other world though perhaps in different forms from those with which we are familiar ?

"On the other hand, if we could show that the conditions on another world differed from those on the Earth to such an extent, would it be a legitimate conclusion that the other world must be a world devoid of life ?

"May we not have some justification for assuming that the forms of life that now exist on the Earth have developed through a slow process of evolution, to suit those conditions and that if different conditions were found to prevail elsewhere in the universe, different forms of life might have evolved?

"It is conceivable for instance that we may have beings, the cells of whose bodies contained silicon instead of carbon which is an essential constituent of our cells and of all other living cells on the Earth."

When we scrutinize the statement of Sir H. Spencer Jones, we find that his difficulty in not knowing the Origin of Life on this Earth with certainty is in vain because even a certain know-ledge about it, apart from the Divine Revelation, would have proved futile to establish the fact that a living organism becomes essential when such and such conditions are available.

Secondly, even conditions to those on Earth may not similar essentially be the cause of life, on the one hand, while, on the other hand, there can be "Life" in different conditions, even in adverse circumstances, because the patterns of life are innumerable like stars in this universe, and we have no

clear idea of the "Musts" and "Musthots" for a certain organism which is not similar to our own and which is not known to us as yet.

Thirdly, modern biologists are not justified in assuming that life on our Earth has developed through a slow process of evolution because evidently the Darwinian Theory of the Species 'is an outdated hypothesis already rejected by many biologists. I have previously cited that Darwin was not serious about his hypothesis and that is why it is full of absurdities. Sir Jones is also self-contradictory on the point of evolution because he stated previously that people have no certain knowledge of the origin of life on this Earth. This and other similar difficulties of men are due to their disbelief in God and His Power of creation. However, we infer on scientific ground that there is a possibility of life on other planets, though it may be different from ours. Jackson is not wrong when he says that "it would be a sheer conceit on our part to maintain that Homo-sapiens must be the ideal model for life on the other world."¹¹⁶ Now, what we conclude is that no particular combination of specified elements is required to give birth to a living organism which invariably comes into existence under unknown circumstances, very mysteriously and only by the Will of God ; therefore "Life" can be anywhere even in the coldest planet like the Moon or the hottest like the Sun.

Visitors From Outer Space

¹¹⁶ Jackson and Moore, op. cit., p. 115.

It is already noted that Iqbal mentions the Martians' visitation to Our Earth from time to time and to support this idea we shall have to produce documentary evidence, but first of all we should take into account the amazing stories about the mysterious U.F.O.'s (Unidentified Objects=The Flying Saucers) which will help us understand the problems of space-travel and the depth of our knowledge. Evidently our knowledge of outer space and universe is poor and our information scanty. We also find that our expanding knowledge about the Universe is creating puzzles. "As much as man unravels each new mystery, he is assailed by fresh doubts and torments for he has caught a glimpse of another mystery lying ahead. For the explorer in any field it is probably yet undiscovered territory vaguely seen in the distance that sparks the search for knowledge," is rightly observed by Vyacheslav Zaitsev.¹¹⁷

According to reports that appear occasionally in the Press, we can assume that the Flying Saucers began to appear after the use of Atom Bombs by America in Japan in 1945 and since then until now they have been appearing mostly in Russia, America, Britain, France, Australia and at last in China, which indicates that there is some mystery behind their visits and these mysterious visitors are seriously concerned with our Atomic tests and similar nuclear activities which are evidently less peaceful and more destructive, while it can be visualized at the same time that the destruction of our planet will involve some other planets with-in the Solar system or eventually it may cause the death of the Solar system as a whole.

¹¹⁷ Sputnik (Monthly Digest). Jan. 1967, p. 164.

In the beginning people did not take any serious notice of these mysterious shining objects which were generally shaped like saucers and some scientists like Dr Donald H. Menzel,¹¹⁸ a professor of Astrophysics at Harvard University, belied all the witnesses and declared that the so-called Flying Saucers were not spaceships but merely "sensory aberrations" of various kinds, or "atmospheric phenomena," but he and other scientists like him could not convince educated people in America and Russia who understand what an atmospheric phenomenon means. Today "optical illusion" theories of flying saucers carry no weight and they are rejected by Russian and American scientists, including Professor J. Hynek, the astrophysicist, and Professor. F. Salisbury, the astrobiologist. Dr Valleo,¹¹⁹ another participant in the 1966 International Mathematical Congress held in Moscow, is of opinion¹²⁰ that the question of the visitors from outer space should be considered seriously.

So far as the reality of Flying Saucers is concerned, we know nothing definitely, but so far as their appearance is concerned, they are generally of oval shape, glowing with red and green lights. They are either cigar-shaped or like flattened balls. Their searchlight is very glaring and their speed is tremendous. Thousands of people have seen them throughout the world and once in early 1955 I saw them myself, when I was residing in Garden East (Karachi). They were four in number and were hanging in the sky near

¹¹⁸ Donald Menzel, *The World of Flying Saucers* (N.Y. edition).

¹¹⁹ Dr Jacques Valleo, author of *Anatomy of Phenomenon*, published by Henry Regnery & Co., New York. He is a French mathematician and astronomer now residing in Chicago (U.S.A.).

¹²⁰ *Sputnik (Digest)* Dec. 1967, p. 78.

the mosque of Pakistan Quarters. The most tantalising habit of man is that he rejects everything which is beyond his reach or understanding and it naturally hampers his progress in many cases. Dr. Gustave Naan,¹²¹ a prominent Estonian scientist, is of opinion that our common sense becomes a most unreliable adviser when we are confronted with a perfectly new situation. There is a lot of literature on U.F.O.'s now and Daniel Cohen has discussed this issue in his review¹²² on some books and articles in the Science Digest, but we have no scope for detailed discussions here and therefore a brief survey will suffice to understand the present situation of the U.F.O. s.

Mr. Colin Norris, the Vice-President of the "Flying Saucers Research Society" (Australia), had issued a statement¹²³ to the Press in July 1963, on the basis of some trustworthy evidence of those responsible citizens who had seen the Flying Saucers them-selves. One of his witnesses from South Australia was actually reduced to a nervous breakdown when he encountered a bright red object on the roadside near the small township of Sandy Creek. He revealed that the unusual craft was parked across the road but when he stopped his car to investigate it, the craft made a dreadful noise and shot up into the sky, leaving a trail of jet-like smoke. Norris also disclosed that two "space-balls" which were found near Broken Hill were identified by the scientists as being parts of some strange type of spacecraft. Another report was recorded on the authority of an Australian Church Mission in England. Thirty-seven natives had seen some Flying Saucers a few hundred feet above

¹²¹ Ibid., p. 79. 24.

¹²² Science Digest, June 1965, pp. 41-44.

¹²³ Daily News, Karachi, 30 July 1963.

the building of the Mission at Papua (New Guinea) in June 1959. Marie Pierre Larrive¹²⁴ believes in the existence of Flying Saucers but fails to understand the purpose of their visits. Vasily Kuprevich, President of the Academy of Sciences of Byelorussia, holds a different view. In his opinion,¹²⁵ they are still visiting the Earth without contacting people and their intellectual development may have attained such a level that they hold us no higher in their opinion than we do our ancestors, the cavemen.

On 16 August 1960, in the presence of other geologists, N. Sochevanov, a geologist himself, saw an orange disc with a sizeable diameter between the mountain tops near the village of Koktal in Kazakistan. On 12 July 1964, Professor V. Zaitsev was flying from Leningrad to Moscow aboard a TU-104-A, when he saw that a huge disc suddenly appeared below the liner's fuselage, flew a parallel course for a while and then turned aside with a burst of speed. L. Tsekhanovich, an astronomer and geodesist, reported that he had seen a disc diving over Novy Afon, Abkhazia, on 24 September 1963. In the following year, on 17 June 1966, V. Krylov, a geophysicist, witnessed a similar phenomenon with a group of colleagues over an outlying district of Elista, in Northern Caucasus. The trajectory of the flying object was somewhat devious, almost spiral. V. Akhuratov, an experienced Arctic flier, has observed U.F.O.'s many times from the ground and in the air. In addition to these reports¹²⁶ many people have reported similar experiences

¹²⁴ Dawn, Karachi, 15 May 1966.

¹²⁵ Sputnik. Dec. 1967, p. 77.

¹²⁶ Ibid., pp. 77-78.

from the Soviet Baltic Republics and from Gorky, Kharkov, Murmansk and other regions of the U.S.S.R.

It is a reasoned statement by Russian scientists and, though there are hundreds of pieces of evidence from America, Australia and other places, there is no need to list them here. Therefore I leave aside the story of Truman Bethurum who claimed that he had spent some time on a Saucer from a planet Clarion whose captain was a beautiful woman named Mrs. Aura Rhanes and other similar stories including that of George Adamski of California who claimed that he had been on friendly terms with some Venusians, Martians and Saturnians and that he had some experience of flying on Saucers, or the story of Cedric Allingham who produced¹²⁷ a photograph of his Martian friend whom he had met on the coast of Scotland. It will be interesting to refer to a report¹²⁸ about a "Visiting Card from Outer Space," which carried a story told by Joao de Rio, an employee of tile National Wagon Factory at Cruzeiro, who met a visitor from Outer Space. "He was a tiny fellow having large luminous eyes and who addressed him in perfect Portuguese. He handed his visiting card, to Joao. It was a piece of a strange meta which is not found on our Earth and it carried an inscription in some unknown language."

On the basis of the account which we have taken into consideration, it can be inferred that the U.F.O.'s (Flying Saucers) are something real and not

¹²⁷ Donald Keyhoe, *The Flying Saucer's Conspiracy*.

¹²⁸ *The Washington Post* (Paris edition) 24 April 1967, reported on the basis of a book, *The International Cosmos* edited by Boris which includes articles written by prominent biologists and astrophysicists.

imaginary. Now these Flying Saucers are recognised by American and Russian scientists including a man of the calibre of Boris P. Konstantinov who is the Vice-President of the Academy of Sciences (U.S.S.R.) and who has seriously dealt with the problem and collected¹²⁹ all the important treatises written by top-ranking Russian scientists. In the same collection F.Y. Zigel on scientific grounds has rejected all those who regarded the U.F.O.'s as "Sensory Aberrations" or as "Atmospheric Phenomena".

Before proceeding further I would imply that Iqbal was not wrong when he cited in *Jāvīd Nāmāh* that the Martians are the masters of space; they visit our Earth whenever they like and they can speak our languages. They know many things about us while we know nothing about them as yet.

Evidence From the Ancient Record

Now the fourth question is whether the inhabitants of some other planets have been visiting our Earth or not. In the past we had no reply but now when we have benefited from recent discoveries of some strange rock-images in Japan, Australia and Uzbekistan (U.S.S.R.), specifically in Farghana District, the native place of Bābur and Humāyūn, we are in a position to assume that the phenomena which we term U.F.O.'s are not strange and modern and these objects were known to the ancient world before us, but most probably they too were ignorant about their origin and that is why we find rock-images without descriptive inscriptions. These rock-images depict very strange man-like creatures wearing pressure-suits, pressure-helmets and

¹²⁹ Sputnik, Jan. 1967, pp. 162-81.

fully equipped with breathing-filters, slot-goggles (to see in the dark) and transmitters in the form of helmet-peaks. These images are very old and they are placed in the Bronze Age, say about 2000 B.C.

According to a Russian report,¹³⁰ "It was 1965 when a Chinese archaeologist startled the whole world by his hypothesis, implying that the spaceships from some other world have been visiting our Earth for the last 12,000 years", i.e. 10,000 B.C. A German magazine¹³¹ had observed in its review that for the last twenty-five years Chinese archaeologists have been exploring the caves in the Bayan Kara-Ula Mountains, on the border of China and Tibet, and they have been discovering odd-looking stone discs covered with indecipherable writing. About 716 discs are already discovered which are apparently thousands of years old. Like a gramophone record, each disc has a hole in its centre from which a double-groove spiral makes its way to the circumference. The grooves are not sound tracks, but the oddest writing in China and in the rest of the world. The Chinese archaeologists and palaeologists took a very long time to decipher the ancient writings of the caves, but when the secret of the spirals was disclosed by these experts, the report was so shattering that its publication was banned by the Peking Academy of Prehistory. However, the ban was lifted very soon and the author published his book under an intriguing title. The caves high up in the Bayan Kara-Ula Mountains where the rock-images and inscriptions were discovered are inhabited by the Ham and Dropa tribes. When one of the

¹³⁰ Das Vegetarische Univeisum.

¹³¹ "Groove Writing Relating to Spaceships As Recorded on the Discs, Existed 12,000 Years Ago." Cf. Sputnik, January 1967, p. 165.

hieroglyphs was deciphered it was revealed: "The Dropas had come down from the clouds in the gliders and when the men on Earth understood their sign-language they realised that the new-comers had peaceful intentions." Another Ham hieroglyphic inscription expresses regret over the loss of their own spaceships during a dangerous landing in high mountains and their failure in an attempt to build new ones on this Earth. For the sake of advanced research these mysterious discs were sent to Russian scientists who scraped them and found that these discs contained a large amount of cobalt¹³² and other metals which are not found on our Earth. It was a shocking discovery when the Russian scientists found these discs were still vibrating to an unusual rhythm as if they carried an electric charge or were part of an 'electric circuit. These discs are of course a challenge to science. According to an ancient legend of China, once upon a time some small, gaunt, yellow-faced men had come down from the clouds. They had very big heads and extremely thin and weak bodies. The Chinese rode on their fast horses, fought against them and ultimately they fled away. Now the reality seems to confirm the legends. In some of the Bayan Kara-Ula caves archaeologists and speleologists have found 12,000-year-old vestiges of graves and skeletons. These remains belong to human beings with huge craniums and underdeveloped skeletons. The Chinese expeditions which discovered the burial grounds reported that they had found "an extinct species of ape," but the Russian scientists rejected this view on the ground that the apes do not bury their dead and they have no ability to write hieroglyphic symbols on stone discs.

¹³² Spulnik, January 1967, p. 165.

Still more astonishing is that the inner walls of the caves are covered in many places with pictures of the rising sun, the moon and the stars, spaced by a multitude of pea-sized dots re-presenting spaceships which are coming down from the sky and landing¹³³ in a mountainous region.

The famous Tassili frescoes which were found in the heart of the Sahara by a French military officer, Brenand, also mention some egg-like big objects from heaven. Another French expedition led by Henri Lhote found that, apart from the pictures of animals and hunting scenes, these frescoes depict strange figures dressed in what looks exactly like the most modern space-suits and the spherical helmets which are attached to the suits. Lhote¹³⁴ regards these enigmatic figures as "Martians". Describing the ancient drawings; on the cave walls, the French explorer says that one of them depicts a man appearing from an egg-shaped object covered with concentric circles. To our astonishment there is a similar Peruvian legend according to which the ancient inhabitants of Peru were born from bronze, gold and silver eggs which had fallen from heaven. Jean Elisee Reclus has referred to this legend in his work entitled *La Terre*. We find that the French discovery, the Peruvian legend and the Greek mythology, according to which Helen and Nemesis were born of celestial eggs, have much in common. There is also a Latin American legend of the same type and we can infer that the legend of the celestial eggs, like other legends, would have originated from some bonafide impression of an actual event.

¹³³ Ibid., p. 166.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

During excavations at different times in Japan, their archaeologists have also found some figurines (dogu) depicting human beings in odd-looking space-suits, with helmets wholly covering their heads. On their heads are visible marks of something like slit-type glasses, breath-filters, antennae (hearing aids) and even a kind of device to see in the dark. Reviewing the latest Soviet space achievements, a German magazine¹³⁵ printed a selection of rock-drawings and photographs of dogu and cited that these figurines were ample proof that our Earth has been visited by some beings from another world. Many similar rock pictures have been discovered throughout the world. There are pictures of spacemen on cave walls in the Val Comonique, the Swiss Alps, in Australia and at a place, twenty-five miles from Farghana, near the city of Navoi, in Soviet Central Asia, but I will not take all of them into account unnecessarily.

Now when it is proved that some kind of intellectual life is possible outside our world and this too that some intelligent beings have been visiting our Earth from outer space for peaceful purposes, the only question that remains to be answered is as to why man is trying to reach some other planet so anxiously. A reply that comes from modern scientists is that the speed of the growth of population on our Earth is tremendous while our re-sources are limited, therefore we must possess¹³⁶ another planet to migrate to and also to utilise its resources to live a better life on this Earth. The Holy Qur'an tells us that "Man" is hasty and ignorant, and now we realise that he really is,

¹³⁵ Freie Welt, Nov. 1966.

¹³⁶ Sputnik, January 1967, p. 216 Sputnik,

because he fails to understand that, though the resources on Earth are limited, they are not insufficient for mankind. Is it not a fact that we have not exploited the whole earth as yet?

Before I conclude it seems imperative to return to the question of the possibility of life on Mars. We cannot omit the possibility of life on Venus also, which is rapidly becoming a rival in this regard and Dr John Strong, Professor of Experimental Physics at the Johns Hopkins University (U.S.A.), is very hopeful of finding the existence of an intellectual life on this planet, but we have to deal with Mars here and not with other planets. An-other American biologist, Dr Sanford Siegel,¹³⁷ Head of the Extraterrestrial Biology Department Research Institute, Tarry-town (N.Y.), believes that an intellectual life may exist on the planet Mars. In the opinion of Nikolai Semyonov,¹³⁸ an eminent Russian physicist and a Nobel Prize Winner, "Mars has an atmosphere, though rarefied, with little oxygen for breathing, but our thermonuclear reactors may help to create an atmosphere and a climate favourable to human life on that planet. Mars has water and oxygen could come from water and from rocks too."¹³⁹ Now there is reason to infer that if man can make a planet habitable, it may prove to be inhabited already by some intellectual being, with a slight difference in organism.

There is no doubt that before the death of Iqbal in 1938, some science fictions including H.G. Wells' First Man On the Moon and The War of the

¹³⁷ Daily News, Karachi, 2 April 1965.

¹³⁸ January 1967, p. 179.

¹³⁹ Cedric Allingham, Flying Saucers from Mars (London, 1934).

Worlds were in the world market and the photographs of the canals on Mars had been talked of for a long time, yet there was nothing to help Iqbal in portraying an intellectual life on Mars so lucidly. It is an incontrovertible fact that Iqbal was neither a scientist in the strict sense nor a prophet who could base his statement on Revelation ; then what he is left to be is an eminent thinker with a gifted insight, which he really was.

It is remarkable that the visitors from outer space were invariably portrayed as ugly creatures while, contrarily, Iqbal tells us that Martians are well-dressed and handsome creatures. To our astonishment Cedric Allingham⁴ had cited the same in 1954. According to Iqbal, Martians are far more advanced than us in all respects and they are not only outstanding scholars, linguists, scientists, geologists, biologists and astrobiologists, but they are the masters of space and they can fly to other planets with as much ease as we travel from one city to another. However, we have no alternative but to regard Iqbal's work a science-fiction at the moment, which may prove its own worth along with the scientific progress and shocking discoveries in the future.

THE KEY POINT IN IQBAL'S EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY

Muzaffar Hussain

For any meaningful discussion on Iqbal's educational philosophy it is essential that we should first try to understand his views on man's nature, and his ultimate destiny. According to Iqbal, the "essential nature of man, then, consists in will, and not intellect or understanding".¹⁴⁰ He regards human will as "a germ of infinite power, the gradual unfoldment of which must be the object of all human activity".¹⁴¹ In his view, "a strong will in a strong body is the ethical ideal of Islam".¹⁴² Criticizing the educational system of his times he says very emphatically:

"I venture to say, that the present system of education in this country is not at all suited to us as a people. It is not true to our genius as a nation, it tends to produce an un-Muslim type of character, it is not determined by our national requirements, it breaks entirely with our past, and appears to proceed on the false assumption that the ideal of education is the training of 'human intellect rather than human will.'¹⁴³

The key point in Iqbal's educational philosophy, therefore, is the training of human will.

¹⁴⁰ Syed Abul Wahid, Ed. Thoughts & Reflections of Iqbal (Lahore : Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1964), p. 35.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid., p. 41

¹⁴³ Ibid., p. 45.

Personality Man's personality can be defined as a combination of various wills held together by a unity of directive purposes.¹⁴⁴ To explain more elaborately, the wills constituting the various aspects of human personality can be listed as below:

Personality Aspect Needs Will-Attitudes Biological

- | | | |
|----------------|--|--------------------------|
| 1. Food | | will to be |
| 2. Dress | | will to live |
| 3. Shelter | | will to survive |
| 1. Marriage | | will to survive and pre- |
| 2. Procreation | | serves species |
| | | Socio-biological |

Personality Aspect Needs Will-Attitudes

- | | | |
|----------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Socio-cultural | 1. Education | Will to acquire knowledge and skill |
| | 2. Training for economic products | Will to produce and earn |
| Psychological | 1. Cognition | Will to cognition |
| | 2. Conation | Will to conation |
| | 3. Affection | Will to affection |
| Psychical | 1. Conscious | Will to harmonise cons- |
| | 2. Unconscious | ciousness and unconsciousness |
| | Harmony | |

¹⁴⁴ Allama Muhammad Iqbal, Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam (Lahore : Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1965), p.

	Transcendental
1. Knowledge Reality	Will to know the Ultimate
2. Art	Will to transfer world into aesthetic order
3. Morality	Will to transfer world order into moral order
4. Religion:	
(a) Communion with God God	Will to have communion with
(b) Efficacy of Prayer	Will to pray
(c) Yearning to live in	Will to love God and eternal conscious co- achieve eternal life presence with God.
5. Ideal social order order	Will to achieve ideal world

Each of the wills listed above is an energy or force. Human personality can, therefore, be conceived as a combination of these forces which admit of various arrangements.¹⁴⁵ These various arrangements/formations of the wills are referred to as Shākila by the Holy Qur'an which determine the value of man's actions:

¹⁴⁵ Javid Iqbal, Ed. (Muhammad Iqbal), *Stray Reflections* (Lahore : Sh, Ghulam Ali & Sons, 1961), p. 17.

"Every man acteth after his own manner but your Lord knoweth who is best guided in his path" (xvii. 84).

One definite arrangement in which the transcendental (more specifically, religious) wills assume the governing or directive role is the real personality of man. Such personality is bestowed on man as his potential nature, the actualization of which must be the highest aim of life and hence the ultimate aim of education. To achieve his real personality man has to make effort and various wills have to be arranged in such a manner that the will to love God becomes the supreme overriding will and all other wills are governed and disciplined by it. When a personality with such will-attitudes is constituted, man takes a new birth. In fact, only such a personality is worth the name of personality as the Holy Qur'an warns:

"And be not ye as those who forgot Allah, therefore He caused them to forget their souls (personalities)" (lix. 19).

This verse is the very basis of Iqbal's concept of the self.¹⁴⁶ His concept of soul, personality, ego or self is, therefore, only that kind of man's self-

¹⁴⁶ The present author pointed it out for the first time in his serialised article under the caption Khudī Aura .Aakhirat which appeared in Islāmī Ta'lim two-monthly Journal of the All-Pakistan Islamic Education Congress, Lahore, in Vol, I, No. 2(March-April 1973), and again in Vol, II, No.4 July-August 1974) that Iqbal derived his idea of the self from this verse of the Holy Qur'an. The views of the author were confirmed indirectly by Sayyid Nazir Niyazi in his "Reminiscences" published in the Mīthāq (a monthly journal of Anjuman Khuddām al-Qur'an, Lahore), January-February 1974, p. 74. The relevant portion is reproduced below:

ٹئشے کا فوق البشر زیر بحث آیا تو میں نے درخواست کی کہ اس باب میں دانستہ یا نادانستہ جو غلط فہمیاں پیدا ہو گئی ہیں یا کر دی گئی ہیں ان کا ازالہ ضروری ہے۔ ناقدین نے خواہ مخواہ فوق البشر کا سلسلہ نائب حق سے جوڑ رکھا ہے۔ فرمایا: ان کا ازالہ تو میں کر چکا۔ میں نے جو کچھ کہا میرے ناقدین اسے غور سے کیوں نہیں پڑھتے؟ میں نے عرض کیا: میں انہیں کے خیال سے کچھ ضروری سمجھتا ہوں کہ ان غلط فہمیوں کے پیش

consciousness which is aroused and activated by God-consciousness.¹⁴⁷ When God-consciousness becomes the illuminating centre of man's self-consciousness, he realises his real position in the universe as one of the greatest energies of Nature called upon by God to remake and refashion the universe by conquering the natural environment and bringing an ideal social order into being character. Every educational endeavour should, therefore, aim at carving out of human life a character which Iqbal regards as "the ultimate equipment of man, not only in his efforts against a hostile natural environment, but also in his contest with kind-red competitors after a fuller, richer, ampler life."¹⁴⁸ It is, therefore, not difficult to understand Iqbal's utter dissatisfaction and disgust with those educational systems which restrict their function to mere intellectual development of the human self. He favours only that-type of educational system which can bring out characters or Volitional personalities:

"The intellectual self is only one aspect of the activity of our total self. The realization of the total self comes not by merely permitting the wide

نظر چند ایک باتوں کی ایک حد تک وضاحت ہو جائے اور وہ بھی آپ کی طرف سے، تو اچھا ہوگا۔ فرمایا: اگر تمہارا ایسا ہی خیال ہے تو کل سہ پہر کا وقت مناسب رہے گا۔ ذرا جلدی چلے آنا۔ دوسرے روز حاضر خدمت ہوا اور کاغذ فلم لے کر بیٹھ گیا، تو فرمایا: یہ سامنے کی الماری میں قرآن مجید رکھا ہے۔ قرآن مجید اٹھا لاؤ۔ میں اپنے دل میں سمجھ رہا تھا کہ شاید مجھ سے فلسفہ کی بعض کتابوں کی ورق گردانی کے لیے کہا جائے گا۔ میں اٹھا لایا تو ارشاد ہوا: سورہ حشر کا آخری رکوع نقل کرلو۔ رکوع نقل کرچکا تو پھر چند ایک عنوانات کے تحت یکے بعد دیگرے کچھ شذرات لکھوانے لگے۔ یہ دن تھا جب میں پوری طرح سمجھا کہ اقبال نے نائب حق کا جو تصور قائم کیا ہے اس کی اساس فی الحقیقت کیا ہے۔"

The Quranic verse quoted by Iqbal is the first verse of the portion of the Holy Qur'an which Sayyid Nazir Niyazi was asked by Iqbal to re-produce.

¹⁴⁷ Darb-i Kalīm/Kulliyāt, p. 15/477

خودی ہے تیغ، فسار لا الہ الا اللہ

خودی کا سر نہاں لا الہ الا اللہ

¹⁴⁸ S.A. Vahid, Ed., op. cit., p. 41.

world to throw its varied impressions on our mind, and then watching what becomes of us. It is not merely by receiving and intellectually shaping the impressions, but mainly by moulding the stimuli to ideal ends and purposes that the total self of man realises itself as one of the greatest energies of nature."¹⁴⁹

When the love of God dominates the entire will-hierarchy of man he develops a personality with a Divine taste kindling an insight of looking upon the world of matter as subservient to man in the realisation of his social goals struggle. The obstruction of the world of matter in the realisation of human ideals, then, becomes an incentive for struggle and a favourable circumstance in the development of his self. Science is a useful weapon in this struggle. According to Iqbal, "the Universe that confronts us is not *bātil*. It has its uses."¹⁵⁰ The world of matter is an indispensable obstruction which forces our being into fresh formations. Its most important use is that, in our efforts to overcome the obstructions offered by it, we "sharpen our insight and prepare [ourselves] for an insertion into what lies below the surface of phenomēn coming closer to God. He believes that" it is the intellectual capture of and power over the concrete that makes it possible for the intellect of man to pass beyond the concrete."¹⁵¹

Neomysticism of Science. Thus, according to Iqbal, science is important for two reasons: (i) It bestows power on man which enables him to capture the material world, and (ii) it sharpens his insight for a closer and better appreciation of God.

Science and technology, therefore, assume an extremely important place in Iqbal's philosophy of education. He regards the scientific observer of Nature as a kind of mystic seeker in the act of prayer; because scientific

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 115.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 114.

¹⁵¹ Reconstruction, p. 131.

observation of Nature keeps us in close contact with the behaviour of Reality."¹⁵²

"The quest after a nameless nothing, as disclosed in Neo-Platonic mysticism—be it Christian or Muslim—cannot satisfy the modern mind which with its habits of concrete thinking demands a concrete living experience of God."¹⁵³

The education of science thus become a God-seeking, God-appreciating and God-finding activity in the educational system of Iqbal which "disenthrals man from fear giving him a source of power to master his environment".¹⁵⁴ He, therefore, proposes an educational system in which "Religion and Science may discover hitherto unsuspected mutual harmonies"¹⁵⁵ and are no longer antagonistic. For him science blended with religion is a kind of mysticism most appropriate to the minds of the present generation. He proclaims emphatically that science divorced from religion is nothing but blindness and woefully laments that secular science and technology presently in vogue in our educational system inculcates a forgetful attitude towards God. He, there-fore, raises a clarion call for waging war against Godless science which has polluted the minds of the present generation.¹⁵⁶ He exhorts the Muslims to create a new world order by integrating science with religion in their educational system so that it gives "a spiritual interpretation of the universe" which is one of the basic needs of humanity today.¹⁵⁷

Individual's Spiritual Emancipation. In the training of human will for spiritual emancipation, Iqbal maintains that "the medium of great personality" is essential. For him religion of a people is "the sum total of

¹⁵² Ibid., p. 30.16.

¹⁵³ Ibid., p. 90.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.,

¹⁵⁵ p. vi.

¹⁵⁶ *Zabūr-i 'Ajam/Kulliyāt*, p. 95/487

¹⁵⁷ *Reconstruction*, p. 179.

their life-experiences finding a definite expression through the medium of a great personality".¹⁵⁸ He believes that the personality of the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H.) is operative in the spiritual emancipation of individuals and all mankind, and will continue to be so for all times to come.¹⁵⁹ Our educational system must, therefore, impart such instruction to its educatees as motivates them to follow the life of the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H.) as an ideal of individual spiritual emancipation of the highest order as well as for the creation of a unique society based on the freedom and equality of all the individuals. He says: "in view of the basic idea of Islam that there can be no further revelation binding on man, we ought to be spiritually one of the most emancipated peoples on earth".¹⁶⁰ He also revered the illustrious personalities of great Muslim saints (mystics) as in their company great transformations of character used to take place and the model of the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H.) shone in their lives in full glory. He greatly admired their role in the society as upbringers.¹⁶¹ He, however, lamented that such saints are so rare in our times, and it saddened his heart that this great institution of sufism had become so barren.¹⁶² For the revival of this great institution he prescribes neo-mysticism of God-appreciative science. It is now for the Muslim scientists to play the role of mystics and evolve "a method physiologically less violent and psychologically more suitable to a concrete type of mind".¹⁶³

Spiritual Democracy Iqbal views democracy as the most important aspect of Islam.¹⁶⁴ "Islam," says he, "has a horror of personal authority. We

¹⁵⁸ S.A. Vahid, Ed., op. cit., p. 31. Iqbal derives this idea from the following Quranic verses: and

¹⁵⁹ *Jāwīd Nāmāk/Kulliyāt*, p. 128/716. Also see Iqbai's letter to Muhammad Niyazuddin Khan published in *Makātīb-i Iqbal* (Lahore : Bazm-i Iqbal), p. 40.

¹⁶⁰ Reconstruction, pp. 179-80.

¹⁶¹ *Bāl-i Jibrīl/Kulliyāt*, p. 14/306 :

¹⁶² *Asrār-o Rumūz/Kulliyāt*. p. 18 :

¹⁶³ Reconstruction, p. v

¹⁶⁴ S.A. Vahid, Ed., op. cit., p. 51.

regard it as inimical to the unfoldment of human individuality."¹⁶⁵ According to him, the "best form of Government for such a [Muslim] community is democracy, the ideal of which is to let man develop all the possibilities of his nature by allowing him as much freedom as practicable".¹⁶⁶ He however, confesses that the Muslims with democracy as their political ideal could do nothing for the political improvement of Asia and that their "democracy lasted only for 30 years and disappeared with their political expansion".¹⁶⁷ He pays rich tribute to the British empire which spread this civilising factor with missionary spirit in the political evolution of mankind.¹⁶⁸ But at the same time he also maintains that democracy in Europe could not fully bloom and soon degenerated into an instrument of exploitation:

"The idealism of Europe never became a living factor in her life, and the result is a perverted ego seeking itself through mutually intolerant democracies whose sole function is to exploit the poor in the interest of the rich."¹⁶⁹

Our educational system must, therefore, provide instruction, training and practice in the Islamic concepts of freedom and equality in order to bring about that kind of "spiritual democracy which is the ultimate aim of Islam."¹⁷⁰

Conclusion, Briefly speaking, the central theme of Iqbal's educational philosophy is to produce an Islamic type of personality and character through the training of human will so that they can play their destined role in the world in meeting the challenge of this age. According to him, "humanity needs three things to-day:

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 52-53.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 54.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 52.

¹⁶⁹ Reconstruction, p. 179.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

[i] A spiritual interpretation of the universe,

[ii] Spiritual emancipation of the individual.

[iii] Spiritual democracy.¹⁷¹

For the attainment of these objectives we may recommend for practical purpose that:

(i) Science should be made a God-seeking, God-appreciating and God-finding source of knowledge. For this purpose the concept of Tauhīd should be integrated with scientific teachings.

(ii) The sīrat of the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H.) should find a central place in our educational system so that the students develop an emotional and intellectual attachment with his great personality and practically follow him as a model of ideal character throughout their lives.

(iii) The Islamic concepts of equality (masāwāt), fraternity (ukhuwat) and freedom (hurriyat) should be taught and inculcated in the students so that they are enabled to practice "spiritual democracy" when they start practical life after their education.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

ECONOMIC PHILOSOPHY OF IQBAL

Dr Khawaja Amjad Saeed

Iqbal—The Anti-Imperialist. Iqbal, the great thinker of Islam, was the first economist of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent to raise his voice against the exploitation of Muslims by domestic and foreign classes controlling the means of production. It was not an easy task to open one's mouth on such matters in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century against foreign imperialists who held Muslims responsible for the War of Independence (1857), and clamped censorship and other restrictions on speeches and writings. Yet Iqbal picked up courage to expose the designs of the alien rulers working under the cloak of "Imperial Liberalism" even when he was only a student at the Government College, Lahore, and used to recite his poetry in the annual gatherings of the Anjuman Himāyat-i Islam. In the beginning he composed his verses in the traditional low key but gradually he changed his tune until his thunders rocked the British Empire and finally ripped open the Imperial Crown glittering with the Koh-i Nūr snatched from the Muslim Emperors of India.

First Urdu Publication on Economics. Iqbal started his career in 1899 as a teacher of history and philosophy, at the Lahore Oriental College. It was in 1903 that he wrote a book on Economics in Urdu: 'Jim al-Iqtisād. That was the time when the classics of Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, Ricardo, Alfred Marshall and Taussig were taught all over Europe. But in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent even teachers and scholars .had only a hazy idea of this subject. In fact, except for three Universities, it was not yet introduced at the University level anywhere in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. But the talented

poet not only studied this subject, he also familiarized it to the Urdu-knowing public.

This publication established Iqbal as the first Muslim economist of the subcontinent. In the absence of a technical dictionary from English into Urdu it was no; easy to write or translate a book on Economics. Yet credit goes to Iqbal that he, not only introduced the subject in as simple a language as possible, but also, for the first time in the history of Urdu literature, rendered economic terms and terminologies into Urdu which served as a beacon light for the next generation of writers on Economics.

Poverty Affects Human Soul. This compilation of Iqbal is remarkable also in another way. He has included thought-provoking suggestions and marginal notes at various places which bespeak of his ingenuity and inquisitive mind. He has written an introduction which, in later years, proved a landmark in the political history of the subcontinent. He underscored the relations between economic activity and human psychology and raised the question of the effect that a man would have on his body and mind if he is unable to meet both ends meet. And then he himself provided the answer saying that poverty affects human soul very deeply. "The mirror of soul is tarnished," he wrote, "and man is reduced to nonentity both morally and socially". Iqbal felt deeply at the poverty of people in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent in the post-1857 war period. "Is poverty indispensable in the present-day world economic order"? Is it not possible that the heart-rending bewailings of the poor in the streets of India are silenced for ever? Is it not possible that the heart-moving and pathetic scenes of poverty are effaced from the world map for ever?

Iqbal continued his contemplation on questions he had raised in his treatise on Economics as far back as 1903, and found the answer in 1930 when he delivered his famous address at the Allahabad session of the All-India Muslim League. At that time the poverty of India and especially of Muslims had touched the rock bottom as a result of the British policy of

Imperial Preferences to shift the burden of the world economic crisis (i.e. Great Depression) of 1929-30 to the colonies. India had to resort to largescale cut in public expenditure. The most to suffer were Muslim employees, labourers and business men who were already living on margin.

Economic Genesis of Pakistan Movement. Since the Muslims had been driven to this plight by the exploitative manoeuvres and discriminatory attitudes of the domestic and the foreign rulers, the only way out, Iqbal proposed in his Allahabad address, was that the Muslim majority areas of the subcontinent should be separated from the main subcontinent. Muslims and Hindus are two separate nations and could not live together, he pointed out. An excerpt from his Allahabad Address is given below:

"I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single State. Self-Government within the British Empire, or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India."¹⁷²

These words of Iqbal created a flutter in the circles of vested interests, but the Muslim nation found a powerful leader in the person of Quaid-i Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah who made a great political issue of this reasonable proposal and, after seventeen years of relentless struggle, Pakistan was achieved. Iqbal, too, did not sit idle. He pursued the idea vigorously and continued fighting for the economic cause of Muslims till his demise in 1938. A few months before his death when negotiations were still going on between Quaid-i Azam and the British Government, he expressed his views emphatically on the subject and said that the only solution lay in the establishment of a separate homeland for Muslims. On 28 May 1937 he wrote:

¹⁷² Latif Ahmed Sherwani, Ed., *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal* (Lahore : Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1977), p. 10.

"The problem of bread is becoming more and more acute. The Muslim has begun to feel that he has been going down and down during the last 200 years. Ordinarily he believes that his poverty is due to Hindu money-lending or capitalism. The perception that it is equally due to foreign rule has not yet fully come to him. But it is bound to come."¹⁷³

This realization came to the Muslim masses through Quaid-i-Azam who waged the twin battle against the Hindu bourgeois and British imperialism and, in the end, succeeded in creating Pakistan where the Muslims are free to tackle with their problems in any manner they like.

It was Iqbal who issued a clarion call for the creation of a separate homeland for the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, and it was this call which initiated the long, arduous, and historic struggle for the achievement of Pakistan. His verses, speeches and letters stand testimony to the fact that it was he who first hit upon the two-nation theory which led logically to the idea of two separate homelands.

It may be observed here that Iqbal had not yet clearly pro-posed a separate and independent State for Muslims. In the beginning' he formulated the two-nation theory and later proposed sovereign Muslim States in the Muslim majority areas as the only definite goal of the long, persistent and glorious struggle for independence. It was emphatically stated by him between May 1936 and November 1937 in his correspondence with the Quaid-i-Azam.

In his Allahabad Address Iqbal stated:

"The character of a Muslim State can be judged from what the Times of India pointed out sometime ago in a leader on the Indian Banking Enquiry Committee. 'In ancient India,' the paper points out : 'the State framed laws

¹⁷³ Iqbal wrote thirteen letters to Mr M.A. Jinnah (four in 1936 and Nine in 1937). The extract is from his letter dated 28 May 1937, See Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah (Lahore : Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1974), p. 17.

regulating the rates of interest; but in Muslim times, although Islam clearly forbids the realisation of interest on money loaned, Indian Muslim States imposed no restrictions on such rates', I therefore demand the formation of a consolidated Muslim State in the best interests of India and Islam. For India it means security and peace resulting from an internal balance of power; for Islam an opportunity to rid itself of the stamp that Arabian Imperialism was forced to give it, to mobilise its laws, its education, its culture, and to bring them into closer contact with its own original spirit and with the spirit of modern times."¹⁷⁴

Iqbal provided a framework for an individual and for the Muslim national identity through his philosophical doctrine of Khudī which he expressed in his captivating poetry.

Historical Addresses of Iqbal delivered three speeches¹⁷⁵ on Budget in the Punjab Legislative Council of those days. He also delivered a speech on the resolution regarding application of the principle of assessment of income tax to the assessment of land revenue of 23 February 1928 in the Punjab Legislative Council. His two historical Presidential Addresses of Allahabad¹⁷⁶ and Lahore¹⁷⁷ are of significant importance and give the outlines of the strategy for his economic thinking.

Islamic Law Should be Further Developed in the Light of Modern Ideas. Islam is the basic ideology of Pakistan. This was clearly stated by Iqbal in his letter of 28 May 1937 to Quaid-i Azam:

¹⁷⁴ Sherwani, Ed., op. cit., p 11.

¹⁷⁵ 192728 Budget, 5 March 1927: 1929-30 Budget, 4 March 1929 : 193031 Budget, 7 March 1930. For relevant Budget speeches, see *ibid.*, pp. 44-45, 59-61 and 62-65, respectively.

¹⁷⁶ Presidential Address delivered at the Annual Session of the Muslim League at Allahabad on 29 December 1930. Reproduced in *ibid.*, pp, 3-26.

¹⁷⁷ Presidential Address delivered at the Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League at Lahore on 21 March 1932. See *ibid.*, pp. 26-43.

"Happily there is a solution in the enforcement of the Law of Islam and its further development in the light of modern ideas. After a long and careful study of Islamic Law I have come to the conclusion that if this system of Law is properly under-stood and applied, at least the right to subsistence is secured to everybody."¹⁷⁸

Iqbal visualized early the enforcement of Islamic Economic System as a solution to the economic problems of Muslims. An excerpt from his above-mentioned letter is given below in this context:

"But the enforcement and development of the Shariat of Islam is impossible in this country without a free Muslim state or states. This has been my honest conviction for many years and I still believe this to be the only way to solve the problem of bread for Muslims as well as to secure a peaceful India."¹⁷⁹

The economic plight of Muslims prominently figured in his mind and he was desperately keen to find a solution to this problem. He attributed the following factors responsible for the poor economic conditions of Muslims: (1) Hindu money-lenders; (2) Capitalism; (3) Foreign rule.

Disagreeing with the atheistic socialism of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as a solution to the economic ills of Muslims, he firmly believed in the Islamic Economic Order as a panacea for their problems.

New International Economic Order Iqbal was conscious of the exploitation which the rich Western nations forced upon the poor and underdeveloped Eastern countries of the world. He seems to have foreseen a new international economic order which is being hotly debated and discussed today in international forums. Iqbal thought that the policy of capturing new colonies and markets was at the root of the sharpening antagonism among

¹⁷⁸ Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah, p. IS,

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

Western countries. His sense of justice was outraged by the colonial system which permitted developed nations to subjugate the less developed ones. Condemnation of the exploitative nature of Western civilization frequently appears in his poetry during this period. In 1936 he wrote:

امتے بر امتے دیگر چرد
دانه ایس می کارد، آن حاصل کرد
از ضعیفان ناں ربودن حکمت است
از تن شان جان ربودن حکمت است
شیوہ تہذیب نو آدم دری است
پردہ آدم دری سودا گری است¹⁸⁰

[One nation pastures on the other,

One sows the grain which another harvests,

Philosophy teaches that bread is to be pilfered from the hand of the weak,

And his soul rent from his body,

Extortion of one's fellowmen is the law of the new civilisation. And it conceals itself behind the veil of commerce.]

He strongly stood as a valiant champion of the economic emancipation of Muslims as is testified by the following excerpts from one of his speeches made at Lahore:

"I am opposed to nationalism as it is understood in Europe, not because, if it is allowed in develop at India, it is likely to bring less material gain to

¹⁸⁰ Pas Chih Bāyad Kard Ay Aqwām-i Sharq/Kulliyāt, p. 30/826.

Muslims. I am opposed to it because I see in it the germs of atheistic materialism which I look upon as the greatest danger to modern humanity."¹⁸¹

"The people of Asia are bound to rise against the acquisitive economy which the West has developed and imposed on the nations of the East. Asia cannot comprehend modern Western capitalism with its undisciplined individualism."¹⁸²

The following well-known verse from his poetry indicates the frame of his mind about his feelings towards the exploitative attitude of the West:

دیار مغرب کے رہنے والو خدا کی بستی
دکھناں نہ ہیں یہ
کھرا جسے تم سمجھ رہے ہو وہ اب زر کم
عیسار ہو گئے¹⁸³

[O, Residents of the West! God's earth is not a shop;

The gold you think to be genuine will now prove to be debased.]

Austerity, Developing countries are all caught up in the crisis of underdevelopment in the face of vast unlimited resources and in the face of steadily rising curve of needs and ambitions. Caught in this paradox, one important strategy for them is to adopt austerity as a guiding inflexible rule to allow resources to go into economic construction. Iqbal was a great

¹⁸¹ Presidential Address delivered at the Annual Session of All-India Muslim Conference at Lahore on 21 March 1932. See Sherwani, Ed., op. cit., p. 28.

¹⁸² Ibid., p. 39.

¹⁸³ Bāng-i Darā/Kulliyāt, p. 141.

champion of this cause and recommended it time and again. Examine the following statement:

"[My] Father was not very fond of European clothes. He always advised me to wear our national dress. Similarly he disapproved of expensive material for clothes, and rebuked me if I spent money unnecessarily."¹⁸⁴

Socio-Economic Changes Iqbal believed that socio-economic changes were necessary for the establishment of social justice.

At the same time he qualified the implementation of these changes dependent on the moral perfection of man, in which Islam must have a deciding role.¹⁸⁵

"What they call Commerce is a game of dice:

For one, profit, for millions swooping death.

Their science, philosophy, scholarship, government Preach man's equality but drink man's blood."¹⁸⁶ Socio-Cultural and Economic Strategy. The five-point plan which Iqbal proposed in his Presidential Address on 21 March 1932 at Lahore is summarized below:

(1) The Muslims should join one all-embracing political organisation with provincial and district branches all over the country.

(2) To raise a national fund of Rs.50 lac for setting up a Muslim political organization.

¹⁸⁴ Chapter 3: "Iqbal My Father," by Javaid Iqbal, in Hafeez Malik, Ed., Iqbal—Poet-Philosopher of Pakistan (Studies in Oriental Culture, Number Seven—Iqbal, New York: Colombia University Press, 1971), p. 61.

¹⁸⁵ Chapter 5: "ideology of Muslim Nationalism" by L.R. Gordon Polonskaya (a prominent Soviet Ideologist), in Hafeez Malik, Ed., op. cit., p. 121.

¹⁸⁶ V. Kiernan, Poems from Iqbal (Bombay: Longmans, 1955), pp. 42-43.

(3) Formulation of Youth Leagues and well-equipped volunteer corps throughout the country under the control and guidance of the central organization.

(4) Creation of male and female cultural institutes in all the big towns of British India.

(5) Creation of "an assembly of ulema" including also Muslim lawyers well versed in modern jurisprudence.

Iqbal Wanted Land Reforms. During Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms era, all the three Legislative Councils were dominated by the feudal class whose basic aim was to protect and promote their vested interests in the country.

Iqbal stood for the oppressed class of peasants and advocated land reforms. It will be a befitting tribute to the memory of Iqbal if we develop an equitable system of agriculture in which the cause of peasants is well looked after for ensuring social justice for the peasants and for making a major break-through in boosting agricultural production.

The memory is still fresh in our mind when "in the Nili Bar Colony the Government had decided to sell three and a quarter lakh acres of land to big land-owners. Iqbal [justifiably] proposed that half of this land should be reserved for peasants."¹⁸⁷

Iqbal came to realise that in a just polity, land as a means of production should be owned by the society for the benefit of all. "al-Ardu Liliān" ("The Earth is God's"), a poem in Bal-i-Jibril succinctly sums up the idea of ownership of land:

در خدا یا! یہ زمیں تیری نہیں،

¹⁸⁷ Syed Abdul Wahid, Studies in Iqbal (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1976), p. 263.

میری نہیں! —————
تیرے آبا کی نہیں، تیری نہیں،
میری نہیں! ¹⁸⁸

[Landlord, this earth is not thine, is not thine Nor yet thy fathers: no, not thine, nor mine.]

On 23 February 1928, he made a thought-provoking speech on land revenue. He maintained that the charging of land revenue on the theory of State-ownership of land was wrong in principle, and in this connection he said :

"Let me tell the honourable representatives for Simla that the first European author to refute this theory was the French-man Person in the year 1777. Later in 1830 Briggs made a very extensive inquiry as to the law and practice in India and relating to the theory of State-ownership of land. He gave in his book an accurate description of the laws of Manu, of Muslim law, and the practices prevailing in the various parts of India—Bengal, Malwa, the Punjab, etc., and arrives at the conclusion that in no period in the history of India the State ever claimed the proprietor-ship of land. In the times of Lord Curzon, this theory was put forward, but the Taxation Committee's report which was published sometime ago has come to a very clear finding that this theory had no basis at all.

"...However, we have to see, in the first place, how far the present system of assessment is just. Workable it is and sanctioned by a very old tradition; but we have first to see whether it has justice on its side or not, My submission is that it is not at all just. The injustice of it is perfectly clear. If a man happens to be a landowner, big or small does not matter, he has to pay

¹⁸⁸ Bāl-i Jibril/Kulliyāt, p. 119/411. Eng. trans. by Kiernan, op. cit., p. 45.

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."¹⁸⁹

. we do not apply the principle of progression in the case of land revenue whereas we apply that principle in the case of Incom-tax."¹⁹⁰

"Whether a man holds two kanals of land or 200 kanals of land, he is liable to pay the revenue. In the case of income-tax the principle of ability or the principle of progression is applied—that is to say, there is a graduated scale and some people do not pay income-tax at all."¹⁹¹

Rural Development the development of rural areas is at the heart and crux of the economic development of a country. It does not mean merely agricultural growth, but it also calls for improving the economic and social conditions of the rural population by raising their incomes and providing them with necessary amenities like good houses, paved streets, water supply and sewerage, health services, education, roads, power, communication,' etc.

On 5 March 1927, while speaking on the 1927-28 Budget in the Punjab Legislative Council, he wanted allocation, of more provision "for rural sanitation as well as for medical relief for women".¹⁹²

Excerpts from another speech are quoted below:

"Thirdly, I suggest the formation of youth leagues and well-equipped volunteer corps throughout the country under the control and guidance of the central organization. They must specially devote themselves to social service, customs reform, commercial organization of the community and

¹⁸⁹ Sherwani, Ed., op. cit., pp. 65-56.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 45. Speech on the Budget 1927-28 delivered in the Punjab Legislative Council on 5 March 1927.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Ibid.

economic propaganda in towns and villages, specially in the Punjab where enormous indebtedness of Muslim agriculturists cannot be allowed to wait for the drastic remedies provided by agrarian upheavals. Things appear to have reached the breaking point as in China in 1925 when peasant leagues came into being in that country. The Simon Report admits that the peasant pays a 'substantial portion' of his means to the State. The State, no doubt, gives him in return peace and security, trade and communication. But the net result of these blessings has been only a kind of scientific exactitude in taxation, destruction of village economy by machine-made goods and the commercialisation of crops which makes the peasant almost always fall a prey to money-lenders and commercial agents. This is a very serious matter especially in the Punjab. I want the proposed youth leagues to specialise in propaganda work in this connection, and thus to help the peasantry in escaping from its present bondage. The future of Islam in India largely depends, in my opinion, on the freedom of Muslim peasants in the Punjab. Let then the fire of youth mingle with the fire of faith in order to enhance the glow of life and to create a new world of actions for our future generations."¹⁹³

Industrial Development the cause of industrial development was very dear to the heart of Iqbal. He considered the development of industries essential for mitigating the curse of unemployment. On many international platforms there is a talk of indigenous technology which is being wrongly associated with Mahatma Gandhi. The historical fact is that Iqbal was the author of this concept. Examine this excerpt from his speech:

"We spend practically nothing on industry. And as I have said before and as many other speakers have pointed out, industrial development alone can save us from the curse of unemployment. There is a good future for weaving industry and for shoe-making industry in this province and if we encourage these industries, I think we shall be able to save the province from

¹⁹³ Ibid., p. 41.

unemployment, provided we protect these industries against Cawnpore and Ahmedabad."¹⁹⁴

The modern struggle, Iqbal believed, was conditioned by trade and industry. "Among the Asian Nations, the Japanese were the first to comprehend the secret of revolution. They dedicated themselves to industrializing their national economy. Today, they are recognized as one of the industrially advanced nations of the world. They had achieved this distinction because of their highly industrialized economy and not because of the contributions of any national philosopher, poet or litterateur."¹⁹⁵

Manual Worker Glorified. His advice was unequivocal: Muslims must take to industry and craftsmanship. "In my eyes," declared Iqbal, "the hands of a carpenter, rough and coarse due to the constant use of the saw, are far more attractive and useful compared to the soft and delicate hands of a scholar, which never carry more than the weight of a pen."

High Cost of Administration On 7 March 1930, discussing the Budget for 1930-31, he said:

"The problem of unemployment is becoming more and more acute every day. Trade is at a low ebb. You can easily imagine what the financial future of the province is likely to be. I am inclined to think that the present position is due not so much to stationary revenues as to the present system of administration which necessitates high salaries in the matter of which the people of this province have no say."¹⁹⁶

Inheritance Tax Iqbal proposed inheritance tax for those who would inherit property of the value of twenty to thirty thousand rupees. He

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 64.

¹⁹⁵ Sherwani, Ed., op. cit., p. 64.

¹⁹⁶ Chapter 4 ; "The Man of Thought and the Man of Action," in Hafeez Malik, Ed, op. cit., p. 74.

described it as "death duties". Quickly Mian Fazl-i Hussain, the Unionist chief, retorted: "Living duties would be more appropriate". Not to be outwitted by the remark, Iqbal said: "It is the living who would have to pay."

Conclusion, It is time now that we made an intensive research on the economic philosophy of Iqbal and, in the process, not only learn from his great ideas but also implement them to ensure acceleration of the pace of economic development in such a manner as to ensure prosperity of the people of Pakistan and for establishing a New National Economic Order in which social justice is not given lip-service alone but is also implemented in letter and spirit. Only then we can succeed in emancipating the cause and lot of our rural and urban poor whose interest was supreme in the great poet's mind all the time.

IQBAL AND MATTHEW ARNOLD- A COMPARATIVE STUDY

Professor Mahfooz Jan Abid

Both Iqbal (1877-1938) and Matthew Arnold (1822-1888) were deeply influenced by the political, moral, social and religious changes of their age and they both delineated them clearly through their poetry, A deep and analytic study of their works shows many similarities between them.

The Victorian era is the meeting point of the romantic decay and the rise of realism. It was an era of great social and political changes and was famous for the Reform Bill of 1832. The rapid developments of scientific discoveries and technological technique brought a revolution in the outlook and thoughts of the educated section of society. However, the revolution was not sudden and substantial. The publication of Darwin's Origin of Species was a challenge to human conceit. The seeds of religious decay began to grow in the minds of men. These circumstances naturally had a deep impact upon the minds of men which ultimately resulted in a strong reaction against the growth of materialism. Matthew Arnold who was a child of his age developed interest in the past glory of the Greeks. The Oxford movement was an attempt to recover the lost tradition. According to Hugh Walker,¹⁹⁷ writers directed their attention to definite moral ideals. Indeed, it was an era of doubt and skepticism. The writers revolted against the deadening effect of conventions. In literature moral purpose gained ground. Although realism was rapidly influencing the mental outlook of the people, yet the last vestiges of romanticism were still lurking there. The general intellectual mind was in a terrible conflict. These conditions naturally had a deep effect upon the writers of this age. They tried to resist the growing materialistic movement of

¹⁹⁷ Hugh Walker, The Literature of Victorian Era (Delhi : S. Chand & Co., 1955), pp. 1-20.

scientific advancement and emphasized the need of moral purpose. It was a conflict between science and traditional human values.

Similar conditions prevailed in the political and social atmosphere of the subcontinent in the wake of the current century. Whereas in Europe scientific realism had already developed, in India it just began to raise its head against the traditional dogmas of morality and religion. Although the intellectual and staunch religious leaders decried the growing influence of scientific technique, yet the Sir Sayyid movement resisted the opposition of the orthodox. However, Sayyid Ahmad Khan and his colleagues did realise that there must be set some limitations to the acceptance and recognition of technique. They were not ready to tolerate the inroad of science upon the moral and social values of the East. This led to the didactic literature of Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Hali, Shibli and Maulvi Nazir Ahmad. Iqbal, in the wake of the current century, was fully aware of the advancing influence of the West. His stay in Europe deepened this feeling. Like Matthew Arnold he realised the decaying process of the moral values of the East. The Caliphate was gradually crumbling which resulted in losing its hold upon the Muslim world. The First World War was the last blow to the nominal unity of Muslim Caliphate. Being a staunch believer in Islam, Iqbal could not ignore the gravity of the situation. The safeguard and security of human values motivated him to give up the worship of Indian nationhood. That is why he devoted most of his poetic work to the teaching of his wider philosophical views which clearly bear the strong strain of humanism. It is here that we clearly perceive common features and characteristics of the two great poets.

Iqbal and Matthew Arnold both believed in close affinity between life and poetry. Whereas for Matthew Arnold poetry was the criticism of life, for Iqbal it was a "message of eternal life". A poetry which fails to reflect the spark of life is meaningless for both. Though each had his own approach, the aim and objective of both the poets were humanistic. According to Matthew Arnold, the "best that has been thought and said was the criterion for poetry". He appreciated the poetic achievements of Shakespeare, Milton,

Gray and Wordsworth for high seriousness and great ideals. Matthew Arnold rejected the personal estimate and the historical estimate of poetry. It was the real estimate which could be set for the evaluation and assessment of poetry. Although these are common characteristics of the two poets, because they were equally afraid of the prevailing influence of scientific technique upon the inward reaches of human mind, yet the approach of each poet towards safeguarding of human values is different. Matthew Arnold, for example, is indifferent to the conception of traditional religious faith. According to him, the future of poetry is immense. Whereas all- other human institutions are subject to decay, it is poetry which can stand the test of time. But, like Iqbal, he holds in high esteem and honour the ideals of the past. Both poets believe in the immense cultural and spiritual achievements of human thought. It follows that, for both Iqbal and Matthew Arnold, the past was the only refuge against the invasion of science upon the cultural heritage of man. The glorification of the past is an emotional attitude which does not stand in need of reason. Matthew Arnold believes in the revival of the past. His only criterion of poetry is the best that has been thought and said.

For Matthew Arnold, the greatness of a poet lies in his powerful and beautiful application of ideas to life to the question, "How to live".¹⁹⁸ He also maintains that a great poet must possess the strong strains of moral ideals. Matthew Arnold continues that "we find attraction in a poetry of revolt against them, or we find attraction in a poetry indifferent to them. But we delude ourselves in either case and the best cure for our delusion is to let our minds rest upon the great and inexhaustible word 'life' until we learn to enter into its meaning. A poetry of revolt against moral ideas is a poetry of revolt against life. A poetry of in-difference to moral ideas is a poetry of indifference towards life."

What, then, is the best poetry according to Matthew Arnold? He says:

¹⁹⁸ Arnold :Poetry & Prose, with William Watson's Poem and Essays by Lionel Johnson and H. IV. Garrod (Oxford : Clarendon Press), pp. 144-45.

"We should conceive of it as capable of higher uses and called to higher destinies than those which in general men have assigned to it thitherto. More and more mankind will discover that we have to turn to poetry to interpret life for us, to con-solve us to sustain us. Without poetry our science will be incomplete and most of what now passes for religion and philosophy will be replaced by poetry. Science will appear incomplete without it".¹⁹⁹

He quotes Wordsworth who calls poetry "the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge's". He adds: "but if we conceive such high destinies of poetry, we should also set our standard. In poetry in which thought and art is one, it is the glory, the eternal honour that Charlatanism shall find no entrance. Charlatanism is for confusing and obliterating the distinct on between the excellence and the inferior sound and unsound or half sound."

Again:

"The great poetry will be found to have the power of forming, sustaining and delighting us as nothing else can. The great power of poetry is interpretative power by which I mean the 'power of so dealing with things as to awaken in us a wonderfully full new and intimate sense of them and of our relations with them."

According to Matthew Arnold, "interpretations of science do not give us this intimate sense of objects as the interpretation of poetry gives it: they appeal to a limited faculty and not a whole man. it is not a Linnaeus or Cavendish or Curvier who give us the true sense of animals, or water or plants who seize their secret for us, who make us participate in their life; it is Shakespeare with his daffodils

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 145.

"That come before the swallow dares, and take The winds of March with beauty."²⁰⁰

Matthew Arnold further maintains:

"I have said that poetry interprets in two ways: it interprets by expressing with magical felicity the physiognomy and movement of the outward world, and it interprets by expressing with inspired conviction the ideas and laws of the inward world of man's moral and spiritual nature. In other words poetry is interpretative both by having natural magic in it and by having moral profundity."²⁰¹

From the above references one can easily judge the delicate sensibilities of Matthew Arnold for the emotional aspect of human culture. He is afraid of the cultural and emotional decline because of the rapid advance of science. The spread of scientific ideas was destined to deprive man of moral and spiritual ideals. His famous poem "The Scholar Gipsy" stands in striking contrast to the spiritual restlessness and intellectual doubt of modern life.

"This strange disease of modern life, with its sick hurry and divided aims."

Another of his masterpieces "Rustam and Sohrab" is a glaring picture of the pathetic tragedy of human life which depicts the restlessness of man against the supercilious attitude of Nature : "And Rustam and his son were left alone,

But the majestic river floated on out of the mist and hum of that low land."

²⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 148.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

Iqbal was equally afraid of the growing threat of scientific techniques which were gradually beginning to transform the mental outlook of the educated class of society. However, he was not as pessimist as Matthew Arnold was. He was in favour of scientific knowledge. Besides, he had developed an independent intellectual attitude under the influence of Professor McTaggart, Professor Alexander, Professor Whitehead and Professor Bergson. Under the influence of Bergson he believed in the ceaseless creative process of life and human culture. But at the same time he could not give up the traditional values of the past. According to Iqbal, religion and poetry hold the most significant place in the history of human culture. In the outset of his first lecture: "Knowledge and Religious Experience," he appreciates the importance of poetry of religion in the following words:

"These questions are common to religion, philosophy, and higher poetry. But the kind of knowledge that poetic inspiration brings is essentially individual in its character; it is figurative, vague, and indefinite. Religion, in its more advanced form, rises higher than poetry."²⁰²

It is generally believed that Iqbal inherited a romantic temperament; and he almost always preferred the dictates of heart to head. Sayyid Ali Abbas Jalalpuri made every possible effort to prove this assumption in his book *Iqbal Ka `ILm-iKalām*.²⁰³ But as a matter of fact it is pointless. No doubt, the glory of the past overshadowed his mind which reflects a conspicuous touch of romantic ideals, but in fact he did not recognise the boundaries of head and heart though it is not out of the place to remark that facts and ideals are interwoven in him. This is why there is a perfect balance in his Romanticism, which kept him away from the abnormal traits of mind. Although he anxiously and tensely aspired to the revival of the past Muslim glory and he was fully conscious of the miserable conditions prevailing in the

²⁰² Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 1.

²⁰³ Lahore : Maktahah-i Fanūn, 1972.

Muslim world, yet he was reluctant to worship the magnificent idols of the past. He never dreamt of an unattainable ideal world in the immediate or remote future.

Like Matthew Arnold, he tried his best to save the best human values which were exposed to the new light of scientific technique. Iqbal was equally aware of the spiritually wearisome conditions of the present age. He also deeply realised the venomous effects of rampant Western technique which were gradually, though unnoticedly, pining away the grand superstructure of the past Muslim ideals, that he was compelled to relinquish the traditional conception of art. He, too, views poetry as a "criticism of life" which therefore should be used for grand ideals and noble goals.

As Matthew Arnold condemned Khayyām's poetry²⁰⁴ on the assumption that it failed to represent the criticism of life, so Iqbal criticised the great Iranian poet Khawājah Hāfiz on the ground that he lulled to sleep the potentialities and energies of life through his poetry. He quoted Hāfiz as follows:

بے نیاز از محفل حافظ گذر
الحدذر از گوسفندان
الحدذر²⁰⁵

Iqbal time and again appreciated the great poets who viewed life with high seriousness. Shakespeare, Wordsworth, Ghāni Kashmiri, Mirza Abdul-Qadir Bedil, Anwari and Ghalib are some of those great artists whom Iqbal admired most.

²⁰⁴ Johnson & Garrod, Eds., op. cit., p. 144.

²⁰⁵ Asrār-i Khudi, (1st edn.), p. 72. 10

Under the influence of Bergson's philosophy, Iqbal believed in the creative process of life. According to Iqbal, life is a continuous creative force. Motion and creation are at the root of life. A poetry which fails to represent the changing and evolutionary nature of life is barren and bleak. Iqbal's conception of art is therefore moral. He says:

شاعر کی نوا ہو کہ مغنی
کا نفس ہو
جس سے چمن افسردہ ہو وہ
باد سحر کیا!²⁰⁶

Similarly, about the poets of the subcontinent he says:

عشق و مستی کا جنازہ ہے
تخیل ان کا
ان کے اندیشہء تاریک میں
قوسوں کے مزار!
چشم آدم سے چھپاتے ہیں
مقامات بلند
کرتے ہیں روح کو خوابیدہ،
بدن کو بیدار

²⁰⁶ Zarb-i Kalim/Kulliyāt, p. 119/381.

ہند کے شاعر و صورت گر و
افسانہ نویس
آہ! بیچاروں کے اعصاب پہ
عورت ہے سوار!²⁰⁷

Again, in *Asrār-i Khudi*, Iqbal says:

سینہ شاعر تجلی زار حسن
خیزد از سینائے او انوار
حســـــــــــــــــن
از نگاہش خوب گردد خوب
تــــــــــــــــــــــــــــر
فطرت از افسون او محبوب
تــــــــــــــــــــــــــــر

سوز او اندر دل پروانہ ہا
عشق را رنگین ازو افسانہ ہا
بحر و بر پوشیدہ در آب و
گلــــــــــــــــــــــــــــش

²⁰⁷ Ibid., pp. 128-29/590-91.

صد جهان تازه مضمَر در
 دلش
 فکر او با ماه و انجم هم
 نشین
 زشت را نا آشنا، خوب
 آفرین
 خضر و در ظلمات او آب
 حیات
 زنده تر از آب چشمش
 کائنات²⁰⁸

Professor M.M. Sharif also holds that "Iqbal subordinates poetry to morality and makes it subservient to life and personality."²⁰⁹ In his celebrated poem "Masjid-i Qartabah" Iqbal very forcefully represents the creative process of life and universe. The poem reflects poetry as the criticism of life in the real sense of the word. Throughout this composition, Iqbal gives up the traditional use of `Ishq and attempts to widen and deepen its meaning under the influence of vitalistic philosophy of Bergson and White-head. The `Allāmah uses the word in the sense of a mysterious force and to a state of restlessness. This restlessness makes tenser and deepens the feeling of life. This is the creative force of life which Iqbal names `Ishq and which each moment introduces us to a new world. He says:

²⁰⁸ Asrār-i Khudī/Kulliyat. p.35.

²⁰⁹ M.M. Sharif, About Iqbal and His Thought,

مرد خدا کا عمل عشق سے
صاحب فرغ
عشق سے اصل حیات،
موت ہے اس پر حرام
عشق کے مضراب سے نغمہ
تار حیات
عشق سے نور حیات، عشق
سے نار حیات²¹⁰

And then his rich imagination transports him to the romantic glory of the past where, in a mood of ecstasy, he searches for that creative emotion and force which pervades the whole universe:

کون سی وادی میں ہے، کون سی
منزل میں ہے
عشق بلا خیز کا قافلہ سخت
جان!²¹¹

²¹⁰ Bāl-i Jibrīl/Kulliyāt, pp. 94-95/386-87.

²¹¹ Ibid., pp. 107

In the Sāq-i-Nāmāh, he reflects the same creative force of life in the following lines:

فریب نظر ہے سکون و ثبات
تڑپتا ہے ہر ذرہ کائنات
ٹھہرتا نہیں کاروان وجود
کہ ہر لحظہ ہے تازہ شان
و ج —————
سمجھتا ہے تو راز ہے زندگی
فقط ذوق پرواز ہے زندگی
بہت اس نے دیکھے ہیں
پست و بلند
سفر اس کو منزل سے بڑھ
ک —————
سفر ہے حقیقت، حضر سے
م ج —————
سبک اس کے ہاتھوں میں
س —————
پہاڑ اس کی ضربوں سے
ر ی —————
سفر اس کا انجام و آغاز ہے

یہی اس کی تقویم کا راز
ہے! ²¹²

Like Matthew Arnold, Iqbal eliminated Charlatanism from the art of poetry as it is the medium of expressing the high and grand purposes of human life. According to Iqbal, poetry is the interpretation of life and a means of depicting awe-inspiring feelings about life and universe. Science totally fails to fulfil these requirements. It makes man subservient to machine and under-mines the instinctive sense of sympathy, with the result that man feels alone in the vast scheme of the universe:

ہے دل کے لیے موت مشینوں
کی حکومت!
احساس مروت کو کچل
دیتے ہیں آلات ²¹³

Though Iqbal and Matthew Arnold differ in their approaches, their ideals are more or less identical with the possible exception that for Matthew Arnold "the true meaning of religion is, thus, not simply morality, but morality touched by emotions," whereas for Iqbal it is an objective reality.

They both strongly and seriously realized the danger of threatening discoveries of science and their impact upon human values. Both wished to maintain and preserve the valuable heritage of human civilization and culture and therefore appreciated the -"inward reaches of the mind". Both were

²¹² Ibid., pp. 107

²¹³ Ibid., pp. 107-08/399-400.

aware of the intuitive value of life which enables us to penetrate into the core of life and universe. That is why they interrelated poetry, life and morality.

THE PERSIAN POEMS OF IQBAL

Sir Abdul Qadir

Introduction

Sir Abdul Qadir (1874-1950) was a distinguished litterateur and an intimate friend of Iqbal. He played an important role in introducing Iqbal to the literary world by publishing his poems in his famous literary magazine, Makhzan.

At one time during the early days of his stay in England, Iqbal resolved to give up writing poetry and to spend the time thus saved on some "more useful work". It was Sir Abdul Qadir who dissuaded him from doing so by assuring him that his poetry had a magnetic quality capable of inspiring new life in the Muslim's. Sir Thomas Arnold also agreed with Sir Abdul Qadir. Iqbal accepted their advice.

Sir Abdul Qadir happens to be the personage who wrote the Foreword to Bāng-i Darā, the first collection of the Urdu poems of Iqbal, which appeared in 1924.

Iqbal had great regard for Sir Abdul Qadir. The poem dedicated to him by Iqbal in Bāng-i Data is a living proof of this.

A collection of English writings of Sir Abdul Qadir about Iqbal was published under the title Iqbal, the Great Poet of Islam. The paper entitled "The Persian Poems of Iqbal" was delivered at a meeting of the Punjab Literary League in 1930, It is not included in that collection. Hence, it is being reproduced here for the benefit of the students of Iqbalian studies. The

discussion that followed and the presidential remarks regarding it are given after the text of the paper.

The Punjab Literary League was founded in 1930 to champion the cause of art and literature. Its aims and objects were :

(1) The advancement of learning and literature, (For this purpose its members were expected to devote themselves to creative or research work in different branches of literature.)

(2) To knit together all "disinterested servants of literature" into one brotherhood. (For this purpose its members were expected to "know only one distinction and to recognise only one caste or religion—that of literature alone.")

(3) To promote catholic taste among the literary men in particular and public in general.

The League did not allow itself to be dragged into controversy over such debatable questions as "Hindi versus Urdu," "Punjabi versus Urdu" or even "English versus Vernacular".

It was not meant to be a champion of one and one language only or one vernacular either. It had for its motto one of Iqbal's famous sayings : "As words are only symbols for our ideas and emotions, therefore, language is comparatively of little importance." It wanted to go to the heart of things, that is, to discover what people were actually thinking, feeling, desiring and dreaming. For cultivating liberal ideas about literature, the League organised many useful lectures on a variety of subjects and in different vernaculars. These lectures were published in the form of pamphlets for the benefit of lovers of literature. During 1930, it organised two lectures about Iqbal : one by Sir Abdul Qadir under the chairmanship of Dr Gokal Chand Narang (the present lecturer); and the other, entitled "Mysticism and Tagore, the Sufism

and Iqbal," by Professor H.K. Bhattacharya under the chairmanship of Mr Justice Agha Haider.

In the meeting held in 1930 Pandit Brij Mohan Dattatriya Kaifi also delivered a lecture entitled "Revolt in Urdu Poetry". It was presided over by Iqbal.

The League intended to start a journal with the name of "Punjab Literary Review," but the idea did not materialise. Among its office bearers were the following:

Patron-in-Chief

Sir Geoffrey F. DeMontmorency Governor of the Punjab

President

A.C. Woolner, Esq.

Vice-Chancellor, University of the Panjab

Vice-Presidents

Dr Sir Muhammad Iqbal Sir Jogendra Singh

Mr Manohar Lai, Bar-at-Law K.L. Gauba, Esq.

Secretary

D.R. Chaudhri, Esq.

Treasurer

M.G. Singh, Esq.

—Afzal Haq Qarshi

India has produced a number of poets who have made valuable contribution to Persian literature and have written charming poetry in Persian which is one of the sweetest languages of the world. It was commonly believed at one time that the long line of distinguished Indian writers of Persian came to an end with Ghalib, when Girami, an unassuming poet of the Punjab, surprised the Persian-reading world by reproducing in this country the sweet melodies of Shiraz. Many thought that he was the last of the Indian masters of Persian, when Dr Muhammad Iqbal gave us an agreeable surprise by showing that he could wield as facile a pen in Persian as he had already done in Urdu. It is to the Punjab again that the credit of producing a poet like Iqbal be-longs, Sialkot being his birth-place as well as the scene of his early life and education. Sialkot has given us some eminent scholars in the past, among whom the famous theologian, Maulvi Abdul Hakim, may be specially mentioned. In our own time we have had the late Shams-ul-Ulama Maulvi Sayyid Mir Hasan, who devoted the whole of his life to the teaching of Arabic and Persian and who achieved remarkable success in doing so, by giving his students a grounding in those subjects which led them to distinction. Several pupils of Maulvi Mir Hasan have succeeded in various walks of life, but none of them has attained the height to which Dr Sir Muhammad Iqbal has risen in the literary world. Having passed his Intermediate examination from the Murray College, Sialkot, he came to Lahore and joined the Government College and took his M.A. degree in Philosophy. He had a natural bent of mind for poetry and began by writing Urdu poems. His fame as a poet, whose verse combined charm with thought, soon began to spread and in a few years his name as a writer of Urdu poetry came to be known as a household word, not only in the Punjab and the United Provinces, but also in other parts of India, wherever Urdu was understood or appreciated. After he finished his studies he was appointed as Assistant Professor of Philosophy in the Government College, Lahore. In 1905 he left for England, and was there for three years, as an advanced student of Philosophy at Cambridge. He also qualified for the Bar during the same period. While in England, Iqbal wrote some verses in Persian which

elicited admiration from those who heard them. He probably felt that the sweet language of Sa'di, Hafiz and Khayyam was better fitted to serve as a vehicle of high thinking than the newly developing Urdu language, and he took to Persian as the more suitable medium of expression. The Persian poem that he began to write after his return to India in 1908 and which first saw the light in 1915, is called *Asrar-i Khudi* or "The Secrets of the Self". It is a small book of about 150 pages but it made a profound impression on the mind of all those who read it and brought its author into prominence in literary circles in and out-side India. As a writer of Urdu he enjoyed a wide reputation throughout India, but his Persian verses carried his fame beyond the boundaries of our country, to Persia and Afghanistan, and to Turkey and parts of Russia, wherever there were people who could read classical Persian. In 1920 Professor Nicholson, the well-known Orientalist of Cambridge brought out his English translation of this book, with an interesting preface, showing his great appreciation of the worth of "The Secrets of the Self". This translation introduced the *Asrar-i Khudi* to scholars in the West and was perhaps, to some extent, instrumental in informing the British Government in India of the literary eminence of Iqbal and of bringing him the richly merited distinction of "Knighthood".

The *Asrar-i Khudi* was followed by another small book called *Rumuz-i Bekhudi*, i.e. "Hints on Selflessness," which had an equally good reception. Both the poems have gone through several editions, the latter being a combined edition of *Asrar* and *Rumuz*, in which the former appears for the fourth time, while the latter for the third.

The *Payam-i Mashriq* or the "Message of the East" was published after the *Rumuz*, and is not a poem with a continuous theme like the first two, but is an interesting collection of miscellaneous short poems, which have been written as a response to the greetings of the West, embodied in the *Divan* of Goethe, the immortal poet of Germany. The fourth and so far the last book of Iqbal in Persian is the *Zabur-i-`Ajam*, or "The Psalms of Persia," which again is a collection of beautiful little poems, each of which is

complete in itself. I propose to deal with these four books, one by one, in the order in which they appeared and to place before you, as briefly as I can, my views on them.

The poems of Iqbal differ from one another in some respects but possess some features which are common to them all, and bear, as it were, the special impress of the genius of their author. The special feature which distinguishes Iqbal not only from his contemporaries, but also from most of the earlier writers of Persian poetry, is that he is a man who has a distinct message to communicate to his fellow-beings in general, and to his brethren in Islam throughout the world, in particular. It is this message that is inspiring him and he is discharging a great duty in conveying it to the world, in language that makes a direct appeal to the heart. This message breathes through every one of the four books that have been published so far and is given to the world in varying forms of thought and expression, but it is the main theme of the *Asrar-i Khudi*. It is a message of action, as opposed to contemplative inactivity, which has long characterized the East and which the author thinks has been particularly harmful to the world of Islam. These poems have been regarded by many critics as representing a reaction against Sufism and all that it stands for at present. There are a number of passages in these poems, showing that the poet considers Sufism as the bane of Islam, and holds that it has had a very pernicious effect on the minds of Muslims, and is, to a large extent, responsible for their decadence. I must say, however, that perhaps Iqbal has been misunderstood on this point. As I read him, he appears to draw a distinction between real Sufism and the prevalent pseudo-Sufism of these days. While condemning the latter in unmistakable terms, I think he has a great deal of respect for some of the eminent Sufis of old, whose achievements are recounted by him in the books under review. To the world-renowned author of the *Mathnavi*, Maulana Rumi, he refers as the source of his own inspiration and adds that, compared with the resplendent flame of the Maulana, his own light is but a spark. Of Sayyid Makhdum Ali of Hujvir, the Sufi saint, whose last resting place in Lahore is known as the

shrine of Data Ganj Bakhsh, he says that "he sowed the seed of Divine worship in the soil of India, revived the glories of the day of Caliph Umar, and the sound of truth rose to its height through his words". Those whom Iqbal holds in contempt are a different class altogether. It is the pretenders whom he denounces, who make a paying trade of their cult. As regards such his description is quite true. He observes:

"Every one who has long hair dons the woollen garment of saintliness;

Alas, these traders who sell their religion."

The misapprehension as to Iqbal's real meaning arose on account of the way in which he originally referred to Hafiz of Shiraz. In the first edition of the *Asrar-i Khudi* our poet's reference to Hafiz was in very disparaging terms. He said that the poetry of Hafiz had the effect of an opiate on the minds of its readers and he warned his readers against yielding to the magic of the verse of Hafiz. This passage in his book was rather severely criticised by a large number of the admirers of Hafiz, especially by those of the Sufi persuasion, who go into ecstasies when the poems of Hafiz are sung to them. In the second edition Iqbal suppressed the lines referring to Hafiz to which strong exception had been taken. It is difficult to say whether he really modified his views concerning Hafiz in the light of the criticism which the passage in question elicited or he simply tried to avoid giving offence to any class of people after having once expressed his opinion frankly as to the effect of poems like those of Hafiz on the minds of Muslims. My own personal view is that Iqbal was unfair to the famous poet of Shiraz in his earlier criticism and felt that it was due to the latter that the harsh observations made against him be withdrawn. It may, however, be said, in fairness to our own poet, that his attitude towards Hafiz, as expressed in the first edition of his book, was not harsher than the attitude which, it is said, was maintained by the Moghal Emperor Aurangzeb on this subject. We are told that Aurangzeb was very fond of Hafiz and constantly kept his *Divan*

under his pillow and used to enjoy reading it in his moments of leisure, but at the same time he was against the common people having access to it. If this story is correct, the reason for this attitude is obvious. He must have felt that there is a good deal of sublime poetry in the verses of the singer of Shiraz and for the mature and the thoughtful there are valuable lessons in his poems, but on the young and the unwary their effect is enervating and soporific. Similarly, Iqbal must have felt that he could not very effectively convey his message of "action" to a nation whose imagination had been fed, for centuries, on the writings of poets like Hafiz and he deemed it necessary to draw pointed attention to the existing literary propensities of his people and to wean them away from the hobbies they had so far pursued. Having thus freed his readers from the trammels of their past inactivity he gave them his life-giving message, with all the emphasis at his command, in the *Asrar-i Khudi*.

The lines with which this inspiring theme is started read as follows in the admirable translation of Professor Nicholson : "The form of existence is an effect of the Self ;

Whatsoever thou seest is a secret of the Self,

When the Self awoke to consciousness,

It revealed the universe of Thought.

A hundred worlds are hidden in its essence:

Self-affirmation brings Not-Self to light."

The word "Self" in this book stands for the realisation of one's potentialities. The poet preaches that man should first awaken in himself the full consciousness of his God-given powers and then create the desire of pursuing a definite purpose, with the help of those powers, for his own development as well as for the good of humanity.

This noble ideal is placed before us in the following beautiful words:

"Life is preserved by purpose;

Because of the goal its caravan-bell tinkles. Life is hidden in the process of seeking, Its origin is hidden in desire."

This idea is developed in a number of verses, supported by many arguments, and illustrated by a variety of beautiful similes.

Take for instance the following two lines, as translated:

"Desire is a noose for hunting ideals,

A binder of the book of deeds.

Negation of desire is death to the being,

Even as absence of burning extinguishes the flame."

Having emphasized the need of an awakened self, followed by a keenly felt desire to achieve a definite end, Iqbal proceeds to, lay stress on the necessity of self-discipline. The chapter dealing with this aspect of the question must be read in full and assimilated, to enjoy the beauty of the seemingly paradoxical arguments under this head, but I would content myself with giving a few of them, as translated:

"Endeavour to obey, O heedless one;

Liberty is the fruit of compulsion.

By obedience the man of no worth is made worthy, By disobedience even fire is reduced to straw.

Whoso would master the sun and stars,

Let him make himself a prisoner of Law.

The wind is made fragrant when kept in prison by the rose, Perfume, when confined in the navel of the deer, becomes the musk."

With this equipment of self-realization and self-discipline, combined with a noble aim and purpose, Iqbal wants his man of action to delight in creation and conquest, to create a new world, "to dig the foundations of the universe" and "to cast its atoms into a new mould". He says : "Life is power made manifest" and

"its main-spring is the desire for victory". The chapter from which the above maxims are culled ends with a very significant verse, which runs:

"O, man of understanding, open thine eyes, ears and lips! If then thou seest not the Way of Truth, laugh at me!"

It is significant that this verse is a modification, nay a direct antithesis, of a line occurring in the Mathnavi of Maulana Rum, which is given below:

"Shut thine eyes and lips and ears,

If then thou dost not see the secret of God or Truth, laugh at me."

The advice of Rumi was meant to lead man to God by contemplation and by keeping the mind off from the things of the world and concentrating its attention on things Divine. It had also a direct reference to a well-recognised practice among the mystics and the Yogis of old to cultivate spiritual strength by shutting their eyes and ears and by bating their breath. Iqbal has taken hold of the old line, and, by reversing the process, has given the key to the conquest of the physical world around us. He is aware of the wonders that have been worked by a proper use of the eye and the ear in observing the laws of nature and turning them to our use. He insists,

therefore, on our using our eyes and ears and then properly using our lips in giving to the world the Truth perceived by the eye and the ear. As an apostle of this reform he boldly preaches this new doctrine, which he thinks is particularly needed, and is in keeping with the circumstances of the present day.

The limited time at my disposal does not allow me to dwell at greater length on the *Asrar-i Khudi*, but I hope you have got from what has been said already some idea of the aim with which this book has been written and if you will read or re-read it in the light of these observations, I am sure your perusal of it will repay itself.

Coming to the volume entitled the *Rumuz-i Bekhudi*, it would appear at first sight that our author had committed a literary somersault by singing the praises of "Selflessness," after taking so much trouble to awaken in us a consciousness of the "Self," but when you read the book, any impression that the poet has taken two inconsistent positions is completely removed. He divides life into two parts, individual life and national life, using the word "national" in its broader sense, which would include the idea of internationalism. The first book aimed at teaching the individual the ways of giving strength, while the second one teaches him the methods of national strength. Just as according to our author weakness is death to the individual and strength means life, similarly for the welfare of a nation, it is necessary that the individual should merge his existence in that of the community and personal interests should give way where general national interests are concerned. This message begins with the following lines.

These may be translated as under:

"To the individual, the organisation of the community is a blessing,

His qualities gain perfection through the community.

Be a friend of the community to the best of your ability, And be a source of strength to the struggles of the liberal minded."

Again, further on, the same point is emphasized with a variety of imagery, characteristic of our poet. He says:

"The word that falls out of the verse in which it was housed, Breaks the pearl of significance which it had in its pocket. The green leaf that falls out of its tree,

Loses the string of hope which connected it with spring time. The individual by himself neglects ideals, `His power inclines towards disintegration.

It is the community which familiarizes him with discipline, And teaches him to tread softly like the morning zephyr!"

I need hardly add that the word community or Jama'at in the above passages is used in the generic and broad meaning and not in its narrow sense. After laying stress on the merging of the individual into the nation, Iqbal proceeds to give his definition of a nation from the Islamic point of view. The community that Islam contemplates is not based on any narrow geographical divisions but embraces the whole of humanity, who can be made one, by the bonds of a common faith in one Creator. He observes:

"The fate of nations is bound to countries inhabited by them; The structure of nations is raised on their descent from their ancestors;

Why should one regard domicile as the basis of nationality, What is the use of worshipping the wind, the water and the earth?

It is silly to be proud of one's descent,

That touches only the body and the body is transient; Our nationality has a different foundation,

That foundation is enshrined in our hearts."

I have often heard it said by some of the admirers of Iqbal's earlier poems, which were in Urdu, and which have been collected and published in a volume called *Bang-i Dara* (i.e. the voice of the caravan-bell), that there was a definite ring of patriotism and nationalism, in its ordinary accepted sense in most of those poems, but that the Persian poems represent a definite break from the past and that the poet has consciously or unconsciously drifted into Pan-Islamism. I am not inclined, however, to regard the Persian poems as representing a revolution in our poet's ideals but I believe them to be a natural evolution of his thought. It is true that in his Urdu poems there is the well-known song called *Hindustan Namara*, as the poet naturally has a love for the land of his birth and the land of his ancestors. Though a Muslim in faith, he is a Hindu and a Brahmin by blood, his family having embraced Islam some generations ago. A thinker and a philosopher like him, however, could not remain content very long with the restricted love and he realized that while by the accident of birth his body belonged to the soil of India, which was consequently dear to him, his spirit as a Muslim could fly beyond the - shores of India and could sing with equal truth verses running as follows:

"China is ours, so is Arabia, and so is India, We are Muslims and the whole world is our home."

It is noteworthy that this broader sympathy and love has not brought with it a negation of the earlier and limited love. He would not have been the great poet he is, if he had allowed his mind to be curbed by the limited nationalism which absorbs the attention of most people. In the heart of our poet there continues a tender corner for India and Indians, but there is room there for spiritual fellowship with others of different colours and climes and his heart yearns for breathing in the freer atmosphere of international good-

will, which he believes may prove the cure of many of the evils of the existing civilization. Those who have studied the trend of modern thought among the advanced nations of the West know very well that even in those countries which were the chief inspirers of the idea of nationalism there is a marked and growing tendency towards internationalism, which is probably going to be the creed of a happier humanity of the future. Iqbal in these poems appears to me to be preaching inter-nationalism, though not in the abstract, but in the concrete, as already practiced by the great mass of those professing the religion of which he is at once a firm believer and exponent. I know that opinions will differ on this aspect of the question and I do not deny that they can differ with a good deal of reason, but I have simply ventured to place my view of the question before you for consideration. Before concluding my remarks about the *Rumuz-i Bekhudi*, however, I may say that I regard the language of this book as simpler and sweeter than that of the first, which was a title more difficult and abstruse though in the sublimity of its philosophic thought the *Asrar-i Khudi* occupied a high place which is all its own.

We come now to the *Payam-i Mashriq* or the "Message of the East". There is a brief but interesting introduction to this book written by the author himself, which explains the circumstances under which the idea of writing the short poems, collected in this book, arose in his mind. The inspiration came through his touch with the literary productions of German Orientalists. It may be mentioned incidentally that during his sojourn in Europe Iqbal learnt German and was in residence for some time in a German University, where he got his degree as a Doctor of Philosophy. The influence of his studies of German literature is clearly perceptible in his writings and particularly so in the message contained in the *Asrar-i Khudi* and in many poems of the *Payam-i Mashriq*. The book begins with a poem addressed to King Amanullah Khan, who was on the throne of Afghanistan when it was published. In that poem Iqbal draws a touching comparison between Goethe and himself, two lines of which appeal to me particularly:

"He, a flower in a garden born and bred,

I, a wild flower grown out of a dead soil.

He, like a nightingale giving forth in a garden melodies that please ;

I, in the wilderness crying, like a caravan bell."

This last is a favourite metaphor of Iqbal. In his Urdu poems as well as Persian poems he refers to himself, again and again, as a bell that is warning the wayfarers whether they heed it or not. There is a predominant feeling in his mind that he is very much ahead of his times. So he calls himself "a poet of the morrow" and complains that his contemporaries have failed to grasp the true meaning of his message. It is a grievance with him that even those who are familiar with him have not understood him or benefited by his teaching and that he is a singing bird who is a stranger in his own garden.

I think it is difficult to select any lines from the "Message of the East". It is full of literary apothegms and gems, which must be read and enjoyed by those who can read them in original. The first eighty pages of this book are devoted to quatrains, most of which emphasize, each in four telling lines, the lessons inculcated and reasoned out at length in the two previous books, while others compare favourably with the quatrains written by Persian poets like Khayyam.

After the quatrains come short lyric poems, which could be sung to the accompaniment of music in the sweet tunes the charm of which it is difficult to excel. The peculiar feature of this book is that the greater part of it is more easily intelligible to the ordinary reader than the two previous books or the poems that followed it. The language is chaste and simple and its flow very natural and spontaneous. The poet must have been in his

happiest mood when composing some of the beautiful verses in the "Message of the East". What could be prettier, for instance, than the inimitable melody of his poems on Kashmir. They are obviously the result of his visit to that fascinating Eden of India and probably composed when the spell of Kashmir was on him. To the poet's admiration of the natural beauties of the country was added the feeling that his ancestors originally came from Kashmir. The poem in which he has depicted the beauty of the Nishat Bagh is simply splendid and may be said to be a perfect picture in words, showing what a fine artist we have in Iqbal.

Coming to the *Zabur-i 'Ajam*, the latest Persian poem of Iqbal, I understand he regards it as the most important and probably the best of his works. There is no doubt that it is the ripest fruit of his labour and as such must be particularly dear to him. The pieces collected in it are mostly lyrical. The author's command of the Persian language has been distinctly growing since the publication of his first book and he seems to be using it with-out the least effort. Similarly, the melody of his verse has grown with every fresh effort and abounds in the *Zabur*. However, this work being more serious than the "Message of the East," its melody does not present the same variety as that of the former. I must confess, however, that the philosophical thought in the *Zabur* is above the heads of ordinary readers and as such this book has not, perhaps, made the same appeal to the popular mind, which has been made by the *Rumuz* and the *Payam*. In the *Zabur* the author assumes, more clearly than before, the role of a seer and a religious leader. The name of the book indicates that tendency and so does the line which serves as a motto for the book:

"I passed by the outside of the door, and have spoken of the inside of the house.

In the bold fashion of a Qalandar Darvish I have spoken of things which no one had spoken of before."

His language is that of a mystic, The fact is that Iqbal is inclined to mysticism by his nature. This tendency he inherited from his father, who was a man with a deeply religious and sufistic mind. Therefore we find an under-current of mysticism in all the writings of Iqbal. It has risen to a great height in the Zabur, in which the mystic in Iqbal has expressed itself.

Addressing the reader of this book, Iqbal says:

"Sometimes a blade of grass becomes a veil for my eye, at other times I have seen both the worlds at one glance."

It may be added, however, that we are not to suppose from the mystic style of expression adopted in this book that Iqbal has forgotten the message with which he started his Persian poetry. He is adhering to his mission as strongly as ever. His is a message of hope for Islam and the East in particular, and for humanity in general. He takes an optimistic view of the future of the Orient, as well as of the world at large, though to the nations of the Occident he gives a warning that their outlook on the material side of life must undergo a complete change if the world is to remain a peaceful and happy world. Iqbal is a great protagonist of the poor and the downtrodden, wherever they may be, and he believes that in the great struggle between labour and capital, on which the world is entering today, it would be labour that would come out triumphant and any people, who are taking undue advantage of their power or influence in any sphere of life to oppress the poor, will eventually come to grief. He predicts a day when the old order will give place to the new and there will be a freer and a happier world.

Discussion

The following is a brief summary of the discussion that took place after Sir Abdul Qadir had read his paper.

Professor Majid, M.A., of the Islamia College, Lahore, asked the lecturer whether the word Jama'at as used by Iqbal in the passages quoted in the lecture could not be better translated by the word "community" instead of the word "nation". The lecturer in reply agreed with Mr Majid that community was, in fact, a better translation and had been originally used by him in his paper but for certain reasons he had preferred the word "nation" on this occasion.

Mr. Majid also pointed out that the philosophy of Iqbal, as expounded in his Persian poems, was based on the teachings of the Qur'an and could hardly be dissociated from it. The lecturer admitted that there was force in that remark but pointed out that the interpretation of Islam in the writings of Iqbal differed to some extent from that of ordinary Muslim theologians.

Mr. A Wadud Khan Qamar, of the Medical College, said that he would like to know what the lecturer thought was the attitude of Iqbal towards democracy and pointed out that it was a vital point and the lecturer had omitted it altogether.

Sir Abdul Qadir replied that his paper did not purport to be exhaustive and that he had to omit many important points, this being one of them. It seemed that Iqbal's sympathies were entirely in favour of the masses, as opposed to classes, but he did not appear to have much faith in the efficacy of a democratic system of Government.

Professor Muhammad Shafi Bhatti, M.A., of the Forman Christian College, wanted to know whether the importance of action as preached by Iqbal in his Persian poems included an admiration for the "mailed-fist" or not. Sir Abdul Qadir replied that the poet had preached that the acquisition of strength was necessary to the individual as well as to the nation as an essential condition for its existence but it did not appear that he advocated any aggressive adoption of the "mailed fist" as a means of progress. He

seems certainly to believe that if one was threatened by the "mailed fist," it was necessary for him to be ready to meet it in kind.

Chairman's Remarks

The Chairman, in winding up the proceedings, made a few remarks about Iqbal's poetry. He considered Iqbal as the greatest Muslim poet of the day, who had infused a new life into the so called dead bones of the Muslims of India. He had gone for inspiration to that period of Islamic culture when the Arabs emerged from their native land and spread all over Western Asia and Egypt. Iqbal had unfortunately no access to the original and ancient literature of his own country, otherwise he would have found some inspiration from the Vedas themselves, as distinguished from the later Hindu literature, were a source of inspiration and inculcated a life of activity and enterprise as distinguished from the life of indolence and so-called resignation preached in the later literature of the Hindus.

Iqbal's philosophy, according to the Chairman, could be summed up in a few verses of his own. He has described his body as a rose from the rose-beds of Kashmir, his heart as derived from the Hejaz and his voice as borrowed from Shiraz. Iqbal, according to Dr Narang, was a poet of dissatisfaction and discontent' with the existing state of affairs. It was for this reason that he had run down poets like Hafiz and philosophers like Plato, the latter being compared to an old goat. He had in fact shown his discontent even with Creation and found fault with God Almighty in a well-known verse of his in which he addressed God, calling upon Him to wipe out the existing creation and to produce a better type of man, as it was beneath the dignity of God Almighty to produce clay figures like the present mankind.

Iqbal, according to Dr. Narang, seems to be disgusted with the democracy of modern times as is shown by his well-known verse in which he said that two hundred donkeys could not produce the brain of one man and

if one were wise one would shun democracy. He has also railed at patriotism of a territorial kind and has considered it inconsistent with the true spirit of Islam. In doing this, however, Iqbal has stopped midway, having erected, as it were, a halfway house and has not risen to the heights to which Dr Tagore has done, inasmuch as Iqbal has not tried to replace narrow territorial patriotism by universal brotherhood and has confined himself to the brotherhood within Islam. This is a point on which he hoped Sir Abdul Qadir would throw light on some other occasion.

IQBAL'S THEORY OF MUSLIM COMMUNITY AND ISLAMIC UNIVERSALISM

Dr. Manzooruddin Ahmad

Introduction

The Muslim Renaissance in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent was primarily inspired and activated by Sayyid Ahmad Khan,²¹⁴ and Dr Sir Muhammad Iqbal.²¹⁵ Sayyid Ahmad Khan, pragmatic genius as he was, had laid its foundation in the late nineteenth century; and later in the twentieth century, Dr Iqbal, through his poetic vision and political insight, as reflected in his writings, speeches, and political works, elaborated for the Indian Muslims a political ideology which could form the basis for a separate Muslim State—later to be known as the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, leaving

²¹⁴ Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) was the vanguard of Islamic Renaissance in India ; for details of his numerous works of reform, see W.C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, (Lahore : 1973 B.A. Dar, Religious, Thought of Sayyid Ahmad Khan, (Lahore : 1957), J.M.S. Baljon, Jr. *Reforms Thought Religion Ideas of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, (London, 1949) ; an earlier biographical work by G.F.I. Graham, *Life and Work of Syed Ahmed, C.S.I.*, (Edin 1885) and also see a recent work, David Lelyveld, *Aligarh'i First Generation gurph*: (New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1978).

²¹⁵ The Poet-Philosopher of the East, Allama Dr Shaikh Sir Muhammad Iqbal was born in Sialkot, Punjab on the 22nd of February, 1873, and died in Lahore on the 21st of April, 1938. After completing his education in India, Iqbal went to Europe for higher education at Cambridge, and in Germany. He got his Ph. D. in Philosophy, and Law degree, and returned to India, took up teaching, and later took to legal practice. Subsequently, he took part in Indian politics. Among his prose works in English are *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia* (Cam-bridge, 1908), *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (London, 1934) containing his seven Lectures delivered at Madras and other places. Among his poetical works are collections of Urdu poems, *Bang-i Darā*, *Bāl-i Jabril* *Darb-i Kalim*, *Armughān-i Hijaz*, and also the collections of Persian language, *Asrār-i Khudī*, *Rumuz-i Baikhudī*, *Javid Namah*, *Zabūr-i Ajam*, *Piyam-i Mashriq*, *Pas Chih Bāyad Kard A Aqwām-i Sharq*. Most of his poetical works have already been translated into several languages by noted Orientalists like A. J. Arberry, R. A. Nicholson, A. Schimmel, Abdul Wahab Azzam, Kiernan.

the great task of its creation and organization to Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the Quaid-i Azam (the Great Leader).

The political ideology of Pakistan, as elaborated by Iqbal, is deeply rooted in the Islamic values contained in the Quranic teachings, and the traditions (Sunnah) of the Prophet, the founder of the world community of Islam. A close study of Iqbal's works shows that, for Iqbal, the political ideology of Pakistan would primarily be composed of two basic elements, namely, the Quranic concept of the universal Millah (community) and his concept of the Self (khudī). It was, in fact, within such an ideological framework that Iqbal was confronted with the problem of redefining the political status of the Indian Muslims in accordance with the contemporary political terminology. In order to achieve this objective, Iqbal had expounded the Two-Nation Theory as the basis for claiming the right of self-determination of the Indian Muslims for carving out a separate Muslim State. Thus, naturally, the concepts of the universal community—Millat and the Two—Nation Theory constitute the crux of the political philosophy of Pakistan. However, obviously, the inherent contradictions between these two propositions creates a theoretical difficulty of a fundamental nature. The question arises as to how Iqbal proposed to reconcile Islamic universalism with modern territorial nationalism. Unless the inherent dichotomy is resolved, the political ideology of Pakistan would remain vague, and confusing, and would fail to bring about the much desired national integration of its diverse elements, namely, regions, classes, and other primary groups. The purpose of this paper is to examine in some depth Iqbal's concept of Millat and his theory of Two-Nations and see how he proposed to reconcile these apparently contradictory propositions.

Self-Community Iqbal's concepts of Self (Khudī) and community (Millat) are fundamentally derived from the Quranic source. The individual believer in Islam is described in the Qur'ān as Muslim (one who surrenders his will to the will of Allah) and Mumin (one who has faith in the oneness of Allah) whom the Muslim mystics usually call the perfect man (insān-i kāmīl).

According to the Quranic cosmology, Adam, the first man, was created as the masterpiece of God's creations—highest of all beings (ashraf al-makhlūqāt) and was endowed with the Divine virtue of knowledge (allamah al-ismā²¹⁶) and the rare gift of free will Obviously, therefore, in, the Qur'an man is called the vicegerent of Allah on the earth (khalīfah²¹⁷). In a nutshell, it is the potentiality of self-awareness, moral consciousness, and spiritual vitality for ceaseless struggle which distinguish man from other creatures.

Man, by submitting his will to the will of Allah, emancipates his self with all its attributes and potentialities from the shackles of his natural frailties, and emerges as the master of his own destiny in the cosmic vastness. Islam, the submission to Allah, in fact implies a fundamental change of human personality as his psyche moves from the state of intellectual and spiritual chaos described in the Qur'ān as kufr (unbelief) to higher level of moral consciousness—Imān (belief).²¹⁸ Iqbal's concept of the self, in sub-stance, is a philosophical exposition of the Quranic view of the perfect man—the Mumin. In contrasting the believer with the unbeliever, Iqbal says:

کافر کی یہ پہچان کہ آفاق میں گم
ہے
مومن کی یہ پہچان کہ گم اس میں
ہے
آفاق!²¹⁹

²¹⁶ Qur'an,- ii : 31 Manzooruddin, Ahmed, The Muslim Political Theory in the Modern Age, forthcoming volume.6, Kulliyat-i-Iqbal, Urdu, (Lahore: Shaikh Ghulam Ali & Sons, 1973), p.506.7. Ibid., p. 377

²¹⁷ Ibid., ii : 30.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

The hall-mark of the unbeliever is the fact that He is lost in the cosmos; in contrast, the true Believer's mark is that the cosmos itself subsists within his Self.

In another verse, Iqbal says:

خودی کے زور سے دنیا پہ چھا جا
مقام رنگ و بو کا راز پا جا²²⁰

With the power of self-awareness

Comprehend the world!

And discover the secret of this place of Color and fragrance.

In Muslim theology there has been going on an eternal controversy over the question of Free Will (qadr) and Necessity (Jabr). In the following verse, Iqbal, dilating over the subject, asserts that man by cultivating and disciplining his self is truly capable of achieving mastery over Destiny:

خودی کو کر بلند اتنا کہ پر تقدیر
سے پہلے
خدا بندے سے خود پوچھے بتا
تیری رضا کیا ہے²²¹

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ Ibid., p. 347.

Elevate your Self to such heights That before Destiny (intervenes)
God Himself may ask His Slave, "Tell ! what doeth thou will !"

For Iqbal,

خودی وہ بحر ہے جس کا کوئی کنارہ

نہیں

تو آب جو اسے سمجھا اگر تو چارہ

نہیں²²²

Self is like an ocean without shore, However, there is no way if thou
shoudst Mistake it for a stream.

Iqbal seems to have discovered the secret of self by his keen
observation of nature of things as he reflects:

ہر چیز ہے محو خود نمائی پر ذرہ اسیر کبریائی

بے ذوق نمود زندگی، موت تعمیر خودی میں ہے

خدائی²²³

Every object is obsessed - With self-expression,

And each particle is subservient to God. Without the urge of
expression, Life itself (Turns) into Death, as the (Essence) Divinity lies in the
cultivation of the Self.

²²² Ibid., p. 336.

²²³ Ibid., p. 345.

Iqbal believes that those who are initiated into the secrets of the Self hold exalted position:

یہ پیام دے گئی ہے مجھے باد صبحگاہی
کہ خودی کے عارفوں کا ہے مقام پادشاہی
تری زندگی اسی سے، تری آبرو اسی سے
جو رہی خودی تو شاہی، نہ رہی تو
روسیاہی²²⁴

The morning breeze has given the message That men who are aware of the Self Hold royal station.

Thine life springs from it, and Thine honour is contingent upon it. With self-awareness one attains royalty; and devoid of it, only disgrace.

For Iqbal self-awareness is the substance of Islamic message to mankind when he says:

روح اسلام کی ہے نور خودی، نار خودی
زندگانی کے لیے، نار خودی نور و حضور!
یہی ہر چیز کی تقویم، یہی اصل نمود
گرچہ اس روح کو فطرت نے رکھا ہے
مستور²²⁵

²²⁴ Ibid., p. 37.

²²⁵ 12. Ibid., pp. 492-93.

The light of the self, and the fire of the self Constitute the very essence of Islam,

The fire of the Self nourishes life with Enlightenment and Consciousness.

This is the nature of every object, and this is the Cause of growth, however, the Nature has concealed its essence.

Iqbal goes beyond Nietzsche's super-man in expounding his philosophy of the Self in Islamic context when he asserts that God-centered self-awareness is the highest level of human consciousness. Following his spiritual mentor, Rūmī, Iqbal asserts that Nietzsche's super-man constitutes only the first stage in the evolutionary process of growth of human' self. In fact Nietzsche's blurred vision had totally missed the other two crucial stages—(i) selflessness—the social context of self realization; and., (ii) Divine consciousness—the discovery of the Self in relation to God. In elaborating these higher stages of self-awareness, Iqbal refers to Nietzsche in the following verse:

اگر ہوتا وہ مجذوب فرنگی
اس زمانے میں
تو اقبال اس کو سمجھاتا مقام
کبرئی کیا ہے؟²²⁶

²²⁶ Ibid., p. 348.

If that Western Majdhūb (one who is lost in his Own Self) were alive today, surely Iqbal would have explained to him the level of Divine Consciousness.

Man's journey of self-awareness is clearly reflected in the Quranic dictum—There is no god except Allah. The dictum implies two stages—(a) the first of negation that nothing and no mortal can claim supernatural powers; and (2) the second of affirmation of God Almighty. For Iqbal, Nietzsche could not go beyond the first stage in enunciating his concept of the super-man. The Mumin in Islam, by demolishing the images of all false gods, realises his true self as the axis of the universe, and hence is transformed into the super-man of Nietzsche. But his journey does not end here. The Islamic individual, the Mumin, moves ahead, in the course of his spiritual ascension, towards the next stage selflessness or self-abnegation, and recognises the social context of his own self. This is the stage when the Islamic individual merges himself with other fellow Muslims to constitute what the Qur'ān describes Millah. The focal point of integration of the Millat constitutes the third stage-when all individual believers surrender their individual wills to the will of God Almighty subordinating themselves to the Divine Laws—the Sitar'ah. Thus faith in God Almighty provides an eternal principle of unity of mind, of will, and of body for all individual believers.

Iqbal, in his famous poem composed in Persian language en-titled *Asrār-i Khudī*²²⁷ (The Secret of the Self) expounds his theory of the unique Islamic individual, and in a later poetic work- *Rumūz-i Bekhudi*²²⁸ (The Mysteries of the Selflessness) he integrates his concept of Self within the framework of the Islamic theory of Millat (community). The Islamic individual in the ultimate end turns out neither to be like Hobessian

²²⁷ M. Iqbal's famous work in Persian, see its English translation by R. A. Nicholason, *The Secrets of the Self*, (Lahore, 1944), an earlier edition was published in London, 1920, see also Arberry's *Notes on Iqbal's Asrar-i Khudi*, Lahore : 1955)

²²⁸ M, Iqba, *Ramuz-i Bekhudi*, (Lahore, 1918), see its English rendering by A.J. Arberry, *The Mysteries of the Selflessness*, (London, 1953).

Leviathan, nor like Nietzschean super-man, but finds himself as a truly free man growing within the framework of a God-centred community—the Millar. In this manner, Islam resolves the irreconcilable dichotomy of free will, and necessity, liberty and authority, and individual and the State.

It is the faith in God Almighty which distinguishes a true believer from either Nietzscheian super-man or Hobessian Leviathan. Dilating upon the mysterious powers of faith Iqbal says:

جب اس انگارہ خاکی میں ہوتا
ہے یقین پیدا
تو کر لیتا ہے یہ بال و پر روح
الامیں پیدا
غلامی میں نہ کام آتی ہیں
شمشیریں نہ تدبیریں
کوئی اندازہ کر سکتا ہے اس کے
زور و بازو کا؟
نگاہ مرد مومن سے بدل جاتی
ہیں تقدیریں!²²⁹

As faith is born within this burning dust (man),

He can create (for himself) wings of the Celestial Angel (Gabriel).

²²⁹ M. Iqbal, *Kulliyat-i-Iqbal*, p. 271

In slavery, neither swords nor stratagems are of any avail, only with fervent faith one can break the chains. Who can assess the strength of his (believer's) muscles? The gaze of a believer can upturn even the Fates!

According to Iqbal, the essential attributes of a true believer are faith, ceaseless effort, and universal love as he say

یقین محکم، عمل پیہم، محبت فاتح عالم
جہاد زندگی میں ہیں یہ مردوں کی
شمشیریں²³⁰

Abiding faith, unceasing effort, and World -conquering love

Are like swords to brave men In the battlefield of life.

The faith in Tawhīd (monotheism), on the one hand, creates psychic cohesion within the individual self, and on the other provides a principle of unity for the community (Millat). Thus the Islamic individuals are bound together by ideological bonds within the framework of the Millat—community. In other words, the individual, isolated from the community, remains insecure, weak and powerless; his energies are scattered and his aims narrow, diffuse and indefinite.²³¹ Emphasizing on the principle of unity,

Iqbal says:

آبرو باقی تری ملت کی

²³⁰ Ibid., p. 272

²³¹ K.G. Saiyidain, Iqbal's Educational Philosophy (4th Ed. Lahore, 1954), p. 69.

جمعیت سے تھی
جب یہ جمعیت گئی، دنیا میں
رسوا تو ہوا²³²

It is the unity which sustained the glory of thine community; with the loss of this unity, there was only disgrace for thee in the world.

The individual himself without this unity would be aimless, as he says in the following verse:

فرد قائم ربط ملت سے، تنہا
کچھ ہے نہیں
موج ہے دریا میں، اور بیرون
دریا کچھ نہیں²³³

The individual remains steadfast only

With, the bond of community;

Alone he is nowhere Like a wave in the ocean, But outside nothing.

Thus the bond of community (rabt-i-millat) is the key concept for the preservation of the self. The bond resting on the faith of the individuals

²³² Kulliyāt (Urdu) p. 190.

²³³ Ibid. 21.

provides substance and form to the Millat Iqbal elaborates this point in his poem entitled: 'Tulū'-i Islām

یقین افراد کا سرمایہ تعمیر
 ملت ہے
 یہی قوت ہے جو صورت گر
 تقدیر ملت ہے²³⁴

The faith of all individuals provides material

For community-building;

It is the force which shapes

The destiny of the community.

Therefore, Iqbal categorically rejects all other bonds of social unity—race, nationality, geography, etc., as un-Islamic. For Iqbal Millat is firmly founded on the bedrock of human unity. In his poem, Dunyā-i Islām (The World of Islam), Iqbal exhorts all the believers of Islam to unite as it was the only true prescription for their redemption and regeneration. He says:

The bond and unity of the sacred community Was the only way of deliverance for the Orient; The Asians are still unaware of this point.

Iqbal in expounding his theory of the community (Millat), further rejects secular foundations of politics, and he calls upon the believers:

ربط و ملت ضبط بیضا ہے

²³⁴ Ibid., p. 273. 22

مشرق کی نجات
ایشیا والے ہیں اس نکتے سے
اب تک بیخبر²³⁵

Once again shun politics, and

Seek shelter within the walls of Religion; As Country and State are
only fruits of The protection of the Sanctuary.

Let all Muslims unite

For safeguarding the Sanctuary

From the bank of Nile

To the land of Kashghar.

What stands in the way of Islamic unity? The rampant racial-ism
among the Muslims was the greatest enemy of Islamic unity. Therefore, if
Muslims persist to believe in racialism, they were destined to vanish as he
says:

پھر سیاست چھوڑ کر داخل حصار
دیں ہو
ملک و دولت ہے فقط حفظ حرم کا
ایک ثمر
ایک ہوں مسلم حرم کی پاسبانی

²³⁵ bid., p. 264.

کے لیے
نیل کے ساحل سے لے کر تا بخاک
236 شغریٰ کا

Whosoever believes in discrimination

On the basis of race or colour is doomed ;

No matter whether the Turk or the Arab.

If race of Muslims takes precedence over Religion,

جو کرے گا امتیاز رنگ و خون مٹ
جائے گا
ترک خر گاہی ہو یا اعرابی والا
گہر!
نسل اگر مسلم کی مذہب پر مقدم
ہو گئی
اڑ گیا دنیا سے تو مانند خاک
رہگزر!²³⁷

(Rest assured) Thou wilt vanish away from the world Like the dust of the beaten track.

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ Ibid.

Millat and Nationalism. Iqbal, after a careful and critical study and observation, totally rejects the theory and practice of modern nationalism as it militates against humanistic ideals of Islam. Although like many other Muslim leaders, Iqbal had started his intellectual career as an ardent nationalist, yet with gradual maturing of his thought, he turned towards Islamic political theory for inspiration. In the earlier phase of his poetic life, particularly in his collection of poems entitled Bāng-i Darā several poems deal with the theme of patriotism, and nationalism. In the very first poem, Himaliyah, Iqbal says:

اے ہمالہ! اے فصیل کشور
 ہندوستان
 چومتا ہے تری پیشانی کو
 جھک کر آسمان²³⁸

O! Himaliya! O! fortress of the land of Hindustan ! Sky stoops down to kiss your forehead.

Similarly in his Tāranah-i Hindī, Iqbal expresses his purest feelings patriotism and nationalism.

سارے جہاں سے اچھا
 ہندوستان ہمارا
 ہم بلبلیں ہیں اس کی یہ

²³⁸ Ibid., p. 21.

گلستان ہمارا
مذہب نہیں سکھاتا آپس
میں بیر رکھنا
ہندی میں ہم، وطن ہے
ہندوستان ہمارا²³⁹

Our Hindustan is best in the world.

It's like a garden, and we are its nightingales. Religion does not teach us to be each other's enemy. All of us are Indians, and India is our Country.

Iqbal's belief in the cult of nationalism and patriotism had reached its climax in his poem, *Nayā Shiwālah* (New Temple) in which he proudly declared that patriotism was a sacred Religion for him as each particle of the dust of the Country was a god:

پتھر کی مورتوں میں
سمجھا ہے تو خدا ہے
خاک وطن کامجھ کو ہر
زرہ دیوتا ہے

Thou doest imagine that God resides in the images of stone:

²³⁹ Ibid., p. 87.

But for me each particle of the dust. of the Country is a god.

In the above verse one can hardly miss the resounding echo of a Contemporary Iranian poet. Pūr Dāwūd who in his poem Na'rah-i Pūr Dāwūd (Call of Pūr Dāwūd) says:

گر پرسی ز کیش پور داؤد
آن جوان پارسی ایران می
پرستد

If you ask what is Pūr Dāwūd's creed ? That young Persian worships Iran.

However, Iqbal was soon disillusioned with the cult of nationalism and patriotism. Consequently he turned to the study of Islam, and discovered that Islamic universalism and humanism cannot be contained within the narrow framework of contemporary nationalism. In an early lyric, Iqbal points to the obvious contradictions between nationalism and Islamic Millat :

نرالا سارے جہاں سے اس کو عرب
کے معمار نے بنایا
بنا ہمارے حصار ملت کی اتحاد وطن
نہیں ہے²⁴⁰

²⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 136.

The Arabian architect"(the Prophet) has fashioned it (Millat) on a model unique in the world.

The unity of the Country is not the foundation of the rampart of our Community (Millat).

Later in 1908 in his poem, Bilād-i Islāmiyah (Muslim World) Iqbal introduces a new political concept which he prefers to call Qawmiyyat-i Islām (Islamic nationalism). In his view if Islamic nationalism were to be ultimately pinned down to the notion of territory, neither India, nor Iran, nor Syria, nor for that matter any specific area can be considered as the true homeland of Islam, but rather it is the land of Yathrib (Medina) which is the true home of all Muslims²⁴¹:

ہے اگر قومیت اسلام پابند مقام
ہند ہی بنیاد ہے اس کی، نہ فارس
ہے، نہ شام
آہ! یثرب! دیس ہے مسلم کا تو
ماوی ہے تو
نقطہ جاذب تاثر کی شعاؤں کا ہے
تو
جب تلک باقی ہے تو دنیا میں،
باقی ہم بھی ہیں
صبح ہے تو اس چمن میں گوہر

²⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 147-48.

If Islamic nationalism were bound with a place,

Its foundation is neither India, nor Persia, nor Syria. O Yathrib! that art the home and refuge of Muslim, Thou art the focal point of attraction of the rays of feelings so long as thou liveth in this world, we also shall live.

If thou art the dawn of this garden, so would also be there dew-pearls.

However, in his poem *Tarānah-i Millī* (The Song of the Community) Iqbal rediscovers the global context of Islamic nationalism when he says:

چین و عرب ہمارا، ہندوستان ہمارا
مسلم ہیں ہم، وطن ہے سارا جہاں
ہمارا²⁴³

China and Arabia are ours, so is India ours.

We are Muslims, and the whole world is our Country.

In another poem, *Wataniyat* (Patriotism) Iqbal examines the idea of country as a political concept, and sharply focuses on the inherent contradictions between Country and Religion in the following verse:

²⁴² Ibid., p.]59.

²⁴³ Ibid., p, 160.

جب تلک باقی ہے تو دنیا میں، باقی ہم
ہیں بھی
صبح ہے تو اس چمن میں گوہرِ شبنم
ہیں بھی²⁴⁴

Country is the supreme among all the contemporary gods;

Its cloak is the shroud of Religion.

In elaborating the evil consequences of the impact of nationalism on the Muslim world, Iqbal observes:

This image (of nationalism) as fashioned by the contemporary civilization.

Destroys the home of prophetic faith.

Your muscles obtain strength from the power of Mono-theism.

Islam is thine home, and thou art the follower of the Prophet. Show to the World a glimpse of the old days?

O follower of the Prophet! crush this image in the dust.

In the same poem, Iqbal emphasizes on the non-territoriality and the universality of the Islamic Millat, and says:

ہو قید مقامی تو نتیجہ ہے تباہی
رہ بحر میں آزاد وطن صورت ماہی

گفتار سیاست میں وطن اور ہی
کچھ ہے
ارشاد نبوت میں وطن اور ہی کچھ
245 ہے

If one were bound with a place, the result will be utter destruction,
Thou should'st live like a fish in the ocean independent of country.
In the parlance of politics "country" means something different;
And according to the saying of the Prophet country is something
else.

Therefore, Iqbal categorically denounces nationalism as evil because
it divides mankind into national factions, and so also does it destroy the very
roots of Islamic nationalism:

اقوام میں مخلوق خدا بٹتی ہے اس
سے
قومیت اسلام کی جڑ کٹتی ہے اس
246 سے

²⁴⁵ Ibid

²⁴⁶ Ibid., p, 161.

God's creation is divided into nations by nationalism. The roots of Islamic nationality is destroyed by it.

Reflecting on the true basis of Islamic nationalism, Iqbal suggests that we should clearly distinguish between Western brand of nationalism and Islamic view as the former was grounded in man's loyalty to the Country, while the latter emphasises on the power of Religion as the only integrating force of the Muslim Community:

اپنی ملت پر قیاس اقوام
مغرب سے نہ کر
خاص ہے ترکیب میں قوم
رسول ہاشمی
ان کی جمعیت کا ہے ملک و
نسب پر انحصار
قوت مذہب سے مستحکم ہے
جمعیت تری²⁴⁷

You should not equate your Community (Millar) with Western nations ;

²⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 248.

The Nation of the Prophet is unique in its composition ; Their unity (Western nations') depends on country and race, (But) your unity derives stability from the power of Religion.

Thus for Iqbal, Islamic Millar is a nation sui generis because it was founded in monotheism (Tawhīd). Therefore, it transcends all barriers of race, colour, language, and territory; in fact it aims at achieving integration of all mankind into a moral body par excellence as Iqbal observes:

یہی مقصود فطرت ہے، یہی رمز
مسلمانی
اخوت کی جہانگیری، محبت کی
فراوانی!
بتان رنگ و خوں کو توڑ ملت
میں گم ہو جا
نہ تورانی رہے باقی، نہ ایرانی، نہ
افغانی²⁴⁸

That is the purpose of Nature, that is also the secret of Islamicness.

World-encompassing brotherhood, and abundance of Love. Break the images of colour, race, and get lost in the .community. So that there may be neither Turk, nor Iranian, nor Afghan.

²⁴⁸Ibid., p. 270.

Iqbal advises all Muslims to associate themselves with the central organ of the Islamic Millar, as the self-awareness reinforced by collective consciousness can truly regenerate Divine powers of the Millar 7

قوموں کے لیے موت ہے مرکز
سے جدائی!
ہو صاحب مرکز تو خودی کیا
ہے؟ خدائی!²⁴⁹

Disassociation with the Centre signifies death of a nation : But if attached with the Centre, self-awareness turns into Divinity.

Millat and Internationalism, Iqbal believed that, in substance, the Islamic unity was more comprehensive than the contemporary form of international organisations such as the League of Nations. By definition, international associations recognised only sovereign national States and individual human beings have little direct involvement in international affairs. On the contrary, the Islamic unity does not recognize the modern idea of the national State, as fundamentally in its essence, it aimed at creating a global human society—genuinely universal in its scope, humanistic in its goals, and ecumenical in its approach. In a poem entitled Mecca and Geneva Iqbal compares and contrasts Islamic theory of universal unity with the League of Nations, and says:

اس دور میں اقوام کی صحبت

²⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 637.

بھی ہوئی عام
 پوشیدہ نگاہوں سے رہی
 وحدت آدم!
 تفریق ملل حکمت افرنگ کا
 مقصود
 اسلام کا مقصود فقط ملت آدم!
 مکے نے دیا خاک جنیوا کو یہ
 پیغام
 جمعیت اقوام کہ جمعیت
 آدم؟²⁵⁰

In this age, association of Nations has become widespread; However, the unity of Mankind still remains out of sight. The goal of the Western policy was to maintain distinction of all Nations;

But the goal of Islam was only to preserve the Community of Adam.

Mecca gave this message to the land of Geneva; What was the true goal? The league of Mankind or the League of Nations.

Elsewhere, in his poem, "Jam`iyyat-i-Aqwām" (The League of Nations) Iqbal says:

²⁵⁰ Ibid. pp. 519-20.

بیچارى كئى روز سے دم توڑ
 رہى ہے
 در ہے خبر بد نه مرے منہ سے
 نکل جائے
 تقدیر تو مبرم نظر آتی ہے و
 لیکن
 پیران کلیسا کی دعا یہ ہے کہ
 ٹل جائے
 ممکن ہے کہ داشتہ پیرک
 افرنگ
 ابلیس کے تعویذ سے کچھ روز
 سنبھل جائے! ²⁵¹

The poor (League) has been suffering from death pangs for some time;

I am afraid lest I may give out foreboding of bad news (about its end).

It is destined to die but the high priests of the Church have been praying for its life.

²⁵¹ Ibid., p. 618.

Probably this old mistress of Europe may get a lease of life under the spell of satanic amulet.

This poem was written during the last phase of his life, and appears in the *Armughan-i Hijāz*. In the above verses, Iqbal, after analyzing in his mind the causes of failure of the League of Nations, had acutely felt that it was doomed to failure. He calls it "old mistress of European powers" as it was originally designed to serve their interests. At another place, Iqbal had succinctly described it as "a society of thieves" for distribution of graveyards. It is true that the Great Powers were successfully exploiting this international forum for their nefarious imperialistic designs, and national interests at the expense of the exploited nations and peoples. Consequently, the League had completely failed to achieve its objectives of establishing international peace, and was unable to prevent recurrence of another world war. Therefore, for Iqbal, the League was doomed to failure under continuing pressures of imperialism, colonialism, and nationalism. In his poetic vision, he could clearly see that durable international peace could be established only if the League of Nations were transformed into a genuine League of Mankind—free from all forms of exploitation, colonialism, imperialism, and nationalism. As a matter of fact, he believed that such an organisation could very well be set up in the Orient with its centre at Tehran rather than Geneva. It could take in its initial stages the form of a League of Oriental Nations, as Iqbal says:

طهران ہو گر عالم
مشرق کا جنوا
شاید کرۂ ارض کی
تقدیر بدل جائے²⁵²

²⁵² Ibid., p. 609.

If only Tehran could take the place of Geneva for the
Oriental world

Then hopefully the fortune of this good earth might turn
for the better !

38. Ibid., p. 618. 39. Ibid., p. 609

In the above poem entitled 'The League of Oriental Nations', Iqbal had clearly envisioned the emergence of the Third World which has remained for centuries the object of exploitation by the Western Powers. Like Iqbal, many other intellectuals of the world of Islam were also thinking along the same lines.²⁵³ In the end Iqbal came to the conclusion: "It seems to me that God is slowly bringing home to us the truth that Islam is neither nationalism nor imperialism but a League of Nations, which recognizes artificial boundaries and racial distinction for facility of reference only and not for restricting the social horizon of its members",²⁵⁴

Millat and Two-Nation Theory. Iqbal, after elaborating the basic postulates of Islamic ideology and its relevance to individual, society, and mankind, turned his attention to the Indian Muslims who were simultaneously menaced by British imperialism, and the danger of permanent Hindu domination. Caught in the vortex of Indian politics, therefore, the basic problem of the Indian Muslims was how to regenerate their individual

²⁵³ Manzooruddin Ahmed, Pakistan, The Emerging Islamic State, (Karachi : Allies Book Corporation, 1967), p. 65, particularly see reference to Sanhoury's Le Celifat, and his interpretation of the Khildfat as a League of Oriental Nations.

²⁵⁴ Quoted by A. Anwar Beg, The poet of the East, p. 260.

and collective selves, and also preserve their Islamic identity. A satisfactory solution of the problem implied policies and actions at three different levels: (1) reconstruction of Muslim society in the Indian subcontinent according to the Islamic ideology ; (2) facing the upsurge of Indian nationalism in order to preserve the Islamic identity of the Indian Muslims ; and (3) integration of the Indian Muslims with the rest of the Islamic Millat.

Iqbal had intensely felt the progressive decline of the Muslim society in general, and the Indian Muslims in particular; and, therefore, he was deeply concerned with the problem of reconstruction of religious thought in Islam. In his' philosophical works, *Metaphysics and Reconstruction*, Iqbal examined Islamic thought in all its aspects, and attempted to present the Quranic interpretations in the light of twentieth-century requirements in a coherent form. In his poetical works, he went further to elaborate a set of concepts—Self, Community, socio-political implications of the Islamic doctrine of *Tawhīd*, Islamic democracy, economy and other relevant concepts. Iqbal advised all Muslims to restore

Islamic values in theory and practice in order to bring about the much-needed Islamic renaissance. In short, Iqbal offered Islamic ideology as an alternative to all contemporary ideologies.

Iqbal believed that the Islamic ideology could not be effectively implemented without attaining independence from British colonial rule. However, at the same time, he wanted independence in order to reconstruct Indian Muslim community in accordance with the Islamic ideology. Therefore, Iqbal was con-fronted, as other Muslim leaders were, with the upsurge of Indian nationalism. If Iqbal were to accept the thesis of the All-Indian National Congress that all Indians were a single nation, the Muslim minority would be submerged with the Hindu majority, and thus they would lose their Islamic identity and hence would be permanently segregated from the rest of the Muslim world. Therefore, Iqbal felt constrained to redefine

the political status of the Indian Muslims in accordance with the modern theory of nationalism as a nation distinctly different from the Hindu majority. The crux of the Hindu-Muslim conflict arose from the fact that Hindu-dominated Congress believed in secular nationalism.

On the other hand, for Iqbal religion was a comprehensive code of life. Dilating on the unity of religion and politics, during his Madras lectures, Iqbal had observed:

I strongly feel the necessity of religious instruction in your educational institutions. The fact is that I, as an Indian, give precedence to religion over Swarajya (political independence). Personally, I shall have nothing to do with a Swarajya divorced from religion.²⁵⁵

The above observation of Iqbal clearly brings out the altogether different Muslim approach to political independence. For Indian Muslims political independence implied an opportunity to reconstruct their society in accordance with the Islamic ideology. This view was inherently opposed to the cult All-India political ongesenn. Therefore which was being preached by Iqbal proceeded to demolish the premises on which the Congress view of united Indian nationalism was founded. Firstly, the Congress argued that the Indian people, irrespective of their differences of race, religion, and language, were a political nationality through their common- subjection to the British rule. Secondly, the Congress argued that India had always been in the course of its chequered history, a single country. Thirdly, they were of the view that the religious groups like Hindus, Muslims, Christians, and Sikhs were only religious communities which composed the political nationality of all Indians. Ultimately all these premises were based on the general assumption that religion could not be a genuine basis for nationalism. Obviously such a view of nationalism was in direct conflict with the Islamic ideology which Iqbal had elaborated in his works.

²⁵⁵ Quoted in *Ibid.*, In 253. 43. Jamil-ud-din, Ahmad, *Historic Documents of the Freedom Movement*, (Lahore ; Publishers United, Ltd., 1970), p. 121

In response to the Congress view of a common Indian nationality, Iqbal put forward his theory of religio-cultural nationalism according to which Hindus and Muslims constituted two separate nationalities. In tracing the impact of Islam on the Indian Muslims, Iqbal had observed:

"It cannot be denied that Islam, regarded as an ethical ideal plus a certain kind of polity by which expression I mean a social structure regulated by a legal system and animated by a specific ethical ideal, has been the chief formative factor in the life-history of the Muslims of India. It has furnished those basic emotions and loyalties which gradually unify scattered individuals and groups and finally transform them into a well-defined people. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that India is perhaps the only country where Islam, as a people-building force, has worked at its best."²⁵⁶

Therefore, Iqbal's view was not acceptable to the Congress leaders who were not willing to concede a separate national status to the Indian Muslims. However, they were willing to provide in the future constitution of India for safeguards to all the religious communities including the Muslims. Consequently, the All-India Muslim League was described as communal organization. This would have reduced the Indian Muslims merely to a religious minority. Also this would have ultimately undermined the unique character of the Indian Muslims as a community in two ways—firstly, it would imply a complete break from the universal Millat; and secondly, it would reduce them to a helpless minority. In defending Muslim communalism, Iqbal observed in his famous Presidential Address of 1930:²⁵⁷

"And as far as I have been able to read the Muslim mind, I have no hesitation in declaring that if the principle that the Indian Muslim is entitled to full and free development on the lines of his own culture and tradition in his own Indian homelands, is recognized as the basis of a permanent communal settlement, he will be ready to stake his all for the freedom of

²⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 135.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 125

India, the principle that each group is entitled to free development on its own lines is not inspired by any feeling of narrow communalism. There are communalisms and communalisms. I entertain the highest respect for the customs, laws, religious and social institutions of other communities. Yet I love communal group which is the source of my life and behaviour and which has formed me what I am by giving me its religion, its literature, its thought, its culture, and thereby recreating its whole past as a living factor in my present consciousness.²⁵⁸

At this stage of his political career, Iqbal was willing to accept the solution of Hindu-Muslim conflict within the framework of a paraphernalised federal system, in which the Indian Muslims would enjoy full autonomous status in the provinces in which they were in majority. However, the Congress was not willing to accept a weak central government, and, therefore, they were not to concede autonomous status to the Muslim majority provinces. Therefore full Iqbal proceeded to assert that the problem of India was "inter-national and not national" and submitted:

"We are seventy millions and far more homogenous than any other people in India. Indeed, the Muslims of India are the only people who can fitly be described as a nation in the modern sense of the word. The Hindus, though ahead of us almost in all respects, have not yet been able to achieve the kind of homogeneity, which is necessary for a nation, and which Islam has given you as a free gift. No doubt they are anxious to become a nation but the process of becoming a nation is a kind of travail, and, in the case of Hindu India, involves a complete overhauling of her social structure."²⁵⁹

In the above paragraph, Iqbal has clearly defined political status of the Indian Muslims as a separate nationality; and, therefore, they were entitled to claim a separate homeland in accordance with the recognized principle of national self-determination. In his famous Presidential Address,

²⁵⁸Ibid., p. 125

²⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 126.

Iqbal, in outlining a progrāmmē of political action for the Indian Muslims, mooted the idea of a separate Muslims State in the Indian subcontinent:

"I would like to see that Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government, within the British empire or without the British empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me the final destiny of Muslims at least of North-West India."²⁶⁰

In substance, Iqbal's vision of a separate Muslim State was incorporated in the famous Lahore Resolution of 23 March 1940 at the annual session of the All-India Muslim League under the leadership of late Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Subsequently, in 1946 at Legislators' Convention in Delhi, the new State was officially named Pakistan. On 14 August 1947 Pakistan emerged as a new Muslim State on the map of South Asia.

However, for Iqbal the establishment of a Muslim State in the Indian subcontinent was not end by itself but it was a means to achieve a higher goal—consolidation of the World-Millat. Thus the contradiction between Iqbal's theory of the Islamic Millat and his proposal for the establishment of a Consolidated Muslim State in the north-west Indian region was, in fact more apparent than real. In this connection sometimes question has been raised: how could Iqbal reconcile Islamic universalism inherent in his theory of Millat with his Two-Nation theory based on territorial nationalism for Indian Muslims. Early in 1930, Iqbal dealing with this question in his famous Presidential Address, had observed that the crux of the Indian problem was that the Hindu-Muslim conflict was a much deeper ideological cleavage between Islam and nationalism, and "therefore, the construction of a polity on national lines, if it means a displacement of the Islamic principle of solidarity, is unthinkable to a Muslim." In dilating upon the subject he further observed:

²⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 124

"India is Asia in miniature. Part of her people have cultural affinities with nations in the east, and part with nations in the middle and west of Asia."

The implication of the above statement was that Indian Muslims had always constituted a distinctive community in the subcontinent. The Indian Muslims, by virtue of a common faith and history, are closely bound together with the rest of the Islamic Millat living in the West Asia, and at the same time have their peculiarly Indian features. Therefore, in lending support to Two-Nation theory, Iqbal was chiefly concerned with the consolidation of the Muslim community in the North-West Indian region where they constituted majority. For this purpose, he used the theory of modern nationalism in order to counter the arguments of the All-India National Congress in defence of a united Indian nationalism. Therefore, after consolidating Muslim community in the North-West region of the subcontinent in accordance with the precepts of Islamic ideology, the Muslims would naturally move towards achieving higher goals of political consolidation of the World-Ummah which may ultimately take the form of what Iqbal had described as League of Oriental Nations.

Iqbal's vision was, indeed, prophetic. The Islamic Republic of Pakistan bears testimony to his political insight and statesmanship in so far as he had demanded the creation of a separate Muslim State based on his Two-Nation theory. On the other hand, the recent global resurgence of Islamic ideology throughout the length and breadth of the Muslim world, as witnessed in Pakistan, Iran, Libya, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Bangladesh, and elsewhere has generated a new political thrust towards creating an organisational framework for the Muslim world, in the form of institutions like Muslim Heads of States Conference, Muslim Foreign Ministers' Conference, Islamic Secretariat, and numerous financial institutions, such as Islamic Bank, Muslim Chamber of Commerce, Muslim News Agency, etc. In these developments, one can clearly see the emergence of Iqbal's vision of a Muslim Commonwealth of Nations as a reality. Pakistan as the Islamic

Republic has incorporated in its Constitution provisions forging bonds of unity among Muslim States as a State policy; and this has remained a cardinal principle of her foreign policy.