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THE HIMALAYAS

Dr. Muhammad Iqbal

Translation

Dr. M.A.K. Khalil

INTRODUCTION

‘This poem, consisting of twenty four verses, belongs to the first period of Iqbal’s poetic and intellectual evolution, which ended at the time of his departure for Europe, in 1905, for higher education. This period is considered to be that of his national and natural poetry. “The Himalayas” is the opening poem of the collection of his poems called Bang-i-Dara (The Clarion Call). The poem eulogizes the physical beauty and geographical importance of the Himalayas range. Though mountainous tracts are objects of beauty all over the world, and the beauty of many such regions has been extolled by poets and intellectuals, the Himalayas stand out of the rest for their superb beauty and elegance.

The word Himalaya is a simplification of the Sanskrit word Himachal, which means “The Abode of Snow”. The name reflects the long range of permanently snow covered peaks, which are among the highest in the world and form a continuous wall of shimmering silver. The beauty of the mountain range has to be seen to be appreciated and cannot be described in words. However, the reader is referred to NIGEL NICOLSON’S The Himalayas, 1979 Edition; published by The World’s Wild Places/Time-Life Books/Amsterdam for getting a glimpse of the beauty of the Himalayas.

Iqbal, being a native of the India- Pakistan region and one with origins in Kashmir, which is a part of the Himalayan range and is itself beauty par excellence, must have had a special love for the Himalayas. However, his object in writing this poem was not to sing the praises of the tract. Being an aril (gnostic) the beauty of Allah’s countenance as reflected in His Creation had become manifest to his insight. He was moved by the beauty and the

grandeur of the Himalayas. To Iqbal the Himalayas are one of the innumerable masterpieces of the creative power of Allah (S.W.T.). To him it, is one of the shuhuds of Allah's (S.W.T.) artistry and a way of witnessing the effluence of Allah (S.W.T.). This feeling bursts out in verse 3. The writer had the good fortune of witnessing the sylvan beauty of the Himalayas for twenty years and of sharing the feelings' of Sa'di when he says:

برگ درختان سبز در نظر پوشیار!
پر ورقے دفتر یست معرفت کردگار

(سعدی)

For a wide awake eye every leaf of green trees is like a page which is equal to a book of the knowledge of God.

The reader is requested to read the translation with this thought at the back of his mind to get the full pleasure from his effort.

THE TRANSLATION

O Himalaya! O rampart of the Indian region the firmament bends to kiss thy forehead

THE HIMALAYAS

Thou showeth not any signs of old age

Thou art young in the midst of the alternation of the day and night^[1]

The Kalim^[2] of the Tur of Sinai witnessed an effluence (Jalwa)

Thou art the complete manifestation of God's grandeur (Tajalli) for the discerning eye

In appearance thou art only a mountain range

In reality thou art our sentinel, thou art the rampart of India

The art the poetical work whose opening verse is the sky Thou guideth man to the inner solitudes

The snow over thy peaks has endowed thee with the turban of honour^[3]

The turban which mocks at the cap of the world illuminating sun

Antiquity is only a moment of thine age gone by Dark clouds are encamped in thine valleys.

Thy peaks equal the Peides^[4] in elegance

Though thou standest on the earth the whole expanse of the sky is thine abode.

The spring in thine bosom is like a rapidly flowing mirror for which the breeze acts like a kerchief (for cleaning)

In the cloud's hand for the ambling horse

A whip has been given by the lightning on the mountain tops

O Himalaya art thou a theatre stage

Which has been made by nature's own hand for the elements

(to show their performance)

Oh how does the cloud sway around with excessive joy! The cloud is peeding like an unchained elephant

The gentle movement of the morning zephyr acts like a cradle

Every flower bud is swinging as if intoxicated by its own existence

The silence of the leaves declares

“I have never witnessed the jerk of the hand of the flower picker”

“My very silence is relating my tale

My abode is the quiet corner of nature’s solitude”

The brook descends musically from the mountain heights making the waves of Kauser and Tasneem feel small.^[5]

Like showing a mirror to the nature’s beauty Now avoiding, now dashing against the rock

In passing, play the orchestra of the pleasant music O traveller, the heart understands thine echo

In the cloud’s hand for the ambling horse

A whip has been given by the lightning on the mountain tops

O Himalaya art thou a theatre stage

Which has been made by nature’s own hand for the elements

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THE HIMALAYAS

When the *Laila*^[6] of the night opens its locks of long hair the sound of waterfalls spells charm

That silence of the night on which speech is sacrificed That thought-provoking state over-shadows trees

The beauty of dusk moves along the mountain range How beautiful looks this rouge on thine cheeks!

O Himalaya narrate some tale of the times

When thine valleys became the abode of Man’s ancestors^[7]

Say something about that simple life

Which was not stained with the rouge of sophistication

O imagination show me those eves and morns, that period again

Turn back O! advancing time

[¹] The alternation of the day and night is what produces time and advances age.

[²] Kalim is the abbreviation of “Kalimullah” (the one to whom God spoke), which is the title of the Prophet Hadhrat Musa (A.S.) (Moses). fl was honoured by God by speaking to him on the Tur in Mount Sinai.

[³] In the institutions of higher learning in the Islamic world completion of education culminates in the scholar being endowed with a turban as an insignia of his degree. It corresponds with the cap and academic hood of the Western world.

[⁴] Surriya or the Pleides is the cluster of seven brilliant stars in the Constellation of Taurus.

[⁵] These are two fountains and their rivers in paradise.

[⁶] Laila is the proverbial beloved in Arabic, Persian and Urdu literature. She is the heroine of the famous Arab epic story of “Laila-0_Majnun”. She derives her name from the traditional story which says that she was dark. Laila is often,used as metaphor for Light as is used here.

[⁷] *This refers to the antiquity of the Himalayas. Kashmir was inhabited at the time of the Indus Valley civilization in the third millenium B.C. (See CASSON STANLEY - 1940) The Discovery of Man: The Story of the Inquiry into Human Origins; Printed by the Star and Gazette Ltd., for Readers' Union Ltd., London, England, pp. 306-309). It is also believed that the Aryan philosophers wrote the Vedas in the solitude of the Himalayas.*

CONCEPT OF MAN IN IQBAL

Dr. M. Yusuf Azmi

Human existence has been the concern of Philosophers, poets, religious thinkers and mystics from the dawn of civilization. The study of man in the West and in the East reflects apparently the opposite polarities. In recent times, in the West, there has been due emphasis on the social, political and economic aspects; on the contrary, the East gave secondary importance to these factors in human existence. Dr Alam Khundmiri feels that a comparison between Plato, taking an instance from the West, and Buddha, Laotze and initial Vedantic from the East, will establish the difference in modes of perception.

The twentieth century, an age of humanism, consciously or unconsciously, with a relative difference in the East and the West. made a radical shift of reference from the Divine or ultimate authority to man. Today, largely for all practical purposes, man is the measure of all things. In the modern age, the sense of human autonomy is very deep, without delinking the relevance of God. In the East, the destination of man largely remains spiritual.

The concept of man cannot be confined only to the metaphysical world. The role of trustee is assigned to man on the Earth, 'bestowing on him a free personality. The concept of accountability gives him a free choice to perceive his own way in shaping his destiny; he does not disappear completely in the ever-moving wheel of creativity.

The basic concern of the Quran is man. He was created "by God's hands" (Sura 38.75), He created Adam in his image. Blessed with the knowledge, such creation is "the prototype of the perfect man". There was eternal loneliness, before the creation of Adam. Man was not thrown into the void or in the vast desert of loneliness. Things had been created for him. The world is the stage for his performance.

In the light of Man's place in the Divine scheme, there have been evaluations of man by Islamic thinkers, philosophers, sufis, theologians and writers. Rumi feels that there is in man 'the qualities of highness' (M6.3138-43). Ibn 'Arabi acknowledges the very important position of man and tries to bridge

the gap between the creator and creation, In the poetic universe of Ghalib, the image of desire and the motif of journey are the examples of eternal search of a creative man. Similarly man is at the core of Iqbal's writings.

Iqbal projects a dynamic concept of man. Iqbal's man *Mard-i-hur* bears that personality which feels the pulse of life even in death. *Mard-i-momin*, the ideal of Iqbal, is central in the understanding of the nature of man. *Mard-i-momin* carries out the Divine laws, while organic materials and plants are bound by their destinies.

Iqbalian man is placed in the tension between determinism and free will. he is alive in the conflict of evil and virtue. Iqbal's *Mard-i-momin* is ever changing. In his thought and deed he becomes the spokesman of the Divine reality. Iqbal in his book, *Reconstruction*, the magnum opus of his religious philosophy, determines the relationship between man, God and the universe.

It is strange to see the degree of difference in the concept of man in the East and the West: It is observed that the man of the East relies on intuition, while the man of the West on rationality; the East is not dynamic while the West is referred to as dynamic; in the East mysticism permeates life, in the West social norms and ethics assume importance; man in the former is an introvert and in the latter an extrovert; and the difference also lies in terms of materialism and spirituality.

The issues of life and the universe are associated with the consciousness of man. This human consciousness is very crucial in the identification of the universe. Various thinkers viewed man, in terms of their experience and understanding. In Plato there was a kind of disillusionment with reference to man. But Descartes felt that the world is not an illusion: "I think, therefore, I am". In Western thought, Dante laid emphasis on the search through man; Kant's focus was on human will; and Goethe pointed out the possibilities and potentialities of man. Man, today, has assumed a great significance: "The proper study of mankind is man". Man is not just a subject or object of psycho-social studies. In reality he is the life of the universe, from Plato's 'deceptive man, Aristotle's man of decision, to the present day thinking, which treats him as the nucleus of the universe.

There were attempts to determine the nature of man in the economic context and historical dialectics. Scientists like Julian Huxley tried to locate man in the background of evolution and scientific values. Lamont visualised him in terms of materialism, while Kierkegaard placed him in the area of Christian existentialism; and Sartre in atheistic emphasis was on sex and its abnormalities. Unlike them, Iqbal ponders over the concept of man in Reconstruction, tracing the genesis of man in the Islamic background and pointing out the difference between the Biblical and Islamic background.

But there is a radical departure in Iqbal's religious thought which is not in tune with generally accepted religious metaphysics. In the Islamic tradition, too, this is an innovation. While focusing on the creation of Adam, our sensibilities are conditioned to visualise paradise as a distant place beyond the stars, somewhere in the firmament. Iqbal is innovative in his approach, which may not be true from the prevalent religious point of view, but has such an appeal that it cannot be rejected outright. To him Paradise is not a different place outside the Earth. It is, in fact, the attainment of consciousness on the Earth itself.

Man is born of clay but he is in tension with heroic temperament and there is a constant conflict with Aflak (skies). In this process he bridges the gap between the human self and the Absolute self. In fact, man is at the center of the Universe. In reality, the whole universe is at his disposal: In the vast cosmos he is not a mere statue. He witnesses a changing phenomenon. Through his experience and communication, he unveils the mystery, and identifies life with the urge of soaring high.

Iqbal has presented on another occasion a very unique idea of man's individuality. The urge for submission to the Divine is a distinct quality of man and it is important to such an extent that the poet does not want to exchange it with the semblance of magnificence of God.

Iqbal got exposure to multiple sources of the East and the West. Therefore, he offers a unique synthesis of the values, apparently different. The difference was largely due to isolation and xenophobia. A genius alone can bring a synthesis out of paradoxes and contradictions. He derives strength for his concept of self from the Eastern and Western sources without surrendering his distinct voice.

In our age, science, which is instrumental in changing our perception, through its assertion, brings partial truth, when it closes the doors of perception and other modes of comprehension, besides rationalization and analytical methods through argument. Intuition which does not fall in this line of thinking equally an important mode of knowledge and perception. Iqbal is very critical of such a myopic vision of science, which ignores the perception completely.

In Javaid Nama, Iqbal says that prophetic as well as mystic consciousness are required for the fulfilment of human destiny. Therefore, a living link exist between the Miraj, Ascent and Hijrat (Migration), where man reaches a new height. The Miraj of the prophet underlines the truth that the sky is within the reach of man. In terms of Eliot's idiom, one can conquer time with time only. Afaq will be really under control in real historical time. Iqbal determines a revolutionary approach with spiritual and metaphysical values for the shaping of human destiny. No spirituality can be meaningful and relevant if it doesn't have roots in human history and experience. Iqbal presented Lenin before God through the poetic fancy. In spite of the refutation of God by Lenin, he is presented before God with the realization that he played his role in human history, which could be regarded in a specific sense the 'prophetic quality'. Lenin assumed importance because he nourished his ego (self), and in the view of the poet, this act was more meaningful than the passive submission of saints devoid of actions and lost in prayers as a mechanical process. To Iqbal, spirituality is devoid of meaning if it teaches passivity.

Using the metaphor of 'God's Sovereignty on the Earth,' which is the famous idiom of Christianity, Iqbal believes that the new generation will be composed of such individuals, who do not adhere to discrimination. The poet's philosophy of action reaches great imaginative heights, when he says that the paradise which comes as a gift is not welcome; the real Paradise lies in the blood stream.

Man., with his awareness, agreed to accept the trusteeship of this Earth, which was declined by one and all. The relationship of God, man and the universe in this context becomes meaningful. It is not man only in search of God but God is also in search of man. The configuration of the Earth is changed by man, who assumes the responsibility of becoming the co-sharer. This concept is not un-Islamic, as it has the sanction of the Quran i.e.

(Ahsanul-Khaliqeen). There is an emphasis on the distinct emergence of man in Iqbal's poetry. Herbert Read, while reviewing the Secret of the Self, paid a rich tribute to the powerful poetic voice of Iqbal presenting the powerful emergence of man from the East while in his contemporary situation of the West, the English poets felt proud writing about cats and dogs.

'Iqbalian Man' is free time-space bond. Breaking this bond he reveals his existence. In this journey love becomes his guide. This love, gathering creative energy, refreshes itself. When love becomes the essence of life, contemporary age and many ages merge. Man conquers the universe through his ego.

The training of the self wipes out the possibility of destruction, the evil force in man. In fact, Mard-i-momin, the embodiment of self, has a few aspirations but the objectives are great. Dulferebada and nigha-i-dilnawaz go to constitute a pleasant personality. This personality is not condemned to be free, as Sartre feels; he is free to choose and he is not a helpless creature on the rock in the midst of the ocean. The individual self ultimately becomes convergent with the collective self.

Like Eliot, Iqbal pays a rich tribute to Sri Krishna: In the intellectual history of the will, he receives respect forever through his philosophy to mankind. He made it very clear that negation of action does not mean the total negation of it. Iqbal, through his hermeneutic, looked for the dynamism of self-awareness in the Buddhist thought. As he disliked the negation of self, therefore, there is no appeal for him in the philosophy of Maya. Many critics felt that Nietzsche influenced Iqbal for his concept of perfect man. Iqbal denies it very categorically. In spite of his declaration, some critics trust the text, noticing the influence in varying degrees. Iqbal, making his position clear comments that al'jili's concept of Insan-i-kamil anticipates man of ideas of the German thinkers.

Unlike other great poets, Iqbal gave a religious touch to the image of man. In the works of Shakespeare, Milton and Eliot, there is an assimilation of Christian consciousness in determining human identity.

Similarly, Iqbal's Islamic consciousness has been the focal point in his concept of man. However, this concept is not parochial, except in terms of

seeking its realization for partial application in the cultural perspective with which he was associated. Mulk Raj Anand, a prominent Indian novelist, records his feeling: "In fact all through my philosophical studies, specially into sceptical thought of David Hume and Bertrand Russell and Heisenberg, Einstein I returned to the Asrar to integrate myself ..." He feels, Iqbal evolved a new idea of man, 'resilient', 'vitalist,' and 'integral'. Anand considers Iqbal, the prophet of a new concept of man.'

The purpose of religion in Iqbal's thought is human liberation as pointed out by the eminent Indian philosopher, Radhakrishnan. Iqbal realises, "the ultimate nature of reality is spiritual and must be considered as an ego." 'Sh'oor' (Awareness) is the central factor in his poetry. In the story of man, Iqbal traces the origin of man from the point when he acquired awareness and created the environment for the journey of the self. Tracing the religious and non-religious endeavours with the images and symbols of 'oor' cross, cave of 'I-lira' Greek thought, "Surood-i-Rabbani of Hind", the light of Buddha, and the age of science and technology, there is a realization that reality lies within.

The qualitative and distinct emphasis of the poet on man provides a resemblance with the existentialists. From the existentialist postulates, the structure of personality is based on freedom, identity consciousness, the sense of death, anguish and dread. The poetry of Iqbal lends itself to a clear explication about its concern with these problems; there is a commonality and difference. Unlike what the existentialist thought about it, death is not an anguish in Iqbal's poetry: The cold touch of death remains outside the purview of man; his immortality-is the reality. Freedom is the essence of the Iqbalian man. The Nietzschean man, the Sartre an man also show some affinities. The Mandan man is to be viewed in the social context and historical dialectics. The sense of freedom, and existential anguish of the poet can be seen deeply in "The Wild Tullip". The real commitment of man to himself is evident: "I am life, I am death, I am resurrection."

REALISM VERSUS ANTI-REALISM

Dr. Mohammad Ashraf Adeel

INTRODUCTION

The difficulties encountered by an architect, while constructing a house from make-believe bricks, are difficulties of principle, unless he is engaged in constructing a make-believe castle of a child's reveries. It is this kind of difficulty, according to Dummett, that a realist theory of meaning is confronted with, and not simply the difficulties of detail. This claim, plainly, is not music to the realist ears. Hence the ensuing realist/anti-realist controversy that, by the way, has remained at the heart of the philosophical project down the ages. In more recent literature, Dummett has argued that the primary character of this controversy is semantic. How do we understand the sentences of a given class, e.g., sentences about physical objects, mathematical sentences, sentences about mental states or events, sentences about theoretical entities of science, and past tense and future tense sentences? The realist and the anti-realist give different answers to this question.

I seek here first, to state the anti-realist argument in its contemporary form, specifically as it has appeared in the writings of Michael Dummett, and then to examine various realist responses to it. My strategy is to establish various points of contact, where possible, between the contemporary and Plato's responses to the anti-realist, and then to argue that realist arguments, old or new, are attended by difficulties. The anti-realist position, therefore, is not effectively destroyed by them.

Both Dummett and Davidson seem to agree that a theory of meaning is concerned with explaining a speaker's practical ability to understand and use his language. It is a theoretical representation of the implicit knowledge that a speaker has of his language. But Dummett argues that, "since what is being ascribed to a speaker is implicit knowledge, a theory of meaning must specify not merely what it is that a speaker must know, but in what his having that knowledge consists, i.e., what counts as a manifestation of that knowledge. Without this not only we are left in then dark about the content of ascribing

such knowledge to a speaker, but the theory of meaning is left unconnected with the practical ability of which it was supposed to be a theoretical representation.”^[1]

Now a realist theory of meaning takes truth to be the central semantical notion. Sentences in the given class, on such a truth conditional theory of meaning, have a determinate truth-value, regardless of whether we actually do or do not know their truth-conditions. Realism, therefore, is wedded to the principle of bivalence or an analogous multivalence, since some philosophers (Aristotle for example) are inclined to think that future tense sentences are neither true nor false. Bivalence, however, is not a sufficient condition for a realist theory of meaning. One needs, in addition to bivalence, a “certain conception of the manner” in which our sentences come to acquire their truth-value. And, as Dummett puts it, this “embodies an appeal to the notion of reference as an indispensable notion of the semantic theory”.^[2] However, within these broad features of the realist program, there are at least three variations of realism that can take place. These variations Dummett refers to as naive realism, sophisticated realism, and semi-naive realism.

A naive-realist believes in what Dummett calls an irreducibility thesis regarding the statements in the given class.^[3] What it amounts to is that no non-trivial general answer can be given to the question: ‘What makes a sentence of the given class true, if it is true?’ A trivial answer to such a question would be something like Tarski’s disquotatation schema: ‘P’ is true if P, where P is the sentence of the given class. In addition to the irreducibility thesis, naive realism, as traditionally understood, involves an epistemological component. Dummett offers, as an illustration of this component of naive realism, the standard view of sentences in the past tense. This view is committed not only to the principle of bivalence but also to some kind of direct acquaintance with the past events through the memory. The reason is that, on a naive realistic interpretation, there is no non-trivial answer to the question: ‘What makes a sentence about the past true, if it is true?’ And the trivial answer, to the effect that, a past event makes a sentence about the past true, when it is true, automatically commit a naive realist to the claim that we have a direct acquaintance with the past events.

A sophisticated realist, on the other had, holds a reductive thesis for the sentences in the given class. This Dummett distinguishes from reductionism,

the claim that sentences in the given class can ° be translated into the sentence in the reductive class. Such a claim involves well-known difficulties and has been avoided by most philosophers. The reductive thesis, however, makes the more modest claim that “no statements of the given class can be true unless some suitable statement or statements of the reductive class are true, and, conversely, that the truth of those statements of the reductive class guarantees the truth of the corresponding statement of the given class”.^[4] The basic idea of a reductive thesis then, is that when we accept as true the sentences of the given class we thereby implicitly accept the related sentences in the reductive class.

Some reductive thesis, however, depend for their plausibility on the admission of subjunctive conditionals into the reductive class. Phenomenalists for instance, reduce sentences like ‘There is a moon in the sky’ into a subjunctive conditional of the form: ‘If someone were to look at the sky (under appropriate conditions), he will see a moon’. This, of course, is only the first step, and through further transformations, in which the subjunctive conditional form persists, phenomenalists try to get the equivalent of the original sentence in terms purely of sense-data.

The case of constructivism in mathematics is different however. The plausibility of the reductive thesis here does not depend on the admission of subjunctive conditionals into the reductive class. What makes a mathematical sentence true, when it is true, is the existence of a proof for it. There is no need here to assume that a mathematical sentence is true if, under appropriate conditions, there would exist a proof for it. Such subjunctive conditionals are simply irrelevant.

As for the semi-naive realist the only thing that differentiates him from the naive realist is his denial of the epistemological component of naive realism. This, obviously, is a difficult position to be in. Given his adherence to an irreducibility thesis all that a semi-naive realist can do is to resort to analogy. Sentences of the given class, he claims, have features analogous to some more primitive sentences which, in their turn, are explainable in the naive realist fashion. This, of course, does not seem to be a very consistent position --- but, that is what it is.^[5]

I have belabored these Dummettian characterizations, before setting out his anti-realist argument, simply to avoid confusion. For instance, it should be clear from the foregoing that admission of a reductive thesis for sentences of the given class, in and of itself, does not constitute a rejection of realism. Indeed, a reductive thesis is quite compatible with realism. In addition to a reductive thesis one needs to reject a truth-conditional account of the meanings of sentences in the given class in order to embrace an anti-realist position.

II

The fact that Dummett's anti-realist argument has been subjected to such invective as 'circular'^[6] 'lunatic'^[7] and 'non-argument' by recent authors on the subject makes it urgent that I state the argument in its entire here for us to be able to cast a hard look at it. Following is what I consider to be a faithful presentation of Dummett's argument:

1. A speaker's implicit knowledge of the meanings of sentences in his language may be manifested in either (a) a verbal explanation of the meaning of a given sentence in terms of an equivalent but non-trivial reformulation of it or (b) in carrying out an actual verifactory procedure that issues in a decision as to the truth or falsity of the sentence.
2. It is circular to assume that a speaker's understanding consists in an ability to express each sentence of his language in terms of another, equivalent but distinct, sentence of the same language.^[8]
3. The most primitive parts of language, its lower levels, cannot be explained by the means suggested in 1 (a).
4. Natural language has certain features that lead to "formation of sentences not in principle decidable: the use of qualification over an infinite or unsurveyable domain (e.g., over all future times); the use of subjunctive conditional, or of expressions explainable only by means of it; the possibility of referring to regions of space-time in principle inaccessible to us".^[9]

5. A language comprised of decidable sentences alone will continue to have this property when enriched by expressions introduced through verbal explanations.
6. Natural language operators mentioned in 4 would belong either to the verbally explainable part of our language or to its primitive part not so explainable. .
7. If the natural language operators belonged to verbally explainable part of our language and if they were applied to sentences similarly explainable, they won't yield undecidable sentences.
8. Since they do produce undecidable sentences they must either belong to the primitive part of our language or be applied therein.
9. In either case our language contains undividable sentences in it' primitive part.
10. A speaker's knowledge of. the primitive parts of his language does not/cannot consist in an actual verification as to the truth or falsity of some sentences in that part. In slightly different word's as the conditions of truth for undecidable sentences are recognition-independent no one can say what procedures would; actually confirm or infirm these sentences.

11. We are left in the dark about the content of the knowledge/understanding of these sentences ascribed to a speaker. Which, obviously, means that a truth-conditional theory fails to provide us with an acceptable account of a speaker's understanding of his language.^[10]

This is Dummett's anti-realist argument. It must be borne in mind, as Dummett himself insists, that the argument advocates a negative position.^[11] Also we must realize that although it is imperative that an anti-realist propose a viable alternative to the realist theory of meaning, the success or failure of the anti-realist argument, does not depend simply on the success or failure of such proposed alternatives. The reason being that even when the anti-realist proposals for a theory of meaning would have failed completely, the task still would remain for the realist to make good his claim that a speaker's

understanding of undecidable sentences of his language consisted in a grasp of recognition-independent truth-conditions.

Demmett's proposed alternative to the truth-conditional theory of meaning is that of acceptability-conditions. This proposal takes its inspiration from the work of later Wittgenstein. Wittgenstein said that the meaning of a word/sentence is its use. The central features of such use for assertoric sentences, according to Dummett, are two: (i) the circumstances in which an assertion is made, and (ii) the evidence that we take as verifying or falsifying the assertion.^[12] These two features of its use constitute, for Dummett, the assertibility conditions of a given sentence. Dummett no longer insists that the sentences be verified falsified conclusively.^[13] Verification needs be only defensible.

Clearly, then, sentences no longer possess a determinate truth-value under the anti-realist theory of meaning. The classical bivalence (or any analogous multivalence) goes by the board. Of course this requires adjustments in the tenets of classical logic.

The advantage of an assertibility-conditions theory over a realist theory of meaning, in Dummett's own words, is "that the condition for a statement's being verified, unlike the condition for its truth under the assumption of bivalence, is one which we must be credited with the capacity for effectively recognizing when it obtains, hence there is no difficulty in stating what an implicit knowledge of such a condition consists in -- once again, it is directly displayed by our linguistic practice".^[14]

It is this anti-realist position that has come under virulent attack in recent literature. In what follows I shall examine some of the more "powerful" attacks on anti-realism.

III

Richard Boyd, I believe, has made a serious effort recently to defend realism.^[15] I am inclined, therefore, to examine his argument for scientific realism in some detail. The target of his argument is radical underdeterminism --the view that experimentally indistinguishable theories can produce incompatible interpretations of the causal relations between

theoretical (unobservable) entities that the theories in question quantify over; and that the choice between two such theories is a matter simply of convention and not of experimental evidence. In other words, for a radical underdeterminist, there is no fact of the matter that determines which theory we should choose. This, obviously, is an anti-realist position.^[16] Let us, therefore, turn to the mechanics of Boyd's argument against it.

As an example of two theories with the above-mentioned characteristics Boyd cites the paradigm-case introduced by Reichenbach:-

Let F be current physical theory, and in particular, let F contain a "catalogue" of the sorts of forces which operate in 'the physical systems let G be the geometrical principles which are true if "straight line" is taken as "trajectory of an (idealized) point mass upon which the resultant of the forces acknowledged by F is zero". Let G' be an alternative set of (suitably comparable) geometrical axioms, and let F' be the physical theory which results from the addition to F of laws governing an additional, universal force f with the following property: f is so defined (rigged, as it were) that G' is the correct physical geometry if the physical interpretation of "straight line" is amended so that the relevant trajectories are those of point masses upon which the forces acknowledged by F together with the force f have resultant zero.^[17]

Now Boyd informs us that it is a widely acknowledged fact today that most theories arising in physical sciences have no non-trivial observational consequences unless combined with other laws (consistent with them) which he calls "auxiliary hypotheses". Hence what the radical under determinist claims, in effect, is that " F and G " and " F' and G' " will have exactly the same observational consequences when taken together with other currently accepted theories respectively compatible with them. This means that " F and G " and " F' and G' " are experimentally indistinguishable. Also, because F' adds a new force f to our "catalogue of physical causes" it appears that " F and G " and " F' and G' " provide us with mutually incompatible account of the causal relations between theoretical entities. This Boyd believes is a striking example for a radical underdeterminist to present in favour of his position. For the radical underdeterminist wants to argue that the choice between such theories as " F and G " and " F' and G' " is a matter not of

experimental evidence but simply of convention. Because, after all, both the theories are experimentally indistinguishable.

Boyd thinks that such a view of the situation is utterly mistaken. The radical under determinist relies on the following principle for his position:

(1) If two theories have exactly the same deductive observational consequences, then any experimental evidence for or against one of them is evidence of the same force for or against the other.^[18]

But this principle, Boyd claims, is absurd if the antecedent is taken as referring to the observational consequences of the theories themselves (i.e., with auxiliary hypotheses not employed in the deductions), since it would claim that the experimental evidence for classical mechanics is exactly as good as that for special relativity, if only both theories are stated abstractly enough.^[19]

But what sort of auxiliary hypotheses, consistent with the theories in question, can be combined with these theories? Presumably there are three legitimate possibilities: (a) any set of auxiliary hypotheses, (b) “currently accepted” laws and generalizations, and (c) laws and generalization that “will eventually be accepted (and not thereafter rejected)”. Each of these possibilities, of course, yields a separate version of the principle (1). But Boyd goes on to argue that all the three resultant versions are false. Following are the three versions:

(1) If ‘T’ and T’ are each consistent and have exactly the same observational consequences no matter which set of possible auxiliary hypotheses is employed with both in the course of the deductions, provided only that the auxiliary hypotheses are consistent with T and T’, then T and T’ are equally supported or disconfirmed by any possible experimental evidence.

(1”) If T and T’ are each consistent and have the same observational consequences when one is allowed to employ with each of them as auxiliary hypotheses any set of currently accepted laws or generalizations which forms together with the theory a consistent set, then T and T’ are equally supported or disconfirmed by any possible experimental evidence.

(1'') If T and T' are each consistent, and if, when one is allowed to employ with each of them as auxiliary hypotheses whatever laws or generalizations will eventually be accepted (and not thereafter rejected) in the course of scientific research, T and T' have the same observational consequences, then T and T' are equally supported by any possible experimental evidence.^[20]

Version (1'), according to Boyd, is true "provided at least one of the theories has some non-observational terms and provided that the set of observational consequences which these theories each yield with no auxiliary hypotheses leaves some observational question unsettled".^[21] As long as the two theories in question satisfy these restrictions, version (1') is true. But then, Boyd contends, the two theories turn out to be exactly the same. And hence version (1') cannot help the radical underdeterminist. Version (1'') is false, according to Boyd, because it is always possible for us to discover new laws or generalizations in the light of experimental evidence, such that, these laws and generalizations when employed as auxiliary hypotheses with the two theories question would enable us to "derive contradictory, observational testable"^[22] consequences from them.

As for the version (1'') it doesn't offer much hope for the radical underdeterminism either. For Boyd contends that even if we grant that there is a non-empty set of laws and generalizations that will be eventually accepted and never rejected thereafter we have no logical or historical technique at our disposal to show the antecedent of (1'') as true except where the two theories in question are identical.

But, Boyd continues, that a radical underdeterminist can insist that version (1'') cannot be rejected simply on the grounds that some laws and generalizations to be discovered in future would enable us to derive contradictory consequences from the two theories in question. For example we cannot claim that there is experimental evidence for us to choose, between the above-mentioned F and G and F and G' on the assumption that some future theory T would prove F and .G experimentally wrong. Therefore the realist must show that F and G and F and G are experimentally distinguishable, here and now, in order for his claim to . work. In other words the radical underdeterminist invokes the following version of (1''):

(1''a) If T and T' are each consistent- and have the same observational consequences when one is allowed to employ with each of them, as auxiliary hypotheses, any set of currently accepted laws or generalizations which forms, together with the theory a consistent set, then T and T' are equally supported by any possible experimental evidence, .provided that this evidence does not indicate the acceptance of some new law, or the disconfirmation of an old one.^[23]

Obviously then the success of Boyd's realist argument depends now on whether or not he can prove (1''a) to be false. His strategy is to offer us the following methodological principle P, and then to argue that we could never apply the principle P fruitfully unless the collateral information, in the light of which we test a new hypothesis, was already (approximately) true.

(P) a proposed theory T must be experimentally tested under situations representative of those in which, in the light of collateral information, it is most likely that T will fail, if it's going to fail at all.^[24]

It is obvious that no hypotheses are tested in a vacuum. But unless the collateral information in the light of which they are tested is already somehow true, we should never be able to collect the right kind of evidence that would confirm a given hypothesis. (Boyd cites some convincing examples).^[25] The reason is that if our collateral information is false we will never know for sure under what circumstances the given hypothesis can be tested effectively.

From this Boyd concludes that (1''a) is also false. For assuming that our currently accepted laws and generalizations are (approximately) true (for otherwise we cannot successfully test any hypotheses), the same experimental evidence cannot equally support both T and T'. Reverting to Reichenbach's case "F and G" must be taken, here and now, as experimentally false. Hence the choice between "F and G" and "F and G" is not a matter of *convention*, it is determined by experimental evidence, by facts of the matter.

The picture of science that emerges from Boyd's argument is strikingly different from the Kuhn-Feyerabend mode. The scientific enterprise is not a matter of paradigm-shifts but a matter of getting better and better theories. So, what Boyd's argument for realism says, in effect, is as follows: 'surely we

are making progress. Such progress would be impossible unless we were already in possession of some (approximate) truth. Therefore we are in possession of such a truth'. In other words sentences of a currently accepted scientific theory have a determinate truth-value.

Now at this general level this argument for realism is not a completely new one. It appears in Plato's *Cratylus* (386 a-c) and *Theaetetus* (166b-183b) as well as in Aristotle's *Metaphysics* (Book 4, chap. 4-5). Let us concentrate on the argument in the *Theaetetus*.

In the *Theaetetus* this argument really has a grand design. Socrates first establishes that Protagoras and Heraclitus are committed to the same underlying position in their respective doctrines, and then goes on to force Theodorus to grant, on pain of self-refutation, that there is such a thing as good and bad practices with individuals and among communities (177-c-179b). Indeed, Socrates claims, Protagoras' own profession as a teacher will make no sense without such a distinction. Having made these two gains Socrates proceeds to give the following argument against Protagoras and Heraclitus.

1. All things are in flux.
2. Nothing is constant enough for us to give it this or that name. Not just white things are changing, but whiteness itself is changing (to blackness or non-whiteness).
3. Any particular perception - seeing of example - is no more seeing than not-seeing.
4. Perception is knowledge.
5. Knowledge is no more knowledge than not-knowledge.
6. We can say of anything that it is so and it is not-so.
7. Language is impossible because what is so ceases to be so in change, and the same goes for what is not-so.

According to this argument, the flux theorist cannot claim any fixity at all and hence he cannot talk. However the flux theorist need not remain silent. It is possible for him to claim that the possibility of language is not contingent upon there being any fixities, determinate facts of the matter, to the world or to our understanding or to anything. Language as well as all human practices, just flow out of our nature. Language is a “form of life”. We are nothing different from bees and ants. If it does not make any sense to ask how bees and ants can justify their practices? it makes even less sense to ask how language ultimately, is possible. It is just there.

An anti-realist need not insist here that we can draw an ultimate distinction between language and non-language, meaningfulness and meaninglessness. Speech is just an expression of our brute fluctuating urges. There is no fixed meaning to any word or sentence. Meaningfulness depends on when, under our brute urge, we assert a sentence and what appears to us as appropriate evidence for asserting it at that time. The search for a fixed meaning for a word or a sentence is worse than a wild goose chase, it is an illusion.

Just as with meanings so with other matters: there are no fixed rules governing any human practice. A brute urge is all that we follow. And hence, it is senseless to talk about good and bad practices. We never improve.

This means that an anti-realist need not grant what our gullible Theodorus grants Socrates in the Theaetetus. An anti-realist can maintain that there is no such thing as good views and bad views. Even the distinction between views and non-views is not a fixed one. We follow a brute urge and test witch-theories at one time and theories of successful bomb-making at another. The point is that if witch-theories strike as ridiculous today, our theories may strike future generations as ridiculous. Getting struck, one way or the other, by a theory is itself a matter of theorizing, which, after all, has no fixed charter to it. An anti-realist, therefore, can make a case to pull these notions of improvement and fixities from underneath the Plato-Boyd argument.

IV

Other recent authors on the subject have claimed that anti-realism is incoherent and hence, self-defeating. William P. Alston, for instance, in his

Presidential Address (delivered to the Western Division of the American Philosophical Association on May. 20, 1979) makes the following claim:

The real crusher for the anti-realist is the question “How are we to interpret the statements to which you apply your concept of truth?” What is crushing about this question? Well, the point is that on a natural intuitive way of understanding statement content (of specifying what is being asserted in a given statement), that content carries with it the applicability of the realist concept of truth.^[26]

Essentially the same point is made, I believe, by C.B. Martin in a more recent paper. He says:

Sentences used in claiming for oneself or for others an understanding of a sentence or range of sentences are to be explicated, on Dummett’s account, in terms of a vaguely indicated range of capacities to recognize - as-confirming. These, in turn, generate a vaguely indicated range of counterfactual sentences.

The problem for Dummett is how to find for this whole bag of sentences some other set of sentences by which the former can be explicated (Dummett often uses the term “reduced”) that will be “effectively decidable” and determinate in truth-value. Otherwise, there will be no determinate fact of the matter” as to our understanding.^[27]

From these kind of considerations both Alston and Martin conclude that anti-realism cannot be maintained consistently. In Alston’s words: “it is incoherent to say” What I asserted was that snow is white (or what I did in my assertion was to refer to snow and say of it that it is white)., but the truth of my assertion does not ride on whether snow is white”.^[28]

This argument also takes its cue from Plato. In the Theaetetus Socrates gives the following summary-statement of it.

Protagoras, for his part, admitting as he does that everybody’s opinion is true, must acknowledge the truth of his opponents’ belief about his own belief, where they think he is wrong, (171a).

The argument is fallacious and one way to expose its fallacious character is as follows: Protagoras is being portrayed as a half-hearted anti-realist here. In other words if no-thing (no truth-conditions) make Protagoras' opinion true and if 'man is the measure of all things' then he must grant that his opinion is false when it appears false to others. The question for the anti-realist, however, is that of assertibility and not that of truth or falsity. Protagoras asserts his opinion and others assert an opinion about his opinion. In other words these 'others' are at a metalinguistic level viz-a-viz Protagoras' opinion. Just as there is no fact of the matter that makes Protagoras' opinion true, so there is no fact of the matter that will make his opponents' opinion true. Both opinions are just assertible. And if we throw away the principle of bivalence and keep our eyes open to the defeasible character of assertibility conditions, Protagoras cannot be refuted on the grounds that he allows his opponents' opinion about his own opinion to be assertible.

The above mentioned Alston Martin argument, as Alston readily acknowledges,^[29] is based on a similar half-hearted characterization of anti-realism. Why in the world should Dummett, ory anti-realist for that matter, acknowledge that there is any "determinate fact of the matter" to our understanding of the sentences either in the given or in the reductive class. There is no such thing as a "determinate fact of the matter" either to the world or to our understanding.

V

I turn now to McGinn's and Currie-Eggenberger arguments for a realist theory of meaning.

McGinn Argument: McGinn relies on Putnam's brains-in-the vat analogy in order to make his point that content of a speaker's understanding of any sentence in his language cannot be explained simply in terms of assertibility conditions.^[30] We have these vat people on a twin earth who are victims of a systematic hoax. They speak and behave like normal people overtly but in reality they are under systematic hallucinations or under the complete control of some super-genius biologist who induces all these sensations into their system.

Now McGinn asks us to imagine four possible cases:

(A) Vat people have, in their language, a word similar to one in our language, for example the word 'water'. The difference, however, is that 'water' on twin-earth refers to a stuff which, although similar in taste and looks to water on earth, has XYZ rather than H₂O as its chemical constitution. (B) The term water on the twin-earth is empty. (C) All terms on the twin-earth are empty. (D) Twin earthians have a psychological term that is empty.

From all the four cases McGinn contrives to get the same conclusion, namely that assertibility conditions cannot explain the content of a speaker's understanding of his language. Let us look at his argument in Case A for now:

1. Let speakers on earth and twin earth have the same recognitional capacities and manifest them in the same conditions of evidence.
2. There is stuff on the twin-earth which tastes and looks exactly like water but is XYZ in its chemical constitution rather than H₂O.
3. Twin-earthlings, in their hoax, call this stuff 'water'. So their sentences containing the term 'water' have assertibility conditions similar to the corresponding sentences of normal speakers on earth who are equally ignorant of chemistry.
4. But, obviously, the content of twin-earthian sentences is different from those of earthian sentences - they are sentences about different things.
5. Similarity in assertibility conditions or use does not lead to similarity in content.
6. We have to invoke truth-conditions in order to account for the content of the sentences.

McGinn repeats the same argument, with appropriate adjustments, for all of his cases. This is a bizarre argument. It places the speakers behind a veil of ignorance and then proceeds to assign different contents to their sentences on the basis of supposed difference in truth-conditions. One wonders how recognition-independent truth-conditions can contribute to the content of a speaker's understanding of a sentence. To postulate recognition-independent

truth-conditions for sentences first, and then proceed to claim that these truth-conditions cannot be recognized in use is hopelessly question-begging. And this goes for all the cases constructed by McGinn.

Currie-Eggenberger Argument: Gregory Currie and Peter Eggenberger in a recent joint paper present the following argument against what they call “the central and most problematic contention within Dummett’s argument,” i.e., “the claim that an ascription to a person of knowledge of meaning is without content unless we can specify some item of behavior which manifests that knowledge.”^[31]

1. The distinction between a person’s knowledge of the meaning of a sentence and the observational behavior in which this knowledge is manifested is similar to the distinction between theoretical sentences and observational sentences of a scientific hypothesis:

2. Dummett’s view demands that each occurrence of a theoretical sentence must be associated with an observational sentence.

3. Ordinarily, the presence of theoretical sentences in a scientific hypothesis is justified by their “overall contribution to the coherence and explanatory power”^[32] of the hypothesis.

4. Theoretical sentences of the form ‘knowledge of the truth-conditions of sentence X’ in a meaning theory need not be each associated with observational sentences of the theory, i.e., observable behavior of the speaker - verbal explanations or effective verificatory procedures. All that is required of these theoretical sentences, on the most widely accepted and successful model of scientific theories, is that they make an “overall contribution to the coherence and explanatory power” of our theory of meaning.

5. Dummett’s demands on a meaning theory are illegitimate. Currie and Eggenberger acknowledge that Dummett’s model is more austere but go on to claim that such austerity is uncalled-for according to our current Model of a theory.

This argument involves a dubious equation. The distinction between a person’s knowledge of meaning and his observable behavior in which such a knowledge is manifested cannot be equated with the distinction between

theoretical and observational sentences of a scientific hypothesis for the following reason: Although we need not, in a scientific hypothesis, associate each occurrence of a theoretical sentence with an observational sentence, we must always be able to determine that our observational and theoretical sentences do not contradict each other. (This is what Currie and Eggenberger call ‘coherence’ of a theory). Which means that we must be able to associate theoretical sentences with observational ones at least indirectly. Which means that theoretical sentences should be indirectly deducible from the observational ones. Now in case of in principle decidable sentences, it is perfectly possible for us to associate their truth-conditions with the recognizable behavior of the speaker in this indirect fashion and make sure that our theoretical sentences do not contradict our observational sentences in a meaning theory. The problem, however, is regarding those sentences in our language which are not decidable in principle. We have no way of determining whether or not their completely recognition-independent truth-conditions are compatible with the observational behavior of a speaker. It follows, therefore, that the distinction between a person’s knowledge of the meaning of a sentence and his observable behaviour is not exactly similar to the distinction between theoretical and observational sentences of a scientific hypothesis. The Currie-Eggenberger argument, therefore, seems defective.

VI. Conclusion

The foregoing analysis of some of the realist arguments shows that they are attended by various sorts of difficulties. We can conclude, therefore, that anti-realism is still in the field as a viable alternative to realism.

^[1] Dummett, M.A.E. ‘What is a Theory of Meaning? II’, *Truth and Meaning* Evans, G. and McDowell, J. (eds.), Oxford (1976), pp. 70-1, henceforth TM II.

^[2] ‘Realism’, *Synthese* 52 (1982), p. 57, henceforth Realism (1982).

^[3] *Ibid.* p. 78.

^[4] *Ibid.* p. 70

^[5] Ibid. p. 109

^[6] Winkler, KP. 'Scepticism and Anti-Realism', *Mind* vol. XCIV 'No. 373 (1985), P. 41.

^[7] Martin, C.B. 'Anti-Realism and the World's Undoing', *Pacific Philosophical Quarterly* 65 (1984), p. 16.

^[8] Devitt, M. 'Dummett's Anti-Realism', *The Journal of Philosophy*, vol. LXXX, No.2 (1983), p. 82 etc. where Dummett is blamed, time and again, for giving no argument for various of his claims.

^[9] TM II, p. 81.

^[10] The argument is based on TM II.

^[11] *Realism* (1982), p. 103.

^[12] 12 TM II, p.112

^[13] Dummett, M.A.E. *Truth and Other Enigmas* (1978) Harvard, p. XXXVIII.

^[14] TM II, p.

^[15] Boyd, R.N. 'Realism, Underdeterminism, and a Causal Theory of Evidence', *Nous* vol. 7 (1973).

^[16] This is a view very close to Quine's thesis of Ontological Relativity.

^[17] Ibid. p. 5.

^[18] Ibid. p. 2.

^[19] Ibid. p. 33.

^[20] Ibid. p. 4.

^[21] Ibid. p. 4.

^[22] Ibid. p. 4

^[23] Ibid. p. 7

^[24] Ibid. p. 10

^[25] Ibid. p. 10-11

^[26] Alston, W.P. 'Yes Virginia, There is a Real World'. Proceedings of the American Philosophical Association vol. 52 (1979), p. 795.

^[27] Martin C.B. op. cit. p. 10.

^[28] Alston, W.P. op. cit. p. 795.

^[29] Ibid. p. 796.

^[30] McGinn, C. 'Realist Semantics and Content-Ascription', Synthese 52 (1982), pp. 113-134.

^[31] Currie, G. and Eggenberger, P. 'Knowledge of Meaning', Theoria Vol. (), pp. 267-279.

^[32] Ibid. p. 271.

MUSLIM SOCIETY AND MODERN CHANGE

Dr. Muhammad Riaz

I

Change is an essential element in life. The Holy Quran mentions change of different phenomena of nature as signs of God^[1] and actually these changes make the life worthwhile. Islam has completed 14 hundred years of its history and has recently entered the 15th century. Islamic history, perhaps more than the history of any other culture of the world, surmounts the events of change in the intellectual and social life of the Muslims. Islam is the perfect revealed religion and its followers are apt to adapt all the changes; all such changes have been incorporated and amalgamated in the Islamic culture in such a way that those have enriched the Islamic history and given it a new ardour. From the second century of Hijrah the Muslims began adapting of Greek thoughts which reached them in the form of translated works of the Greeks into Arabic, but in a few centuries later Greek thought became integral part of the Islamic culture. The Islamic history has witnessed many intellectual movements; the movements of the Khariites, the Mutazila, the A'asharites and many more. There was the episode of the belief of Khalq-e-Quran and finally there was the fall down of the Caliphate center at Baghdad by the Mongol in 1258 A.C. but the Muslim' culture went on developing and flourishing in many parts of the world. One of the main factors of the eternity of Muslim society is its adaptability to changing events and this adaptability is concerned with all spheres of life including new laws and new orientations. Allama Iqbal has captioned this quality of Islamic faith as 'the principle of movement in the structure of Islam' which is the heading of his 6th lecture in the book 'The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam' and this chapter actually deals with the idea of Ijtihad.^[2] Change is very important in the perspective of cultural sociology but this change should not give way to deviation from the basic principles of Islam. It is the idea of Ijtihad which gives the guidelines to the Muslims to adapt new trends of society so that the onward march and the progress of the individual and the society is not blocked. In a very learned article, under the caption of 'Reform

of the Muslim society' which was translated and published in the January, 1927 issue of 'The Islamic Culture Hyderabad Deccan, late Turkish thinker Prince Saeed Haleem Pasha (d.1921) had laid down the guidelines of the East and West contacts. He was of the opinion that the Muslim Society should adapt the scientific advancement of the developed countries but the culture of Islam is so developed that it should not be overwhelmed by the Western culture. Let me quote here the opening paragraph of his article; this paragraph shows joy and grief of the writer because the awakening of the Muslims rejoiced him whereas their blind imitations of the West grieved him:

“It is with infinite satisfaction that I see, in my own days, the Muslim peoples waking from their torpor and aspiring to throw off the foreign yoke. That means that they have understood, at last, that the duty of every Muslim, a duty sacred above all is to have liberty and that without it there can be neither happiness nor real progress. I must confess, however, that my satisfaction is not unmixed, since I observe that the great majority of representatives of the Muslim intellectual classes are intent only on endowing their countries with hardly disguised copies of Western institutions; and think that they can only compass their revival by adapting the principles and concepts of the Indo-Aryan world. This state of mind in the Muslim “intelligentia” distresses me, because it shows that they no longer perceive that Islam, When teaching us to worship the One God, at the same time endowed us with a complete set of moral and social principles proceeding from belief on the Divine Unity; that those principles are imposed on us by that belief; and that all Muslim societies have been engendered by them and have lived by them. -It would seem then that our intellectual elite are no longer able to assure themselves with full conviction, that Islam is the human religion par excellence: religion in its highest and completest form; that it is civilization itself in the most perfect sense; and that, consequently, there can be no social salvation, as there can be no eternal salvation. outside it. They apparently forget that, if, for the Christian world, all roads lead to ROME, for the Muslim world all roads lead to Mekka. In other words, each of these two worlds is called to follow a different direction and destiny, to play a different part in the general evolution of humanity. The difference between the ideales, conceptions, aspirations, needs and means of the Christian world and those of the Muslim world is, without the slightest doubt, as great as that

which exists between the beliefs, moral and social concepts, general mentality and origin of Christendom on the one hand and Islam on the other. How could it be otherwise when the former spring from the latter?

It is therefore flagrant error to believe that institutions with which the Christian world has provided itself as suited to its needs, political or social in the last analysis the two merge into one can ever suit us, whatever modifications of detail we may make in them. The two worlds are in fact so essentially unlike that by no effort can they be brought to share the same concept of individual and collective life.

I can only ascribe the distortion of Muslim mentality above mentioned, which looks for the regeneration of Muslim society as a result of its assimilation to Western society, to the unfortunate influence of the foreign domination endured by peoples who accept the Prophet's Law a domination which has played the part of an intellectual dissolvent among them. I propose to dispel the errors with which that mentality is laden, and to prove that, from the moral and social point of view, the Islamic world has no reason to envy the West; that, on the contrary, it is Christendom which must go to the school of Islam in those respects. The best way to enlighten minds upon this question of supreme importance is to state in plain terms what has been the social work of Islam. This reminder will convince my compatriots and co-religionists that the Reform of Islam should consist simply in Muslims learning to understand better, and apply better, the teachings of their sublime religion."^[3]

And this 'the keen-sighted writer' as Iqbal described him in his "Reconstruction"^[4] ends his article with the following observations:

"In conclusion I must add that Muslim "intellectuals," when they think themselves obliged to imitate the West and seek inspiration in its principles, show that most of them at any rate have formed a false ideal and one most ill-adapted to the task before them. They fail altogether to see that their sole aim I might even say, the sole justification for their existence is to represent Islamic principles in all their truth and in their full perfection, and to serve them to the utmost of their power. They fail to see that they should, therefore, draw their inspiration only from the purest, the most lofty spirit and the best traditions of Islam, so that they may guide themselves and not

have to be guided by others, may set an example instead of following the example of others. Only on that condition can Muslim men of intellect participate in the general task of human progress, and play worthily the leading part which belongs of right to Islam. Any other line of conduct on their part must condemn the Muslim world to live under the tutelage of foreign powers indefinitely, therefore in a perpetual state of subjection” and inferiority, which would essentially corrupt it and make it subject to the domination of the peoples of the West for ever.

If the task of modern Muslim thinkers is so far from easy it is glorious. It calls, indeed, for much of perseverance, self-denial, courage and above all, faith a faith that never wavers in the cause of E Al-Islam; a faith, ardent and absolute, which shall arm our men of intellect, become our champions, with all the, confidence in themselves which they must have in order to perform their heavy task, It calls for high moral qualities; without which Muslim thinkers can claim no right to exist at all.”^[5]

After the Industrial Revolution of Europe the European imperialist, forces were successful in subjugating many countries particularly in the Asian and African continents and these countries had to adapt Western ways of life willy nilly. Among the subjugated nations the Muslim countries are paramount. A few Muslim thinkers no doubt adapted the Western ways but the others continued advising their countrymen to have a balanced attitude towards the Western technology and culture. In the context of the Indo Pakistan sub-continent, Sayyid Ahmed Khan, Sayyid Amir Ali and Iqbal seem to be most important in view of their contribution to Islamic thought and also by virtue of their interest in Western culture versus Islam. But Sayyid Ahmed Khan favoured to absorb the Western culture whereas Sayyid Amir Ali and Allama Iqbal wanted adaptation of Western knowledge but as far as the culture is concerned in their opinion the Islamic culture should prevail in the lives of the Muslims and they did not favour to imitate unnecessary and outward peculiarities of Western culture which have split the life in many parts and particularly this culture adheres to secularism which bifurcates the religion and politics i.e. church and State have their different functions.

When we look at the contemporary philosophical scene the philosophies of fundamentalism, modernism and existentialism permit and most of the Muslim philosophers follow the position of Sayyid Amir Ali and Allama

Iqbal e.g. Sayyid Qutd and Muhammad al-Bshi among the modern Arab philosophers who have the same attitude to the West. Sayyid Qutd is very critical of the Western civilization and has argued in his many works that the Muslim can solve their religion and not with the aid of the Western thought. Muhammad al-Bahi in his arguments follows Sayyid Qutd and so is the case of other Arab Muslim philosophers like Dr. Taha Hussain, Ali Adbur Razid, Khaliq d. Muhammad Khalid and Abbas Mehmud-ul Addad. They may be followers of and philosophical current but all of them agreed that a Muslim society can adapt modern changes of life within the framework of Islam, adapt new ways of life and can solve them in the thgil of it.^[6]

Positivism and socialism have emerged to be the new trends of international importance and those have influenced the modern Muslim society also. Positivism favours application of of scientific ways and new modes in the philosophical, moral and social problems of man and as Shidli Shummayyil (b. 1917) writes in his works positivism shuld not be ignored by Muslim society; rather the Muslims should take lead in it. But many contemporary thinkers have a westernized bredrednisite to positivism wish the orthodox Muslims would not favoured.

Socialism has been catching the interest of many Muslim thinkers and philosophers but the Muslims who have supported this system of life they have actually favoured the economic teachings of the Islamic faith otherwise Marxist socialism in any form did not have harmony with any religion; thus Prof. Majid Fakhry ends his work “History of Islamic Philosophy” (second edition 1983) with the following remarks:

“In conclusion, we might note that the struggle between fundamentalists, humanists, positivists, and socialists continues to dominate the intellectual scene today. The role of religion, as illustrated both by the advent of the Khomayni movement in Iraq, or the recrudescence of Wahhabism in Sa’sdi Arabia, continues to be decisive in shaping intellectual or political attitudes. Most of these movements, although thoroughly- conditioned by contemporary Western ideologies or methodologies, can be shown to have some relation to the perennial task of philosophical analysis or rational enquiry, initiated by the first genuine philosopher of Islam in the ninth century, Al-Kindi,^[7] with whose name this history is fittingly closed.”^[8]

Leaving aside the transcendental discussions which were enunciated by the Muslim philosophers from Al-Kindi to the philosophers of our times, on the empirical side, all agree that Muslim society should accept the changes of all times and should assimilate new trends in the more perspective way so that the society may not be termed as unadjustable to the new modes of life, The general work of Roland Robertson on sociology under the caption of “Meaning and Change”, due to these reasons, begins like this:

“In recent years there have been a number of significant and much discussed attempts by social theorists to generalize about a perceived crisis in two major aspects of modern societies. The first of these is pivoted upon the problematic nature of the relationship between received culture and the operation of social institutions; while the second has to do with modes of individual existence. In the first case the problem is seen as residing in the decline in the authoritativeness and legitimacy of received culture, in the second case the problem inheres in questions concerning styles of relating to society and modern life in general. We can thus spew in two phrases of there being great concern, on the one hand with cultural authority on, the other hand, with personal identity. Even more briefly we can speak of there being a perceived problem of meaning. The problematic, nature of meaning has been presumably rendered thus through certain changes in the fairly recent history of the relevant societies.”^[9]

A Western orientalist has remarked on this point as under:

“The Islamic religious structure, true to its egalitarian principles and conscience, had never countenanced any form of external organization of any kind of hierarchy. Although it recognized Ijma, consensus of the doctors, as a valid source of the doctrine, there was neither council nor Shura to promulgate its decisions. The volitional element that runs through all the pre-Ottoman religious institutions, and that made their efficacy dependent on their appeal to the will rather than on careful regulation of duties and powers, was naturally at its strongest in this sphere. To ‘broaden down from precedent to precedent’ was characteristic of Islamic usage long before the birth of the British constitution. Each forward step was secured by tacit assent on the part of those who were most qualified to expression opinion, and from whom the rank and file took their cue. No one was prevented from

opposing and trying to gain support for his opposition, but within a generation or two, controversy on the point at issue would die out”.^[10]

It is actually the principle of movement or Ijtihad which keeps the ‘Muslim society in harmony with new trends of life within the broad frame work of the Islamic teachings. In his famous lecture on this topic Allama Iqbal highlights the new challenges to Islam (see the last lines of his lecture) in which he refers to the imperialistic designs of the West, the signs, of awakening of the world of Islam particularly the collective Ijtihad of the Turks, like this:

“Equipped with penetrative thought and fresh experiences, the world of Islam should courageously proceed to the work of reconstruction before them. This work of reconstruction, however, has a far more serious aspect than mere adjustment in modern conditions of life. The Great European War bringing in its wake the awakening of Turkey the element of stability in the world of Islam as a French writer has recently described her, and the new economic experiment tried in the neighborhood of Muslim Asia, must open our eyes to the inner meaning and destiny of Islam. Humanity needs three things to-day a spiritual interpretation of the universe, spiritual emancipation of the individual, and basic principles of a universal import directing the evolution of human society on a spiritual basis. Modern Europe has, no doubt, built idealistic systems on these lines, but experience shows that truth revealed through pure reason is incapable of bringing that fire of living conviction which personal revelation alone can bring. This is the reason why pure thought has so little influenced men, while religion has always elevated individuals, and transformed whole societies. The idealism of Europe never became a living factor on her life and the result is a perverted ego seeking itself through mutually intolerant democracies whose sole function is to exploit the poor on the interest of the rich. Believe me, Europe to-day is the greatest hindrance in the way of man’s ethical advancement. The Muslim on the other hand, is in possession of these ultimate ideas on the basis of a revelation, which, speaking from the inmost depths of life, internalizes its own apparent externality. With him the spiritual basis of life is a matter of conviction for which even the last enlightened man among us can easily lay down his life; and 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. Early Muslims emerging out of the spiritual slavery of pre-Islamic Asia were not in a position to realize the true significance of this basic idea. Let the Muslim of to-day appreciate his position, reconstruct his social life in the light of ultimate principles, and evolve, out of the hitherto partially revealed purposes of Islam, that spiritual democracy which is the ultimate aim of Islam.^{»[11]}

THUS THE MUSLIM SOCIETY CAN ACCEPT ALL THE CHALLENGES OF THE MODERN CHANGES

However this question is very important for the Muslim Society scattered in the world to ponder over the effects of adaptation of modern technology and the preservation of the entity of the Muslim culture on the same time i.e. not to accept the bad effects of the Western culture and also to visualize the industrialization and urbanization processes in the Muslim countries alike. The principle of movements in Islam i.e. Ijtihad will go on meeting such challenges if the Muslim Ulema and intelligentsia do not cease to think. Let us pray that God should bless us all with the courage to respond to the modern changes in the befitting manners.

[1]) 164: ii

[2] The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam (edition 1965, Lahore, pages 146 to 180).

[3] The Quarterly Islamic Culture, Hyderabad Deccan (pages 111 and 112).

[4] The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam (6 lectures, page-156).

[5] The Quarterly Islamic Culture (pages 134 and 135).

[6] A History of Islamic Philosophy, New York, 1983 (2nd edition) (pages 348-367).

[7] Al-Kindi lived in 3rd Century Al-Hijra/9th Century A. C.

[8] A History of Islamic Philosophy (page 367).

^[9] Meaning and Change, Roland Robertson, Oxford 1978 (page -3).

^[10] Quoted in the Quarterly Iqbal Review, Karachi, October, 1962 (article by Dr. S.M. Yusuf).

^[11] 'The Reconstruction of Religion Thought in Islam (Lecture-6, ending line' pages 178 to 180).

IQBAL ON DEMOCRACY

Dr. Sultan Khan

DEFINITION:

Democracy is a word that comes from two Greek roots. Demos, the populace and the Kratia the Rule, taken together, rule by the people, hence democracy in this sense means government by the mass of the people as distinguished from those with special rank or status. The Greeks used the term to describe the government of Athens, and other Greek city states, that flourished in the fifth century B.C.^[1]

Democracy is the government by the people. All the competent adults participate in all decisions of government. Elections are instituted in which the people vote on questions of policy and for persons to represent them on an Assembly (legislature) that determines policy on day to day issues. In the case of Parliamentary democracy, this Assembly in turn appoints a cabinet and a leader (P.M.) to carry out the policies determined. In the case of congressional democracy, the leader is elected separately and then appoints the executive committee with the advice and consent of the legislative committee.^[2]

Beginning with the reborn of democracy in late 18th century, its debates boiled down in to three basic schools of thought i.e. ideological, classical and empirical or pragmatic. The ideological school, which usually overlaps with liberalism in its ideological sense, emphasized on the questions of justice, equality, liberty and whether or not the mass of the people actually participated in the decisions of the government. The classical school did deny the contention of ideological school, but contended that the ideals would tend to be natural outcome or result of certain institutions and procedure. They believe that democracy provides mechanism through which the decisions were made by the people and ideological characteristics would then follow naturally.^[3] The empirical school defined democracy in pragmatic terms as a form of government, in which individuals acquire power to decide on policy issues by means of periodic competitive struggle for the people vote.^[4]

Both etymology and history suggest that primary meaning of 'democracy' relates to a form of government. According to the classical tradition it is government by the many, as contrasted with government by one or few.^[5]

Herodotus, a renowned political philosopher, defined democracy as "the rule of many as also as a society in which equality before law" prevails and where the holder of Political Office is answerable to what he does.^[6] Lord Bryce accepts the definition of Herodotus and says that "democracy devotes that the form of government in which the ruling power of the state is largely vested in the member of community as a whole". He adds, this means in communities, which act by voting, that rule belongs to the majority, as no other method has been found for determining peaceably and legally, what is to be declared the will of the community, which is not unanimous?^[7]

The Oxford Dictionary defines democracy as a government in which the sovereign power resides in the people as a whole and is exercised either directly by them---or by officers elected by them. In modern use often more vaguely denoting a social state in which all have equal rights without hereditary or arbitrary differences of rank or privilege.^[8]

Democracy signifies "a government in which majority of whole nation or community partake of the sovereign power." It is also used to signify "a government, in which either a majority or a large portion of the people have by means of the right of election, an influence on the appointment of the members of the supreme power".^[9]

Democracy, today is, a political system, which supplies regular constitutional opportunities for changing the government officials a social mechanism, which permit: the largest possible part of the population to influence major: decisions by choosing among contenders for political office.^[10]

Bettelheim has also defined democracy as Characteristic of democratic ideology is its affirmation of the social importance of the principle of liberty and equality, the participation of whole population (or a large part of it) in important social decisions, free access of all members of society to seats at public offices and the availability to all members of society (or fairly large portion of them) of the means necessary to their full physical and intellectual developments."^[11]

The mere consent of the people is not sufficient to make a government democratic. The people ought to be their own “watch dogs”. The consent of the people must be real, active and effective in order to make it a genuine democracy. Eternal vigilance is the very life of democracy, if democracy can really claim in the words of President Abraham Lincoln, “to be “a government of the people, by the people and for the people. Government is of course always of the people, but it needs to be government by the people where the will of the people remain supreme in all questions of social direction and policy of government.

Corry and Abraham have explained democracy in these words: “From the view point of popular understanding the word “democracy” provides a fascinating paradox. Few terms so ideally and favorably used by the people of free world and at the same time mean so many different things to them. Lip-service to the democracy is almost universal even when, it is being misunderstood and often betrayed in practice.”^[12]

Prof. Laski, an eminent political thinker, has also given his views about democracy, No definition of democracy can adequately compromise the vast history, which the concept connotes. To some, it is a form of a government, to other, it is a way of social life. Men have found its essence in the character of electorate the relation between the government and people, the absence of wide economic differences between citizens the refusal to recognise privileges built on birth or wealth, race or creed. Inevitably, it has changed its substance in terms of time and place.^[13]

In short, the essence of democracy can be summarised by saying that a democratic state is based on the will of the people, which operates through an electoral machinery, run by the continuous interaction and free play of informed and enlightened public opinion. It is an effort to reconcile freedom with the requirements of law and its enforcement or a political method by which citizens are provided with an opportunity to participate through debate and discussion in an attempt to arrive at certain agreements, by which the common good of the community can be ensured.^[14]

Keeping in view, the above definitions and explanations of democracy many questions arise in a mind, and many clarifications are needed for the criteria of democracy. Whether elections are free and held frequently and periodically

and electors and electorates are freely allowed to participate? Whether such elections provides an effective choice and majority vote against the government, leads to a change? Whether elected bodies have the rights of legislation, taxation and budgeting effectively? If the answer of all these questions is “yes” then we can say that the democracy is operating properly.

Lastly, it can also be said that the democracy is based on a belief in the value of individual human being and a further criterion is, therefore, the extent to which certain basic rights are guaranteed to every citizen. These are, the security against arbitrary arrest and imprisonment; freedom of speech, of press and of assembly, freedom of petition and of association; freedom of movement; freedom of religion and of teaching. As a corollary, democracy is held to require the establishment of an independent judiciary, and courts of an independent judiciary, to which every one have access.^[15]

The spirit of democracy had become a sort of faith for Europeans during the 19th century, but with the turn of 20th century, a scepticism arose in respect of suitability of democracy, and as to whether it could meet the challenge of modern times. Epithets like “cult of incompetence” and “internal infant” became common to scholarly and political debate of the day. It was severely criticized for its show and cumbersome procedures and its inability to meet emergencies.^[16] Iqbal also entered in the debate and showed his disliking against the democracy, as his outlook was based on Quranic teachings; which are against the western democracy and its basic principles.

DEMOCRACY V/S ISLAM

The Western democracy is based on the belief in value of individuals and their participation in the working of governmental machinery. It guarantees certain basic rights to the individuals; the freedom of speech, opinion, assembly, association, movement, religion and security against arbitrary arrest and imprisonment. Historically speaking all the democratic ideals were derived from the principles of Islam and first Islamic state of Madina.

The first Islamic state was founded by the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and cemented by his four right-guided successors. Many democratic ideals and institutions were established in the Islamic state. The election of head of state, the shura, the provision of equal justice to all citizens, and the

promotion of individual and public welfare, were the examples of democratic ideals in the first Islamic state.

The Prophet of Islam died without providing for an immediate succession to the office of his vicegerent. The election of Abu Bakr, as Caliph, has obviously introduced for the first time in the world history the “popular factor”, in the selection of chief executive of the state.^[17] Later on the ‘principle of election’ was followed by the other Right guided caliphs. To describe the election the Islamic Holy constitution uses the word Shura, or the right of Muslims to participate in the choice of their leader.

The primary purposes of the first Islamic state were the ensurance of freedom from outside invasion, the provision of justice equality, liberty, and personal as well as material security for its people. These goals were the subject matter of the ‘Declaration of Madina’^[18] the first written constitution of first Islamic state attained the highest degree or order consistent with the liberty and equality of individuals and groups, in Islamic society.

The major aim of the Islamic state was to fuse all existing divergences into one homogenous nation, and the promotion of individual interest and the public welfare. The same version was declared in the Holy Quran for many times.

The first Islamic state also proposed a comprehensive law for the guidance of the human beings.^[19] This law, actually and dominantly, has been controlling and guiding the civilized life on the earth,^[20] since its birth. This rule of Law, is known in the western world, as supremacy of Law.

The Islamic state also granted many other rights along with the freedom of speech to its subjects. A Bedouin, in Friday-congregation, stands and asks the second caliph for the clothings, he wore. The caliph politely satisfied him, by addressing his son, to give the answer. The modern world does not experience such a freedom and liberty. Here, I like to revise my stand that all the democratic ideals were derived, from the principles of Islam and the first Islamic state, headed by the Holy Prophet (PBUH).

The following lines are reserved for the comparative study of the ideals of Islam and the basic principles of democracy. Again coming towards

democracy, there is no consensus on the exact meaning of democracy, as a political system, and no one can adopt a single definition for reference,^[21] but the term stands for the some principles; a recognition of value of individual irrespective of race, creed and quality; acceptance of law, which regulates all social and political relationships the equality of all citizens, regardless of their racial, ethnic and class distinction; justifiability of state decisions on the bases of popular consent of people and a high degree of tolerance.^[22]

Islam contains many basic principles; which are prerequisites for democracy. To start with the Quranic verse which declares:

“And seek, in what ever God has bestowed upon you, the next world, but do not forget you participation and share in this world, and be nice as God has been kind to you, and never seek doing corruption in the earth verily God does not love corruptors”.^[23]

The Holy Quran again declare as under:-

“God commands you to render back trusts to those who deserve them. And when you judge or rule the people, you should judge or rule with justice. Verily how excellent is the teaching, which has given to you, for God is He, Who hears and sees all things. O! you, who believe, obey God and obey the Prophet (PBUH) and those charged with authority among you, if you differ in any thing (if any dispute arises among you on any matter) refer it to God and His Prophet. If you believe in God and the Last Day, that is the best and the most suitable for final reckoning.”^[24]

In the above mentioned verses of the Holy Quran, the basic principles of an Islamic state are laid down, to be followed by the Believers. All these principles are compatible with principles of western democracy.

The concept of equality in Islam is comparable with the concept of modern democracy. The Islamic equality means all individuals (Insan) are equal irrespective of believe, race, creed, nationality and political standing. The only valid ground, on which an individual may be superior to another is his fear of God or piety (Taqwa).

It is true that in Islam all men are equal as member of ummah, bound together in community by ties, not of kinship or race but of religious

acknowledgement of one God and apostolic mission of His Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). There is, of course, differentiation of functions of individual in society but before God all are equal without reference to rank class or race. The only nobility in Islam is that of pious and Godly (Quran).^[25]

The Islamic state would grant equal freedom of conscience to all citizens and respect their mode of life, if they do not violate the fundamentals of social justice.^[26] This shows that the concept of equality in Islam is more comprehensive than in western democracy.

Likewise, if by democracy is meant a system of government which is opposite to dictatorship. Islam can be compatible with democracy, because there is no room in Islam, for tyranny or arbitrary rule by one man or a group of men. Islam does not recognise monarchical government and it strikes at the root of feudalism by prohibition of primogeniture, which creates and preserves feudal estates.^[27]

The Islamic state follows a body of regulations i.e. Sharia, drawn from Quran and tradition Sunnah. Thus the function of Islamic state is reduced to a mere sub-servience to, and a smooth enforcement of, The Divine orders. A state in this sense is transformed into a political organisation that represents the will of God Almighty alone and of no other worldly authority irrespective of its influence of any nature.^[28] In this regard, Islam satisfies another prerequisite of democracy, which is rule of law,^[29] as any kind “of prerogative to the ruler is denied and both ruler and ruled are required to obey the laws of “Sharia”.

Islam can pass yet another moral test of democracy, when it is said that all the decisions in Islamic state is made with wishes of the ruled.^[30] This requirement is met by the principle of “Shura” (consultation) and “Ijma” (consensus); which are drawn from both “Quran” and “Sunnah”. In enumerating the qualities of a good Muslim the Holy Quran mentions consultation on the same footing as compliance with God’s order; saying the prayer and payment of alms-tax. The Holy Prophet (PBUH) and his four pious caliphs also made consultation, on the important issues, with the mass of the people.

If the democracy means the election of head of state or head of executive for a fixed term, whereafter a new election is to be organized.^[31] The Islamic state organises the same and gives the individuals the chance to participate in the choice of their leadership. Similarly, it gives majority, the right to remove the head from the post as the contract of appointment is revocable. None of the four Right-guided caliphs came to power through intimidation or coercion, but they assumed the office through the free choice of the majority of ummah.^[32]

There is a wide scope of legislation in the western democracy, while in Islam, essentials of legislation shall be derived from the basic principles of Quran and the practice followed by the Holy Prophet (PBUH): Otherwise almost the entire field of legislation shall be left unhampered, to be moulded as circumstances demand by men of knowledge, who know and can evaluate the actualities of a situation.^[33] This mode of legislation is popularly known as Ijtihad (systematic reasoning) and Ijma (consensus), but the revelation and the Holy Prophet's traditions always play the decisive role.^[34] The Muslims are entitled to make laws which are of public interest, keeping in view the fact that such laws do not conflict with basic laws of Sharia.^[35] Islam, again can complete the western democracy, in this aspect.

On the other hand, Islamic democracy remains different from western democracy in some important aspects. In Islam Sovereignty really and ultimately vests in God, where as representatively and manipulatively vests in His Holy Prophet (PBUH),^[36] and rules of Sharia act as eternal moral forces to keep the Believers on the right path; while in democracy, sovereignty rests with the masses and they play the absolute role in the political affairs of the country.

Islamic state is an ideological state. It is the creation of an ideal and is sustained by a steady and sincere adherence to the dictates of the ideals.^[37] The Islamic state has to play two-fold role. It creates relation of man to God, and relation of man to men or humanity. While the western democratic state has no such ideals, having no goal of the welfare of whole human-beings.

In western democracy elections are held on the basis of adult franchise irrespective of all conditions and pre requisites. Therefore, it is possible that undesirable and incompetent people are elected to various public offices,

who are unable to run the affairs to the state. Islam imposed certain restrictions on suitability of the persons who are candidates for different offices of the state. Islam also prevents any individual from nominating himself for the state office or asking to be nominated in any official position.^[38] Islam has not barred any citizen for casting vote on the basis of literacy or illiteracy or sex. This has been explained in the sunnah verse:

Abu Musa one of the Prophet's companions said, "I entered the Prophet's house with men of my clan; both of them asked the Prophet, saying: O, Messenger of God, would you please appoint us in one of the public offices, which God has put in your hands? The Prophet (PUBH) said, "We, by God's name, do not appoint to the public offices (in our state) those who ask for them, nor any one, who is covetous for such a thing."^[39]

There is clear distinction between the Islamic system of Shura and the defective and imbalanced system of western democracy. Islam has imposed four conditions for the candidature of Shura. He should possess a firm and profound belief in tenets of Islam. He should possess integrity of character. He should have reasonable knowledge and necessary understanding of the job and responsibility, which is being entrusted to him. He should have not only a good intellectual personality but an impressive physical personality.^[40] The rules of western democracy are insensitive to these aesthetic considerations.

The member of Islamic Majlis-e-Shura always speaks and acts on behalf of entire Muslim Nation. He plays dual role performing the dual responsibility. His dual responsibility makes representation more difficult than in western democracy. He has the responsibility to his electorate to present and to look after their interests in accordance to the Holy Islamic constitution. His second burden is as a representative of a government office, which acts for the Islamic nation as a whole. Simply, he is responsible to his electorates as well as to the "Divine Law"^[41] or the will of Allah Almighty, While in western democracy, the member of Assembly or Congress or Parliament has single responsibility, which is to electorates only.

IQBAL ON DIFFERENT BASIC PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY

i) Sovereignty of People:

Iqbal criticizes western principles of democracy in the strongest possible terms. In his opinion, the west, by evolving perverted democratic principles has unchained a monster, therefore a barren land is better than the garden of west. Iqbal has opposed the western democracy as it is a methodology rather than an ideology or philosophy.^[42] The methodology should be treated as methodology and not as ideology. Iqbal believes, as it is not qualitative and the decisions made on the basis of quantity are not correct. Iqbal criticises the aspect of “sovereignty of people” of the western democracy; which rests with the masses, who have no capacity and capability of the same.

In one of his poems, under the caption Jumhurriat in Payam-i-Mushriq. Iqbal says that you seek the treasures of our alien philosophy from the common, poor of mind and low grade people, as the crawling ants on the ground, can not attain the heights of wisdom of Hazrat Sulayman (The Prophet of God). You should avoid democracy and become within the bond of perfect man (the Holy Prophet), as two hundred donkeys can not have combined the brain of a man.

متاع معنی بیگانه از دوں فطرتاں جوئی
 زموران شوخی طبع سلیمانے نمی آید
 گریز از طرز جمہوری غلام پختہ کارے شو
 کہ از مغز دو صد خر فکر انسانے نمی آید^[43]

Explaining the quantitative aspect of the western democracy, Iqbal adds, a European gentleman has disclosed this secret, that men of wisdom do not disclose what they have in their mind; and democracy is a kind of government, in which individuals are counted and not weighed.

اس راز کو اک مرد فرنگی نے کیا فارش
 ہر چند کہ دانا اسے کہولا نہیں کرتے
 جمہوریت اک طرز حکومت ہے کہ جس میں

^[44]بندوں کو گنا کرتے ہیں تو لا نہیں کرتے

Iqbal believes that a common man has not wisdom, as well as his own opinion, but he is generally influenced by the opinion of capitalists and industrialists, through the propaganda tactics. Thus the other's opinion was imposed on a common man, as such he is exploited in democracy; likewise, he is exploited in dictatorship, monarchy, aristocracy and fascism. Therefore, in Iqbal's views, there is no difference between democracy and other forms of government. In Bang-i-Dara, he points out that western democratic institutions are old wines in new bottles, which contain no tunes other than the imperial one. It is the demon of despotism, dancing in the garb of democracy; and you think it is a fairy of freedom.

ہے وہی ساز کہن مغرب کا جمہوری نظام
جس کے پردوں میں نہیں غیر از نوائے قیصری
دیو استبداد جمہوری قبا میں پائے کوب
^[45]تو سمجھتا ہے، یہ آزادی کی ہے نیلم پری!

Iqbal adds that the common people hope that they will enjoy their rights and privileges in democracy; but they can not enjoy their rights in this system, as the so-called law-making assemblies, rights and duties are only narcotics, Debates in the parliaments and assemblies are nothing, but warfare of capitalists to make more money. You have taken this mirage of color and smell for a garden, I am so, sorry for you, as you have understood the cage, as your nest, due to your foolishness.

مجلس آئین و اصلاح و رعایات و حقوق
طب مغرب میں مزے میٹھے، اثر خواب آوری
گرمی گفتار اعضائے مجالس الامان!
یہ بھی اک سرمایہ داروں کی ہے جنگ زرگری

اس سراب رنگ و بو کو گلستان سمجھا ہے تو
آہ آہ^[46] اے نادار! قفس کو آشیان سمجھا ہے تو

Iqbal is not all alone in criticism of western democracy, but many European political philosophers i.e. Laski, Spengler, Steandal, and Nietzsche, also joined his hands. - These philosophers were against the western democracy due to the persecution and harassment of the common man, by the capitalists.

ii) Secularism:

Secularism is another basic characteristic of the western democracy; due to which Iqbal hates the democracy. The secularism means the separation of religion from politics. In other words, the religion has no public status, but has been reduced to a private affair.

According to Iqbal, the politics, in which religion is made a separate and private entity, is a defective one, and it is shame for humanity. The nations, which believe in secularism can not exist longer. Iqbal firmly persuaded that in the name of secular democracy, thousand of atrocities have been committed in the world. In the hands of infidels, this method perpetuates infidelity and has failed to mitigate the miseries and black spots of the world.^[47] In this regard, Iqbal reports the “Satan” as saying: “There is no need of my presence in the world as there are enough devils in the shape of politicians in western democracy”.

جمہور کے ابلیس ہیں ارباب سیاست
باقی نہیں اب میری ضرورت تہ
افلاک^[48]

Iqbal again, condemns the western democracy, which is divorced from religion. According to him, the secular politics and democracy is pestered with many ills, and it evolved itself as unchained monster, as the state has been separated from church.

مری نگاہ میں ہے یہ سیاست لا دین
کنیز اہرن و دوں نہاد و مردہ ضمیر
ہوئی ہے ترک کلیسا سے حاکی آزاد
فرنگیوں کی سیاست ہے دیو بے زنجیر^[49]

Iqbal further says that the western democracy is not only irreligious and faithless, but it is wrought by the capitalists for their own sinister designs. God has created one devil, while Europe has created numberless devils in the shape of democrates.

تری حریف ہے یا رب سیاست افرنک
مگر ہیں اس کے پجاری فقط امیر و رئیس!
بنایا ایک ہی ابلیس آگ سے تو نے
بنائے خاک سے اس نے صد ہزار ابلیس^[50]

Activities, which destroyed the social life of the human-beings. According to Iqbal, the unemployment, immorality, alcoholism and poverty are the great victories of the western civilization.

بیکاری و عریانی و مئے خواری و افلاس
کیا کم ہیں فرنگی مدنیّت کی فتوحات^[51]

Iqbal has severely criticized the western democracy as it is based on the liberalism. The complete liberty of thoughts, led the thoughtless populace, to the destruction. If thinking is misguided, the freedom of thought can easily transformed a human being into a beast.

آزادئ افكار سے ہے ان كى تباہى
ركھتے نہيں جو فكر و تدبّر كا سلقه
ہو فكر اگر خام تو آزادئ افكار
انسان كو حيوان بنانے كا طريقه!^[52]

In Bal-i-Jibrael, Iqbal explains the concept, in detail and says; If individuals of a nation, have unlimited liberty and freedom of thought that can prove dangerous for the nation. He adds that man's God-given liberty of thought has illuminated the world, but the unrestricted freedom of thought is an annovation of the Devil.

اس قوم ميں ہے شوخى انديشه خطرناك
جس قوم كے افراد ہوں ہر بند سے آزاد
گو فكر خدا داد سے روشن ہے زمانه
آزادئ افكار ہے ابليس كى ايجاد^[53]

Iqbal has faith that the western democracy and civilization can not save the Islamic world. It neither can solve their problems nor can give them a new start in life. How the western civilization can save the others? When it has been died in itself. According to Iqbal these facts should be revealed to those, who have shut their eyes in following the western civilization.

نظر آتے نہيں بے پردہ حقائق ان كو
آنكھ جن كى ہوئى محكومى و تقليد سے كور
زندہ كر سكتى ہے ايران و عرب كو كيونكر
يہ فرنگى مدنيت كه جو ہے لب گور!^[54]

Moreover, it was the fear of the adverse effects of western liberalism, which compelled Iqbal to give a warning to the Muslims. he has the belief that indiscriminate importance of liberal ideas could be ruinous to the stability of the Muslim faith. It could sow seeds of discord and hate and thus deprive the community of its basic unity, which is so vital to the Islamic ideology.^[55] He explained this point of view in one of his lecture in the following words.

We heartily welcome the liberal movement in Modern Islam; but it must also admitted that the appearance of liberal ideas in Islam constitutes also the most critical moment in the history of Islam. Liberalism has tendency to act as a free of disintegration Further our religious and political reforms in their zeal for liberalism may over step the proper limit of reform in the absence of a check on their youthful fervour.^[56]

Iqbal has the faith that western democracy and ‘Satan’ are closely related with each others, having the same designs. He explains the western democracy in the words of ‘Satan’. We have camouflaged the kingship, as democracy, and the man became aware of this fact. Therefore, the western democracy is as hateful as the old kingship.

ہم نے خود شاہی کو پہنایا ہے جہموری لباس
جب ذرا آدم ہوا ہے، خود شناس و خود نگر^[57]

Iqbal advises the Muslims to avoid the western democracy, as it is religiouness and faithless, He adds that the religion is the thing; which provides the atmosphere of love, with each other, sacrifices for others and welfare for poors and have notes; therefore you should follow religion, instead of secular western democracy. This is the right path, which is the path of modernization and development. Therefore, Iqbal invites all the Muslims of the world to adopt this right path, leaving the western politics, as your country and wealth are depending upon it. As he says in the following couplet.

iii) Liberalism:

The sovereignty of people and the divorce of religion from politics resulted in the too much liberalism, which is the basic principle of western democracy. This individual liberty led in many unethical and inhuman acts. The young generation involves itself in the sexual and such other

iv) Capitalism

Capitalism is another characteristic of western democracy, which means that all sources of income of state, are in the hands of individuals. Individuals are independent in earning money and having unlimite property, using what so ever means, they like. In simple words, capitalism is a decentralization of wealth an exploitation of it, by the capitalists. Iqbal has felt this situation, and has been deeply influenced by the miserablw condition of the poors and workers; which was stigma for humanity and the fact made him critical of the relationship of capital and labour, and capitalism and democracy. Iqbal wrote several poems on the subject, which manifest concern and anxiety of million of workers and labourers.^[58] In hi poem Khizr-i-Rah, he presents the picture of the miserable conditions of the workers and labourers. He says that the. have been victimized by the deceitful capitalists for the last many centuries. Their hard earned wages are distributed among them by the capitalists, as if they are alms. The, capitalists have been victorious but to their deceitful tactics; while the workers have been ruined completely due to their simplicity. Iqbal advises the workers, to realise the situation of the world, which has been changed in their favour, a new era has been started both in East and West.

اے کہ تجھ کو کہا گیا سرمایہ دار حیلہ گر
شاخ آہو پر رہی صدیوں تلک تری برات
دست دولت آفرین کو مزدیوں دیتی رہی
اہل ثروت جیسے دیتے ہیں غریبوں کو زکات
مکر کی چالوں سے بازی لے گیا سرمایہ دار
انتہائے سادگی سے کہا گیا مزدور مات

اٹھ کہ اب بزم جہاں کا اور ہی انداز ہے
[59] مشرق و مغرب میں تیرے دور کا آغاز ہے

Another fact which pains Iqbal is that the industrialists are leading luxurious life at the cost of workers. He says, that the industrialists do not know the name of “labour and work”, but they are luxuriating because they are owner of the industries. He gives initiative to workers according to God’s order “The man receives for what he struggles”. He adds that why capitalists enjoy at the cost of workers?

کارخانے کا ہے مالک مردک ناکردہ کار
عیش کا پتلا ہے محنت ہے ناسازگار
حکم حق ہے لیس للانسان الا ماسعی
کھائے کیوں مزدور کی محنت کا پھل سرمایہ دار

In Payam-i-Mushriq, Iqbal also conveyed this message to the working class and points out that the riches are garbed in the costly cloths; while the workers have to wear the tattered rages. The riches are becoming healthy by the blood of poors and their wealth is the product of the sweat of workers.

زمزد بندہ کر پاس پوش و محنت کش
نصیب خواجہ نہ کردہ کار، رخت حریر
ز خون من چوز لو فریبھی کلیارا
بزدربازوئے من دست سلطنت ہمہ گیر

Iqbal, being a Muslim, could not approve the capitalism and the capital gained by the capitalists, because Islam is the greatest opponent of the social

and economic evils, which stem from capitalism.^[60] Therefore, he hates democracy; which is based on capitalism.

Iqbal was aware of the backwardness and bankruptcy of the peasants also, as the workers were victims of industrialist and capitalist, like was the peasants were living a helpless life under the feudalism.^[61] He believes that feudalism is equivalent to capitalism. Iqbal, in a poem entitled, Punjab Kai Dehkan Sai, has expressed his idea on the subject. He addresses the peasants and says that what is the secret of your life? that you have been leading a helpless life for centuries, and spark of life has been quenched in it; Now the dawn is near at hand, the time to rise.

بتا کیا تیری زندگی کا ہے، راز
ہزاروں برس ہے تو خاک باز
اسی خاک میں دب گئی تیری آگ
سحر کی اذان ہو گئی اب تو جاگ^[62]

In another poem Iqbal forcefully directs poors to shake the domination of aristocratic masters, as if a peasant, who can not get his due share or earning from the field, he has the right to burn it down. Likewise, if masses have no share in government, they must destroy it.

اٹھو مری دنیا کے غریبوں کو جگا دو!
کاخ امرا کے دو و دیوار ہلا دو
جس کھیت سے دہقان کو میسر نہ ہو روزی
اس کھیت کے ہر خوشہ گندم کو جلا دو^[63]

Iqbal in a poem entitled Lenin Khuda Kai 'Hazur Main provides a vivid picture of capitalist society. According to him, in beauty of architecture, cleanliness and rush of people, the banks have super passed the churches. Unemployment, immorality, drinking and poverty are the great triumphs of

the western civilization. O! God, you are just and all powerful; then why? the life of workers is extremely miserable. He also prays to bring to end the lust of the capitalists and industrialists, as the whole world is waiting for this.

رعنائی تعمیر میں، رونق میں، صفا میں
گرجوں سے کہیں بڑھ کے ہیں بنکوں کی عمارات
بیکاری و عریانی و مئے خواری و افلاس
کیا کم ہیں فرنگی مدنیت کے فتوحات
تو قادر و عادل ہے مگر تیرے جہاں میں
ہیں تلخ بہت بندہ مزدور کے اوقات
کب ڈوبے گا سرمایہ پرستی کا سفینہ
دنیا ہے تری منتظر، روز مکافات^[64]

Iqbal was keen interested in the betterment of the workers and he was convinced that a political system based on justice and corruption would disappear with the realisation that there is something higher in human value than the naked lust for political and material gains.^[65] As such the Muslims must lend their maximum support to every effort, which is directed towards the betterment of the working class.^[66] In his another poem, Iqbal points out that the old traditional politics has become disgraceful and the world is sick of monarchs and aristocrats. The age of capitalism is near to an end like a juggler, whose play is off.

پرائی سیاست گری خوار ہے
زمین میر و سلطان سے بیزار ہے
گیا دور سرمایہ داری گیا

v) Nationalism

The fifth important principle of western democracy is nationalism; which means a condition of mind, feelings or sentiments of a group of people living in a well defined geographic area; speaking a common language, possessing a literature in which their aspirations are expressed, attached to common traditions and customs, venerating their own heroes, and some cases having the same religion.^[68] Thus the bases of western nationalism are; Geography, race, language, traditions, customs, common ideals etc. The western nationalism evolved itself as a code of life for European; which opened the way of hostility to others and prepared nations for territorial expansion. In this method, the nationalism proves itself fatal to the interests of humanity and becomes a source of endless conflict and aggression.

Keeping in view, the characteristics of nationalism, Iqbal condemns the nationalism as well as the western democracy. Iqbal expresses his hate for nationalism, as it is against the spirit of Islam. He further says that Islam and nationalism can not go hand in hand. He elaborates the concepts, that the attachment to a place leads to ruin and live like a fish in ocean, free from all attachments.

Migration from homeland, is a 'sunnah' of the Holy prophet (PBUH); and be a witness to the truth of the prophethood.

ہو قید مقامی تو نتیجہ ہے تباہی
رہ بحر میں آزاد وطن صورت ماہی
ہے ترک وطن سنت محبوب الہی
دے تو بھی نبوت کی صداقت پہ گواہی^[69]

Iqbal again condemns the concept of territorial nationalism. He says that nationalism is a devil of the present time, nationalism and the religion are against each other and these can not go together. In the view point of

politicians, nationalism is different thing from the practice of the Holy prophet.

ان تازہ خداؤں میں بڑا سب سے وطن ہے
جو پیرہن اس کا ہے، وہ مذہب کا کفن ہے
گفتار سیاست میں وطن اور ہی کچھ ہے
ارشاد نبوت میں وطن اور ہی کچھ ہے^[70]

Iqbal believes that nationalism is the main hurdle in the establishment of Muslim universalism or Muslim Ummah. Iqbal wrote a letter to prof. Nichlson in which he said: Nationalism is a belief based on race and colour, which is hostile to the world and humanity. The people who love the humanity, should start a war against the annovation of ‘Satan’.^[71]

Iqbal has the faith that the nationalism has many demerits and disadvantages and the nationalism preaches for the hostility and aggression in the world; which results” in the distranquillity. He adds that all the antions of the world are at war for territory and trade, due to nationalism. Moreover, nationalism is the cause for unethical politics and destruction of the weeks.

اقوام جہاں میں ہے رقابت تو اسی سے
تسخیر ہے مقصود تجارت تو اسی سے
خالی ہے صداقت سے سیاست تو اسی سے
کمزور کا گھر ہوتا ہے غارت تو اسی سے^[72]

In an article, Iqbal again condemns nationalism and exposes the designs of the western world against the Muslims. He says:

“Very early from the writings of European scholars, I had come know that the basic scheme of western Imperialism was to dismember the unity of

Muslim World by popularising territorial nationalism among its various components.”^[73]

Iqbal believes that by the concept of territorial nationalism, imperialism arises and the birth of imperialism results in the world wars. Numberless people lose their lives and billion dollars money is spent in the wars; which could be utilized for the welfare of humanity.^[74]

vi) **Party System**

The Party system is another corner stone of the philosophy of western’ democracy. According to the system, like minded people come together, with the objective to be victorious at national polls, to get the political power of the state. This grouping of the people constitutes the political party. The party system is considered a part and parcel of western democracy.

In the western democracy, whole nation is divided in to two parties i.e. rulers and ruled, mainly due to the existence of political parties. The ruling group tries to stick with the power. While the opponent group tries to oust and replace the ruling group; which results in conflict and tussle. The conflict and tussle further divide the nation in the two warring parties or groups.

Party discipline is another phenomenon, which restricts the individual’s liberty, and the choice of the leadership. One has to cast vote in favour of the candidate nominated by one’s party, like wise one can not differ the policy of the party.

Whenever, such a party comes in power, it rules according to party discipline, ignoring the wishes of the people; which results in the dictatorship of the party. Thus, under the party system and legislative regimentation, the ideals of democracy have been considerably damaged. Individual responsibility converts into collective responsibility.

Iqbal opposes democracy for the reasons also and says, that there is no difference between democracy and dictatorship. The dictator, the monarch, and the aristocrate guise themselves in the shape of democrates. Thus the democracy, dictatorship and kingship are the same thing. He points out in Bang-i-Dara that the westren democracy is the old wine in new bottle, which

contains no tunes other than imperial one. It is devil of despotims, dancing in the shape of democracy and you take it as a fairy of freedom.

ہے وہی ساز کہن مغرب کا جمہوری نظام
جس کے پردوں میں نہیں غیر از نوائے قیصری
دیو استبداد جمہوری قبا میں پائے کوب
تو سمجھتا ہے، یہ آزادی کی ہے نیلم پری!^[75]

Iqbal very rightly says that democracy, being a methodology, is in it self neither good nor bad. The democracy usually operates through party system; which makes democracy a bad one. Iqbal believes that 'Democracy has a tendency to foster the spirit of legality. It is not in itself bad; but unfortunately it tends to displace the purely moral stand point and make the illegal and wrong identical in meaning.'^[76] Iqbal adds, whether democracy is good or bad? But you do not know about the new methodologies of the world.

خیر ہے سلطانی جمہور کا غوغا کہ شر
تو جہاں کے تازہ فتنوں سے نہیں ہے باخبر!^[77]

Iqbal has also the faith, that there is no rule of democracy, but the old systems are prevailing. Either kings or politicians, are ruling the world; both are the same, only faces are different.

درو حاضر ہے حقیقت میں وہی عہد قدیم
اہل سجادہ ہیں یا اہل سیاست ہیں امام^[78]

According to Iqbal, the politicians, who come in power through party system, never allow the people, to share the power, with them like the kings. Thus the politicians and kings are defacto rulers of the world.^[79]

شریک حکم غلاموں کو کر نہیں کر سکتے
خریدتے ہیں فقط ان کے جوہر ادراک
کرتے ہیں غلاموں کو غلامی پہ رضا مند
تاویل مسائل کا بناتے ہیں بہانہ^[80]

Iqbal analyses his discussion on the western democracy in these words:

“The idealism of Europe never becomes a living factor in the life and the result is perverted ego seeking itself through mutually intolerate democracies, whose sole function is to exploit the poor in the interest of rich”.^[81]

Iqbal concludes the discussion and says that on the surface, western democracy appears radiant but its inside is darker than the despotism of Changiz Khan.

تو نے کیا دیکھا نہیں مغرب کا جمہوری نظام
چہرہ روشن، اندروں چنگیز سے تاریک تر!^[82]

IQBAL'S CONCEPT OF POLITY

Iqbal was deeply convinced by Khilafat and wanted to see it in force. In one of his couplet he says that the age of Khilafat i.e. polity is near to hand and all the signs of the governments other than polity should be abolished.

سلطانی جمہور کا آتا ہے زمانہ

جو نقش کہن تم کو نظر آئے مٹا دو! ^[83]

Iqbal also calls polity by the name of spiritual democracy. He has derived the idea of polity from the fallible like other Muslims and subject to the same impersonal authority of Divine Law.^[84]

5. Although, the caliph is head of state and he can be directly sued in the ordinary law courts.

6. The caliph can indicate his successor, but the nomination is not valid without confirmation by the people.^[85]

7. The electors have rights to demand the deposition of the caliph or dismissal of his officials if their behaviour is in contravention to the Laws of Sharia”.^[86]

Iqbal describes his concept of polity or spiritual democracy, with qualitative approach. Which is possible only in a society, practicing Islamic principles. Such a system Iqbal calls the Kingdom of God on the earth. In a letter to R.A. Nicholson, he writes:

“The Kingdom of God on earth means the democracy or more or less unique individuals, presided over by the most unique individuals, possible on the earth”^[87]

Iqbal throws further light on the God’s kingdom on earth:

“It is here and now that men and women must learn to live justly, decently, sincerely; It is here that they must ceaselessly cultivate their manifold inner powers and try to control the tremendous forces of Nature: It is here that they must learn to utilise them not for domination, but for service nor for repression and destruction but for creation and enrichment; it is here that by devotion to the highest ideals, they can become co-partners in God’s creative activity and can help in establishment of God’s kingdom on earth”.^[88]

Iqbal also explains the Islamic institution of election i.e. election of unique individual or ideal person as caliph by quoting the words of Hazrat Umar, the second Caliph.

“Although Abu Bakr’s immediate election from the point of view of the need of the time and the consequences was extremely appropriate and opportune, this method of election can not be decreed to be established principle in the religion of Islam that election, which is based on a partial vote of people should be considered null and void”.^[89]

He further, explains that, “The electorates by casting their votes or united and independent act of electing best political government in a determinate and reliable person, whom they consider worthy of ‘trust’.^[90]

Iqbal in his book entitled, “The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam”, has explained the term Ijtihad (re-orientation, in which law can be effected by the Believers).

Iqbal says that “according to spirit of Islam, ‘Imamat’ can be vested in body of persons or elected assembly.^[91] The Republican form of government is not only thoroughly consistent with spirit of Islam, but it has also become a necessity in view of the new forces, that are set free in the world of Islam.”^[92] By it means, that the political sovereignty is vested in Muslim individual, and Imamat is an elected institution.

Iqbal considers that liberty and equality are important principles of the Muslim polity. He makes an exposition in this regard, as under:

“The basis of Islamic polity in eyes of Law of religion is absolute and uncontained freedom in fact the act of election is a kind of contract between the caliph and Muslim. Muslim reign of the Holy Prophet and his four Right-guided successors. This was the period in Islamic history, when the polity was actually practiced. Therefore, Iqbal advises the Muslims to come in bond of the Holy Prophet and to submit to him.

Iqbal has formed a system of government from the period enlisting these qualities; the truthfulness, the justice, the bravery, and freedom from privileges and prerogatives. He says:

دم تقریر تھی مسلم کی صداقت ہے باک
عدل اس کا تھا قوی، لوٹ مراعات سے پاک

شجر فطرت مسلم تھا حیا سے نم ناک
تھا شجاعت میں وہ اک ہستی فوق الادراک

Iqbal further elaborating the system, enlisted additional principles of polity; which are reproduced below:-

1. Election is the only way to express the will of the people, and partial expression of people will is considered null and void.
2. De facto political sovereignty resides with the people.
3. The Muslim commonwealth is based on the absolute equality of all Muslims.
4. The caliph is not necessarily the high priest of Islam. He is not the representative of God on earth. He is populace, according to which the caliph is duty bound to perform particular functions for which he is to be held entirely responsible.^[93] He adds that all the Muslims have absolute equal rights and uncontained freedom in the Muslim State. Moreover the caliph is not above the Muslim populace, but he is responsible for the duties and functions assigned to him, if he fails to perform his duties he is removable by the people. If caliph does not rule according to Sharia his right to rule is forfeited,^[94] and his electorates can demand for his dismissal or his officials accordingly.

Iqbal's concept of 'self involves a plea for respect for one-self and respect for one's fellowmen too.'^[95] The concept has constructed a society which is not compatible in the world. The society has evolved a political system and is well known as polity.

گریز از طرز جمہوری، غلام پختہ کارے شو
کہ از مغز دو صد خر فکر انسانی نمی آید

As discussed above, Iqbal is deeply convinced by 'polity'. He presents it as an ideal government. In Armughan-i-Hijaz, he says, that Khilafat is the ideal of

the Muslims and any system which has monarchical attributes is undesirable for them. Monarchy or democracy is nothing but deceit and treachery, while Khilafat is a protection of the will of God. But Iqbal is aware of the fact that this ideal did not last for a long time in Islamic history. Under the Umayyads, Abbasides and Ottomans the Khilafat became hereditary monarchy. It lost its original purpose and message which had been conveyed by the Holy Prophet (PBUH) for the emancipation of mankind.

خلافت بر مقام ما گواهی است
حرام است آنچه بر ما پادشاهی است
ملوکیت همه مکر است و نیرنگ
خلافت حفظ ناموس الهی است
عرب خود را به نور مصطفی سوخت
چراغ مرده مشرق بر افروخت
و لیکن آن خلافت راه گم کرد
که اول مؤمنان را شاهی آموخت^[9]

Thus, according to Iqbal 'polity' is rooted deeply in Quran and Sunnah and is completely different from the democracy of the west. He had an abiding interest in the growth and development of the human personality, which thrive and prosper only in an atmosphere where there is no fear except God. He desired that permanent spiritual values should form the cornerstone of every political system, whether it is Presidential or Parliamentary. In Pakistan, we can also implement the concept of Iqbal's 'polity'. by establishing Imamate based on the principles of Sharia; making head of state or executive responsible to the people as well as God; electing pious, trustworthy, and faithfully individuals to the assemblies who are mainly responsible to establish kingdom of God in the earth; protecting the rights of masses; declaring judiciary independent and making caliph sueable in the ordinary

court of law and making electorate independent, so that they can demand the dismissal of caliph, if he does not perform in accordance with the Sharia.

^[1] Milton C, Cumming Jr. and Devid Wise; Democracy Under Pressure (H.B 1977) p 16.

^[2] Roger Hillsman; To Govern America - p. 21. (Harper & Row Publication 1979).

^[3] Ibid. p.

^[4] Ibid. p.30

^[5] J. Roland Pennock; Democratic Political Theory (Princeton 1979) P. 3

^[6] Herodotus; History of Persian War (New York 1942) p. 252

^[7] Bryce J. Modern Democracies Vol. I p. 20.

^[8] Oxford: (Clarendon Press 1961).

^[9] George Cornewell Lewis; Remarks on the Use and Abuse of some Pol. terms. (Columbia 1970) P. 84.

^[10] Seymour M. Lipset; Political Man. p. 27 (Garden City N.Y. 1960).

^[11] Charles Bettelheim; Democracy in the World of Tensions. (Chicago 1951) p. 3.

^[12] Corry and Abraham: "Elements of Democratic Govt." (New York 1958) p.

^[13] Encyclopedia of Social Sciences Vol. II. p. 76.

^[14] Dr. Parveen Shaukat Ali; The Political Philosophy of Iqbal, (Lahore 1978) p. 2G0.

^[15] Prof. Muhammad Manawwar; Demensions of Iqbal, (Lahore) p. 39.

^[16] Dr. Parveen Shaukat Ali; Op. Cit., p. 26.

^[17] Abdul Rehman Abdul Kurdi: The Islamic State, (New York 1984) P. 63

^[18] Ibid: P. 64.

^[19] Rosenthal E. IJ: Political Thought in Medieval Islam, (Cambridge 1958) P.21

^[20] Quamar-ud-Din Khan; The Political Thought of Ibn Taymiyah, (Lahore 1983) p. 99

^[21] Hamid Enayat; Modern Islamic Political Thought. (London 1982) p. 12G

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- [44] Iqbal; Zarib-i-Kalim, P.150
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THE HUMAN RESOURCES PATH TO DEVELOPMENT: A CHALLENGE TO MUSLIMS

Ghulam M. Haniff

Deliberate societal change through implementation of measures designed to improve the quality of living for the masses is an objective that has been undertaken by many underdeveloped countries. This great, systematically conceived social transformation, carried out for human betterment, has come to be described in a variety of ways, most often simply as development. Earlier notions of development, conceived essentially in terms of economic growth, have recently been complemented by the addition of human resources as the critical element needing attention.^[1] In the proliferating developmental literature the notion of development is viewed as a developing concept where scholarly discourse and analyses increasingly focus on peoples and values.^[2] The development of human resources through education and training on a continuing basis is seen as the central element enhancing national development. The human factor is considered to be both a significant input into the productive process as well as the beneficiary of production. At a minimum empirical examples suggest that an acceptable level of literacy is necessary to foster economic growth, to improve production, to enable the acquisition of new skills, to introduce increasingly complex technology and to enhance developmental changes in general. Among a number of Third World countries, such as South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore and Brazil, both higher rates of literacy and improving human resources have preceded their development to the point that they have now acquired the status of newly developed countries.^[3]

Unfortunately, for the Muslim countries the poor quality of human resources seem to be a real stumbling block in their developmental goals. It is ironic that Muslims, who were instrumental in establishing some of the first universities in the world, many for the teaching of sciences, today have to acquire scientific talent from external sources in order to implement projects for, industrialization. Indeed, had it not been for the expatriate brainpower many Muslim countries would not have experienced industrial growth of the

kind they have up to this point.^[4] Both the lack of intellectually skilled specialists and the absence of widespread literacy are a serious challenge to the uninterrupted economic development of the Muslim world.^[5]

This paper, using a comparative framework, presents an analysis of the human resources, its nature and quality, in the Muslim world today. The focus of the paper is on the relationship between the quality of the human resources and economic advancement. Development and human resources are viewed as two sides of the same coin where improvement in one leads to the improvement of the other. The qualitative improvement in the level of skills in a population, measured by the rates of literacy and other indices of educational achievement, is the way in which development proceeds. As the quality of human resource* improve, so does the level of technology and work skills utilized in the productive process. In a sense development is actually the acquisition of ever advanced skills by a workforce, indeed by the population as a whole, so that increasingly advanced technology could be created and utilized. Education is viewed as the foundation of development where a direct positive correlation exists between the two. The concepts of development, industrialization and modernization are used synonymously in this paper and are treated as being interchangeable. The underlying premise in this study is that education is the key variable in the developmental process where it serves as a crucial instrument in transforming traditional societies into modern ones.^[6]

It is over a millennium now since Muslims pioneered in the systematic study of science and laid the foundation of a remarkably vigorous civilization. In the early days of Islam learning was a cherished activity to be enthusiastically followed and the acquisition of knowledge almost a religious duty. Generally, science was the corner stone of the universities founded by Muslims; and Muslim scholars excelled in scientific disciplines ranging from astronomy to medicine and geography to mathematics. The achievements of the Muslims are well documented and remains unparalleled for its time.

Despite the earlier contributions Muslims today are at the nadir of their achievements in scientific and technological fields. In fact their conditions are so deplorable that a vast majority of Muslims in the world are unable to read and write even at the most elementary levels. Indeed, the Muslim world

today is largely backward, with people living in primitive conditions, bounded by hunger, 'disease, ignorance and poverty of incredible magnitude.

In order to examine the relative status of Muslims in the area of education and learning eight indicators of educational achievement were comparatively analyzed. For this exercise some 119 nation-states were selected and classified into three categories:

Industrial, Third World, and Muslim Countries Data on eight variables for each of the countries were gathered and analyzed. The full methodological discussion is reported in the footnote.^[7]

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The widespread ability to read and write is the most fundamental achievement considered desirable for a country interested in providing a better quality of life for its people. Literacy is the foundation for everything that a country can achieve. It is the means for the fullest development of knowledge and skills of the workforce. Through literacy individual persons can actualize their potentials and attain the heights of their aspirations. Universal adult literacy is the avenue to modernization.

Literacy is the key element in the transformational drama which is now being played out in the Muslim countries. The success of industrial development is to a large measure dependent upon the level of literacy that can be attained among the Muslims. The ability to read and write not only enable people to acquire needed sophisticated skills but also to learn values and beliefs conducive to industrial living. While social change is difficult under any circumstances literacy at least makes it possible for people to understand that process and to have greater mental receptiveness to it. Perhaps even more important is that a literate population is an active one, engaged and involved, in all manners of social, political and economic activities, contributing to the national developmental process. In fact, people are mobilized through literacy, that is, literacy as the most fundamental type of education, and if education is acquired at a more advanced level, people have a tendency to become participants in the management of, not only their own lives, but of the society and the nation as well. Literacy and education, are of course,

avenues of empowerment for individuals, and once acquired, people rarely remain inert spectators in the society.

In the religion of Islam the centrality of learning is repeatedly emphasized in the Holy Quran which itself begins in its first revelation with the command to “read” and again to read in the name of the Lord who taught man “by the pen”. Furthermore, the Prophet of Islam was an unlettered person, who paradoxically brought forth a Book, embodying a religion, broad in scope and significance, which appealed to the human ability to reason, to think and to be rational. The Quranic exhortation on learning was further elaborated by the many sayings of the Prophet who stressed the importance of education for both males and-females and considered the ink of a scholar to be holier than the blood of a martyr.

Many citations from the Quran and Sunnah can be provided to illustrate that Islam promotes personal and collective growth through learning and education. Hence, it follows logically that development is natural to Islam and that a Muslim society cannot fully be Islamic until its human resources are developed along the fundamental principles of the Quran and Sunnah. Islam actually raises the human individual to realize the highest perfection of his achievements and does this through the acquisition of knowledge. That is how God consciousness (or Taqwa) is attained on the part of the individual and that is also how an individual can become a fully functioning participant in the affairs of a community.

However, when empirical data on Muslim educational achievement is examined one is struck by the sobering reality it presents. The startling fact is that the rate of literacy in the Muslim countries is so low that individuals, and once acquired, people rarely remain inert spectators in the society.

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However, when empirical data on Muslim educational achievement is examined one is struck by the sobering reality it presents. The startling fact is that the rate of literacy in the Muslim countries is so low that whatever semblance of economic development has taken place is likely to encounter serious problems in the immediate future. The comparative data presented in Table I shows Muslims to be at the bottom of the three categories of countries considered. This Muslim mean rate is 35 percent lower than that for the Third World, though both groups are approximately at the same level of development. The data further suggests that almost two-thirds of the Muslims worldwide are illiterate, and that their literacy is almost 40 percent below the world average.

Table I Literacy

(Mean rates in percentages)

All Nations 86.3

Industrial Nations 98

Third World Nations 59

Muslim Nations 38

When all 119 countries, the total population of the study, were rank ordered on the variable of literacy the bottom five included three Muslim countries, Mali, Niger and Senegal, and two others, Ethiopia and Central African Republic, with significant Muslim populations. On a similar list of Muslim countries the two on the top as the most literate ones included Lebanon and Malaysia, both with substantial non-Muslim populations. The literacy rates for those two countries, from what is known about them, largely reflect the accomplishments of the non-Muslims peoples.

The raw data for the most populous nations in each of the three categories shows a literacy rate of 99 percent each for the USSR, USA and Japan in the Industrial group; 69, 42, and 76 percent for China, India and Brazil in the Third World group; and 68, 34 and 24 percent for Indonesia, Bangladesh and Pakistan in the Muslim group. It is interesting to note that India has a significantly higher rate of literacy than Pakistan and Bangladesh even though the three literacy than Pakistan and Bangladesh even though the three constituted a single country, British India, with a literacy rate of 12 percent on the eve of their independence in 1947.^[8]

While one cannot expect much from the present composition of the Muslim population given its low level of literacy, the next best measure for the future supply of manpower is to look at the rate of school attendance. The data given in Table II indicates that the condition of the Muslims is again at the lowest end of the scale. Since less than half of the cohort population, aged 5 to 19, in Muslim countries is in school the pool created for the selection of future skilled workers is a small one indeed. Of course, as pointed out earlier, in the absence of a large, highly trained workforce the rate of industrial expansion, the creativity and innovation it requires, would be seriously affected. In the historical period since the industrial revolution schools have been utilized as a central mechanism for managing societal change, which is what economic development is all about but Muslim leaders have yet to learn that fact. With the opportunity for schooling denied to such a large proportion of the school age population, the Muslim countries condemn yet another generation to wallow in poverty and to suffer the indignities of a sub-human existence.

Table II School Age Population in School

(As percentage of population ages 5-19)

All Nations 58

Industrial Nations 75

Third World Nations 51

Muslim Nations 43

The small pool of pupils in school today will be the base for the selection of students for universities and colleges, which in turn is going to determine the number of scientists, scholars and engineers produced, as well as other intellectual professionals. The ultimate result will be the shortage of capable people in various sectors of society.

They rank ordering of the 119 countries on the variable of school attendance indicated that of the bottom ten, a disproportionately high six were Muslim ones. When only the Muslim countries were similarly ranked, at the top were two small countries, Libya and Jordan, with Lebanon, a close third. More than a third of the countries on that list showed school attendance rates of 30 percent or less, including the large Islamic state of Pakistan, which is now, according to the Western mass media involved in nuclear research for building atomic bomb.

In today's world higher education is considered to be the major avenue for individual social mobility as well as the instrument for the creation of a technologically oriented society.^[9] Both are regarded as necessary for the collective social betterment of a nation. Interestingly, those countries with high levels of higher education are also the ones with the most desirable quality of life, the most creative and the most progressive peoples. The comparative data given for the three categories of countries in Table III shows the Muslims to be once again at the bottom. In fact the Muslim rate of enrollment is fully 45 percent lower than that for the Third World, a state of affairs that could be considered shocking. The intellectual manpower for tomorrow, needed for pushing ahead with industrialization, will come from this small pool now enrolled in universities and colleges. As a percentage of the cohort population the number of people now receiving advanced

education is too small to make any effective impact on the developmental effort.

Table III

Enrollment in Higher Education

By Country Categories

(As a percentage of population aged 20-24)

All Nations 13

Industrial Nations 35

Third World Nations 11

Muslim Nations 6

The Muslim countries are so far behind in the field of higher education that one cannot imagine their ever catching up with the industrialized nations. Higher education is the primary source for the advancement of a country.

Since higher education is important for the immediate future of the Muslim world, two additional sets of data are presented on this variable. For further comparison, the most populous nations from each of the three categories were examined. That data is presented in Table IV. The three largest Muslim countries are seen as having uniformly low levels of enrollment in higher education. The tiny fraction of the cohort population preparing for intellectual work is certainly not going to be sufficient for radically transforming the Muslim societies into desirable social systems where decent life could be lived without the fear of hunger, poverty, disease and ignorance.

Table IV

Enrollment in Higher Education For Most Populous Countries

(As a percentage of population aged 20-24)

Industrial Third World Muslim

Nations Countries

USSR 21 China^[10] 4 Indonesia 4

USA 58 India 9 Bangladesh 4

Japan 30 Brazil 12 Pakistan 2

The demand for highly qualified manpower continues unabated in virtually every Muslim country. The need for scientific and technical workers is great though managers and professionals are also sought. As a source for obtaining technically trained personnel the enrollment patterns in the institutions of higher education in Muslim countries do not provide much room for encouragement. The data presented in Table V verifies the generally low levels of involvement in higher education. The two countries with the highest enrollment are Jordan and Lebanon, both small nations, and at least one of them with substantial non-Muslim population. Fully three quarters of the Muslim countries have enrollment rates of 6 percent or less with one-fourth of the countries at the enrollment rates of one percent or less. At these rates the prospects for improving the quality of human resources in the Muslim countries is not too encouraging, nor could one expect the production of a large number of scientists, engineers, scholars and other intellectual professionals.

Table V

Enrollment in Higher Education

For Muslim Countries

(As percentage of population aged 20-24)

%in %in

Country Higher Country Higher

Education Education

Jordan 32 Indonesia 4

Lebanon 28 Bangladesh 4
Syria 16 Guinea 3
Kuwait 15 Senegal 3
Egypt 15 Sudan 2
Iraq 10 Pakistan 2
Saudi Arabia 9 Yemen PDR 2
Turkey 6 Somalia 1
Libya 6 Mali 1
Morocco 6 Afghanistan 1
Malaysia 5 Yemen Arab R 1
Algeria 5 Mauritania .7
Tunisia 5 Chad 5
Iran 4 Niger 3

At the moment when the building of technological capability is vigorously pursued in the Muslim countries there is a great need for scientific and technical personnel.

The demand curve for such people is going to continue to rise upwardly as development moves into the next phase of industrial expansion. The present shortage, to some extent, is made up by the employment of expatriates, specially, in the oil rich countries, though others poorer have to do without the services of such technical people.

Owing, perhaps, to the weak structure of education, as seen earlier, the number of scientists and engineers in the Muslim countries, depicted in Table VI, is pathetically low. In fact, the rate for the Muslims is about 42 percent lower than that for the Third World countries. This weakness is reflected in the fact that none of the Muslim countries produce sophisticated

technological goods, such as aircrafts or computers as do the Third World countries of India, South Korea and Taiwan. The rate for scientists and engineers per million in Japan is 64,054, in Brazil it is 26,000; and in Pakistan it is 1,340. The preceding three countries while differing markedly in the rates for scientists and engineers have comparable population size.

Table VI

Scientists and Engineers

(Per One Million Inhabitants)

All Nations 7,127

Industrial Nations 23,824

Third World Nations 6,691

Muslim Nations 3,593

Indeed, a more meaningful comparison is to look at the total numbers of scientists and engineers in various countries, since it is through their collective efforts that the industrial development of a country is made possible. For that purpose the largest countries in each of the three categories were selected for examination. The data is presented in Table VII. As the figures show the Muslim countries have the lowest numbers even though these countries rank fifth, eighth and ninth largest in the world. The comparable figures for South Korea is 94,171 and Philippines 1,083,742 even though they have about half the population of Pakistan.

Table VII

Scientists and Engineers

For Most Populous Countries

(Totals for each Country)

Industrial Third World Muslim

USSR 13,000,000 China 5,296,000 Indonesia 95,339 USA 3,167,000 India 997,000 Banglades 23,500 Japan 7,046,000 Brazil 2,511,000 Pakistan 100,000

The number of scientists and engineers engaged in research and development is also important. That activity is at the heart of an industrial society. The numbers are equally discouraging since there “are, 45,136 scientists and engineers working in research and development in all the Muslim countries combined, compared with 34,800 in Israel alone, or 400,000 in Japan or a million and a half in the Soviet Union.”^[11]

Educational attainment as shown by the data on the Muslim countries leaves much to be desired. Evidently learning is not a highly cherished value among Muslims. One cannot expect people who have never been inside a classroom to value education. Unfortunately, that is going to be an impediment to education among Muslims for some decades into the future. The data presented in Table VIII shows that Muslims generally at higher rates have not had schooling than those in any of the other categories. The data indicates that more than three-quarters of Muslim adults aged 25 or over have not been inside a school, which is 94 percent higher than that for the Industrial world. The anti-education sentiment therefore will be a formidable one to overcome. A vast majority of Muslim parents being unable to comprehend the significance of education are going to be obstacles in the schooling of their children. The major reason for the low level of school attendance, seen earlier, is precisely the fact that parents themselves have never gone to school. The parental influence, of course, is overwhelming among the Muslims. Given the importance of home environment it is unlikely that parents would contribute to the cultivation of intellectual curiosity among their children to any great extent.

Table VIII

No Schooling (Percentage 25 + who never attended school)

All nations 61

Industrial Nations 3

Third World Nations 64

The comparable rates of no schooling for Japan is 0.4 percent, for South Korea 19, for Pakistan 81, for Egypt 86, for Morocco 92 and for Senegal 95

CONCLUSION

The data presented in this study demonstrates the sad plight of the Muslims in the field of educational endeavor. Actually the numbers tell a pathetic tale of the years of neglect in the arena of learning by the Muslims. Evidently, dominated by conservative theologians for generations, an attitude of anti-intellectualism seem to have permeated the Islamic culture. The contemporary educational underdevelopment of the Muslims is not the result of some capricious policies of the colonial powers but the deliberate denial of opportunity for social betterment by the oppressive rulers of Islam. This was made possible by the covert consent of the ulema who thus gave legitimacy to the existing social order.

In their callous disregard for the development of the individual, the present rulers, a motley collection of assorted authoritarian dictators, in the Muslim countries continue to exclude the talented from the benefits of learning and education. On the whole those with political power, with a few exceptions, have generally demonstrated their unwillingness to educate large numbers of people, owing no doubt to the fear of arousing the populace against the structure of injustices so prevalent in many Muslim lands. The ideal of universal literacy, compulsorily pursued in the advanced countries, is an anathema to most Muslim leaders. For the most part all education is a state monopoly with private sector rarely given the opportunity to participate in educational endeavors. Many private organizations have sought permission to build schools or universities but governments have generally turned them down on some lame pretext. The outmoded, elitist, decrepit educational systems inherited from the colonial masters is still the vehicle for educating citizens of various Muslim lands. The necessity for everyone to be educated, so as to become productive and contributing members of society remains to be recognized by the malevolent rulers, indeed, to be understood by their medieval minds. The existing mode of education is long overdue for a complete overhaul.

The current frenzy of developmental activity would be difficult to sustain much longer given the low level of educational attainment among the Muslims. The workforce is neither sufficiently skilled now nor will be in the foreseeable future to manage the transformational process towards industrialization. Only a crash program of literacy, education and the production of scientific manpower can save the Muslim ummah from retrogressive social explosion.

^[1] M.S. Knowles, *Adult Education in the U.S.A.* (New York: Association Press, 1970), L. Nadler, *Developing Human Resources* (Houston: Gulf Publishing, 1790), pp. 5-10.

^[2] Dilnawaz A. Siddiqui, "Human Resources Development: A Muslim World Perspective", in *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (December, 1987), pp. 277-291. S.M. Qutb, "The Islamic Basis of Development", in *Islam and Development* (Plainfield: AMSS, 1977), pp. 1-11.

^[3] See Lawrence J. Lau, *Models of Development* (San Francisco: ICS Press, 1980).

^[4] Zeinab Karaki, "Technology's Role in Industrializing the Arab World," *Arab Perspectives*, Vol. 7 (February-March, 1986), pp. 25-29.

^[5] All Kettani, "Science and Technology in the Muslim World," *Arabia: The Islamic World Review*, Vol. 5, No. 3, January, 1986, pp. 22-24.

^[6] Daniel Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society* (New York: The Free Press, 1958).

^[7] Methodology and Data.

For the purposes of this study the entire universe of nation-states was selected on the basis of two stringent criteria; one of sovereignty, that is independence for at least ten years, and the other, a population of at least a million. It was felt that these two conditions would, first, eliminate the

influence of colonial public policies, and second, exclude the mini-nation-states, whose extreme values may distort the measure reported in this study.

The 119 nation-states selected were classified into three categories: Industrial, Third World and Muslim. Per capita industrial production was the criterion used to differentiate the industrial nations from the no industrial ones. Since all the Muslim nations in the sample were nonindustrial, those were excluded from the Third World group to form a separate category. For inclusion into the Muslim category at least fifty percent of a country's people had to be Muslims with free and open practice of Islam allowed by the authorities. Twenty-eight countries of the world met these criteria without difficulty.

Altogether there were 34 Industrial, 56, Third World in addition to 28 Muslim countries. While the Muslim nation-states are a subset of the Third World with many features in common, they nevertheless, have unique characteristics of their own, sharing not only a community of beliefs but a unique historical culture as well.

On each of these nations a variety of data on educational attainment were collected and some statistical operations as the computations of means were performed. Some socio-economic, data were also gathered, correlations run but not necessarily reported.

The data used in this study were obtained from such conventional sources as the World Development Report 1979, 1983, 1985: UNESCO Statistical Yearbook 1984 and Ruth Sivard's World Military and Social Expenditures, 1985.

^[8] This expresses the mean for the 119 nation-states included in this study. Actually that number is considered to be the world average for the purposes of this study.”

^[9] The World Bank, Education Sector Policy Paper (Washington, D.C: 1980), Chapter I, et passim.

^[10] A decade of Cultural Revolution had the most deleterious effect - on education in China hence the low enrollment. Chinese are now working furiously to catch-up.

^[11] Richard Reeves, “A Reporter at Large, (Pakistan)”, *The New Yorker*, October 1, 1984, p. 88.

WHITMAN, MAYAKOVSKY AND IQBAL

Air Cdre. (Rtd) Inamul Haq

Prophets! The glorious messengers of Allah with open revelations, for the mankind are no more. They have but shown us the path to be followed in the light of Celestial Truths. To us come now men with dark intellects, seers who cannot observe, men who traffic and trade in rancour and injustice, and desire not peace and reconciliation. Allah hath full knowledge and is acquainted with all things but the arrogant and vainglorious do not fear sin and do not bow in humility to Him. They live only for some miserable gain.

Our little systems have their day.

They have their day and cease to be.

Their visions are but in the nature of broken lights, half-truths, mad fits or hysterical outbursts of passions and violence. Only God's Truth lasts and it will gain mastery in the end. In the Quran, the glorious book for humanity, we find a plain statement, a guidance and instruction to those who fear Allah to the effect that all the ways of life except the one of obedience to Him lead us to ruin and despair.

Many were the ways of Life

That have passed away

Before you; travel through

The Earth and see what was

The end of those

Who rejected Truth

قد خلت من قبلكم سنن فسيروا في الارض فانظروا كيف كان عاقبة المكذبين-

(آل عمران- 137)

And in the world again there are new creeds, philosophies of doubt and iron organizations of power, Marxist states and Democratic foes with atom bombs and dialectics. From the ignorant clash of armies in darkness are visible the gun powder-flares of passion and wrath. The messengers of this brave world are the seemingly harmless, polished and elegant scientists, poets, political and social psychologists who believe, as Iqbal puts it. in a

حکمت فرعونى

In Life's divided compartments they choose a sphere for their activity, caring only for speed and regardless of the approaching disasters that wait a collision. Democrats fooling the world by lip service to "Freedom"; dictators swollen up to the size of giants and bursting as balloons; Marxists parading starved hunger and filthy sex; Scientists nominally exploring the specialized avenues of progress in biology, but absorbed in manufacturing poison gases and super-injurious bombs; poets journeying in the valleys of thought, more in order to fill their comrades with hate and lust rather than to restore harmony to a jarringly unquiet world. And all of them glorified too at the same moment by some are denounced by others. Men with apparently clean hands, Newton's, Hegel's, Rousseau's, Darwins and Huxley's; discredited men like Bismarck's, Hitler's. Lenins and Stalins.

Roosevelts, Trumans, Churchills, or Tojos proceed all along on their triumphal march in the wasteland desert of Eliot's Civilization.

God is Divine, belief in the Christian God is unworthy, a Nietzsche is born, a sun has set. The old world seems dark, distrustful, strange and old. The shadows envelope Europe, New America's Star is on high, a ship puts out to sea, a Whitman sings chants of the democratic hymn. The horizon is open once more, granted it is not bright. His heart over-flows with gratitude and astonishment; the sea lies open as he starts from Panamanok to see the revolving Globe.

Ancestor- Continents grouped together

The present and future continents north and south with the isthmus between

He sings of Americanoes, flowing Missouriie, mighty Niagra, the buffalo herds grazing the plains. He chants of the long running Mississippi down to the Mexican sea, sings of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Minnesota. The prophetic spirit of materials shifts and flickers around him in the land of coal and iron, land of cotton, of sugar and rice, land of wheat, beef, pork etc. He accepts reality and dares not question it, the emphasis is on the present, this minute, and materialism is first and last.

Whit Whitman, a Kosmos of Manhattan the son Turbulent, fleshy, sensual, eating, drinking and breeding No sentimentalist.

His speech is a miracle, as the many voices surge through him; his voice goes after what his eyes cannot reach.

With the twirl of my tongue I encompass worlds and volume of worlds

Speech is the twin of my vision, it is unequal to measure itself.

Marx, more of a Jew than Freud or Einstien and less of an internationalist than Trotsky, preaches from Das capital, divides man into the bourgeois and proletariat. They arm and arm, shots are fired in the Revolution. Poetry begins with “tendenciousness” and Mayakovsky sets his heel upon the throat of his own song, eliminates sentiment from poetry and treats of man, mass movements and class war in his usual hyperbolic and sweeping style. He devotes his raucous voice and great inventive talent to the service of the Revolution in Russia. The verses are about bread prices, the New Economic Policy, the Food supply and the International events. He goes from town to town, from factory to ship, from meeting to theatre and declaims his poems direct to his audience. And at the “might of his voice” he declares,

“The streets shall be our brushes The squares our palettes”

For

150,000,000 speak through these Lips of mine.

As a proletarian poet-collectivist his role demanded from him a closer participation in the social life of his countrymen than was required from, to an equally degree.

Morally free Whitman's pen becomes the equal of a gun and is listed with iron in industry.

The boulevard squares, the bustle of the street, the polish of the asphalt, the noise of machines, the work of man, the rhythm of revolution and the struggle of society appear in a poetic form. The verse is tuned and set to the very speedy measure of a Left March. The British and other intervention armies are attacking the young Soviet State.

Does the eye of the eagle fade?

Shall we stare back to the old?

Proletarian fingers grip tighter

The throat of the world

Chests out Shoulders straight

Stick to the sky red flags adrift

Who is marching there with the right

Left Left Left

In 1930 just as the five years plan was beginning to make possible the realization of the new society, Mayakovsky the vigorous man and a grown and socially developed personality committed suicide. Exhaustion, illness, a tragic love affair and attacks on the part of his enemies seemed to have contributed to his end. As for Whitman, whose poetry is a new composite orchestra, expressive of the pulsations of life, solemn hymns, passionate heart chants, sorrowful appeals, a diapason of earth, of winds, woods and mighty ocean waves, we should turn to a verdict on him by G.M. Hopkin's the Jesuit-Poet.

"I always know in my heart Walt Whitman's mind to be more like my own than any other man's living. As he is a very great scoundrel, this is not a pleasant confession".

The proof of a poet shall be sternly deferred till his country absorbs him as affectionately as he has absorbed it. Though Whitman's songs breathe a vast elemental sympathy which only the human soul is 'capable of generating and emitting in steady and limitless floods, the looseness of his character and absence of any restraint find an expression everywhere. Apparently he lets himself adrift.

The beauty of independence, departure, actions that rely on themselves.

The American contempt for statues and ceremonies the bounds as restraint of impatience.

The loose drift of character, the inkling through random types.

All these charm him, but what of the consequence. Matthew Arnold had said that the gods exact a price for our songs and make us what we sing and Whitman perhaps did not realize what he wrote when he sang.

The song is to the singer and comes back most to him
The teaching is to the teacher and comes back most to him

The murder is to the murderer and comes back most to him

The love is to the lover and comes back most to him.

The America of which he sang became rich in variety, the thud of machinery, the shrill steam - whistle undismayed, the drain-pipes, the artificial fertilizers, the healthy human poems, the waltz and dance-music, all came into a existence, but the world remained broken and the continent of glory remained in the whirl of evil. The democracy whose praise he sang become corrupt and a mockery of the good life. He only saw the mosque, was impressed by it and did never know what Islam was and to whom did the Mussalmans pray and why?

I hear from the Mussalman's mosque the Muezzin calling

I see the worshippers within, nor form nor sermon argument nor word

But silent, strange, devout raised, glowing heads, ecstatic faces.

and these ecstatic faces were for him those of the “worshippers” like the faces of those who listen to dance music, the waltz or some delicious measure and are bathed in bliss and no more. Poor Walt Whitman, the Poet of democracy - the Poet of American bankruptcy.

And poor Mayakovsky the poet of Russian Revolution committed suicide for the much derided passion of love. But his real tragedy as a poet had been the negation and neglect of his poetic gift. He had to pay the price of the songs which he did not sing.

But I

Mastered myself

And crushed under foot The throat

Of my very own songs.

Sentiment eliminated from poetry proved a suicidal obsession in life. The artistic suicide was complete. He did not know God’s forgiveness and Mercy.

Transistorizes thus sings a song again and again. Philosophers, poets, champions of new social orders consider darkness as their light; ardent for logic, they are lost in the labyrinth of intellect. Psychologists the soul diviners, ransack the forest of the sub-conscious. Painters with their patch work of colour imitate the variegated light and shade of the world and the hues of its mountains, scenery and vegetation. Men are filled for the time being with exultation. In the consciousness of their strength they forget themselves. Their desires become their gods. The true world is suppressed. But Infinite and Infinitely creative God lives, men and their social orders - decay; new poets play on new reeds. His universe has power of eternal renewal. His laws do not change.

And the Mussalman, firm as a rock against the breakers, distinguishing between good and evil, accepting not the Western notions of Power, Money and Nationality sticks to his faith. He knows that darkness cannot be his light and the day is distinct from night. He repels doubt with faith,

گمان آباد ہستی میں یقین مرد مسلمان کا
بیابان کی شب تاریک میں قندیل رہبانی

(In this illusionary existence the faith of a Muslim is like a guiding torch in the dark forest night).

He struggles in the world to prove amongst the sterile his vigorous love. The belief in Tauhid makes him perform righteous deeds. He spends of his substance of love for Him; he is stead-fast in prayer and fulfils covenants which he has made; he is firm and patient in pain or suffering and adversity, and throughout all periods of panic. Iqbal as a poet proclaimed to the world the glorious message of the Prophets of God, who came to guide men. In the major part of his verse he gives to the world again the lesson of Honesty, Courage and Justice. He wants again in the modern world the truly democratic state of the Second Caliph Hazrat Omar. Today “freedom” is a misnomer and democracy meaningless.

No material forces can over-power the Momin who has spiritual power and believes in the Ayat:-

وعد الله الذين آمنوا منكم و عملوا الصلحت يستخلفنهم في الارض كما استخلف الذين
من قبلهم

(النور-55)

“With those among you who believe and perform righteous deeds God has made a promise to make them inheritors and rulers of the world as he made men before them”.

For Iqbal the cure for evils, the way out of all difficulties and the keys to power and sovereignty were all in Iman.

پھر سیاست چھوڑ کر داخل حصار دیں میں ہو
ملک و دولت ہے فقط حفظ حرم کا اک ثمر

Leave the world of politics and seek the secure fort of deen. If you protect the Harem you will acquire might, power and wealth.

From the gilded Western World he escaped to the tulip blossoming mountains of Afghanistan. He liked the Syrian dusk more than the wines and women that came from the West. He turned to the faqr of Free Man. The memories of the pious Caliphate inspire him. He prays again for God's favours on those who believe.

تڑپنے پھوکنے کی توفیق دے
دل مرتضیٰ، سوز صدیق دے

Give me a zest and ecstasy, the heart of Murtaza, the fervour of Siddique.

In the confusion and darkness that envelopes all things, he looks around and calls for an answer.

“Where is thou, O! Momin?”

WHITMAN, MAYAKOVSKY AND IQBAL

And he turns with love to question the soul of the Holy prophet

شیرازہ ہوا ملت مرحوم کا ابتر
اب تو ہی بتا، تیرا مسلمان کدھر جائے!

This blessed ummat has disintegrated; you please tell the Mussalman where to seek shelter.

But despair he knows not, neither weariness nor fatigue. Clearly he sees the decline of the West, the greed of the warring nations bringing to them their God's own destruction and the Soviet revolutionaries forgetting in a whirlwind of passion and violence and thus dooming decay. *Faqr* will again rule over the world and all the political structures crumble to dust.

اب ترا درد بھی آنے کو ہے اے فقر غیور
کہا گئی روح فرنگی کو ہوائے سیم و زر

O Self respecting poor! you will gain power, for the soul of West has been destroyed by gold and sever.

raises of the Mussalman are sung again. The They splendour; in speech Momin shines every moment in mew s his sweetness and or in deed he is God's sharp delicacy is akin to the tenderness of the dew on the tulip and his wrath makes the oceans tremble with fear.

Walt Whitman, Mayakovsky and Iqbal - three poets with a message, three bards of passion not of mirth, poets triumphant over self, men of heroic stature, intent to create and to see a new world order, interpret their age. They are the poets of life's great movements. Whitman accepting all, embracing everything even guilt and wickedness, marching ahead with his loving comrades towards democracy, hysterically exultant, singing of American prosperity. Mayakovsky, a Messiah, a poet dictator driving his art armies to an onward march, a champion, deep chested and broad shouldered, the futurist poet of Soviet Russia and Construction. And Iqbal, the poet of Islam, the lover of humanity, denouncing the oppression of man by man in the-man made systems of the west with a Zarbi Kalimi and Bangs Israfil rousing the Mussalmans from the night-mare of a sleep. Mayakovsky's vision ends in disillusionment and suicide; Whitman's green leaves wither and turn pale, turn into poisonous weeds, the field being flooded with toxic wealth. The Western systems melt in the heat of War resulting from economic imperialism and capitalistic rivalries, but Iqbal's echoes peal through the

skies; his hopes are still unrealised; his prophecies only half fulfilled. When will the Memar-i-Haram rise again to bless his troubled soul?

مومنان را گفت آن سلطان دین
مسجد من این همه روئے زمین
الامان از گردش نه آسمان
مسجد مومن بدست دیگران
سخت کو شد بنده پاکیزه کیش
تابگیرد مسجد مولائے خویش

The Prophet has said to the Momins

The whole world is my mosque

Alas with the revolution of skies this mosque has been occupied by others

The true believer strives hard

To regain the mosque of his Prophet.

There is but one path for the Mussalman, all the other creeds and systems will lead him with other men to ruin.

اتبع ما اوحى اليك من ربك لا اله الا هو و اعوض عن المشكرين-

(الانعام- 106)

Follow what thou art taught

By inspiration from thy Lord

There is no God but He

And turn away from those who

Join gods with God.

“IQBAL AND RADHAKRISHNAN- A COMPARATIVE STUDY”

Nazeer Siddiqi;

Publishers: Sterling Publishers Private Ltd. New Delhi.

A Friendly Appreciation.

Mohib Arifi

I am grateful to the author for writing the above book. It is valuable for ignoramuses like me. I have not read the writings of Radhakrishnan. From whatever little I had read about him, I had gathered an impression that he was an exponent of his mythological religion. That impression now stands corrected. I learn from the above book that Radhakrishnan had tried to extract something like modern humanitarianism from the agglomeration of Vedic mythologies. I, however, venture to suggest that this book would become much more valuable for readers like me if, in its next edition, the author could care to deal, at some length, also with the points that I am raising in this review.

2. Extract (i): “Today, no other Indian can equal his (Radhakrishnan’s) stature in the worldwide respect he commanded for his contributions to the philosophical heritage of mankind.” (page: 35).

What precisely are Radhakrishnan’s contributions to the philosophical heritage of mankind? Instead of throwing light on this, the author has taken great pains to collect such sayings of Radhakrishnan as would appear to show that he (Radhakrishnan) was a saint rather than a philosopher!

3. Extract (ii): “I have found it extremely difficult to choose between the prose of Radhakrishnan and the poetry of Iqbal. Radhakrishnan’s sentences are as chiselled as Iqbal’s verses. In them the lucidity of thought is matched by the felicity of expression.” (Page-ix).

Here, clarity of expression seems to have been equated with beauty of expression. Clarity of expression is a praise-worthy quality of philosophical

prose, as it enables the reader to correctly grasp the writer's thoughts as well as their validities and flaws. Beauty of expression, on the other hand, is an essential quality of genuine poetry. In poetry born of passionately felt thoughts, beauty of expression enables the reader, with genuine poetic taste, to participate in the feelings of the poet, without necessarily approving or disapproving of his thoughts. Clarity of philosophical prose and poetic beauty of philosophical verses, are thus not one and the same thing. As such, there can be no question of making a comparison between the excellences of expression manifested in Iqbal's poetry and Radhakrishnan's prose. As far as I am aware, very many of the highly competent critics of Urdu and Persian poetry have regarded Iqbal as one of those top-most Urdu and Persian poets who have attained the highest degree of excellence in poetic expression. How many of the highly competent critics of-English literature, have included Radhakrishnan among those top-most writers who have attained the highest degree of excellence in expression in English prose?

4. Incidentally, as for Radhakrishnan's lucidity of thought and felicity of expression, I invite attention to the following saying of his, which has been very approvingly quoted on page 64 of the book under reference:

“Religion is participation in the mysteries of being.”

I wonder what precisely it is that this “chiselled” sentence has conveyed to Mr. Siddiqi. To a layman like me, this sentence would appear to indicate either that its writer was not quite clear in his mind as to what he wanted to say or that he did not know how to say it in order to make his idea intelligible in the modern rationalist age!

5. Extract (iii): “Man has not been able to experience the world in the form of a divine blessing as presented by many religious scriptures Man has become bold enough to express his view or vision of the world as it comes into his experience... This is one reason why philosophies like Existentialism, which insists on the meaninglessness of life and the absurdity of the world, have begun to capture the imagination of the present age.” (page 30).

Extract (iv): “those who are above the average are plagued by some of the central problems of life. For example, the questions: Is there any ultimate

purpose in the creation of the universe? Is there any ultimate meaning to human life?”(pages 72-73).

The “bold” and “above-the-average” people referred to in the above extracts (iii) and (iv) are evidently those rational thinkers who do not believe in religious scriptures, and, for cognition of truths, rely wholly on senses-based reason of man. Now, for those who do not believe in the assertion of religious scriptures that the universe and the mankind have been intentionally created by an intelligent being, possessing freedom of will and action, is it not irrational to raise the questions as in the extract (iv) above? If universe and mankind are not creations of any intelligent being, what is the sense in worrying about the ultimate purpose of the universe and the ultimate meaning of human life?”

6. Extract (v); “Radhakrishnan maintained that life is a supreme good Personally, I have come to believe that essentially life is a supreme curse which can prove to be a good - even a supreme good - to a very small proportion of the human population of the world.” (page vii).

The author has not disclosed what he understands by the terms “supreme good” and “supreme curse”. For a reader of average intelligence, like me, these terms would mean as under:

Whatever I irresistibly desire to acquire or retain at any cost, is a “supreme good” for me:

Whatever I irresistibly desire to get rid of at any cost, is a “supreme curse” for me.

If the author would approve of these definitions, then the reader would like to know what proportion of the human population of the world irresistibly desire to get rid of their lives. If a large proportion, what is it that prevents them from fulfilling this desire?

7. Extract (vi): “Like Mallarme, he (Iqbal) knew that poetry is made out of words; it is not created out of ideas.” (page 31).

As if there can be words without conveying ideas or feelings (which are not the same things as words)¹ Suppose you do not know meanings of Chinese words, can a Chinese poem have any poetry for you?

8. Extract (vii): “Iqbal and Ghalib: A comparative view.” (Chapter 3).

For a comparison of poetic statures of poets to be meaningful for the reader, it is obviously necessary for the reader to know what, in the opinion of the writer, constitutes poetry and why, and what criterion the writer considers valid and why, for determining the degree of poetic excellence of a piece of poetry. On these points, the book under reference has observed complete silence. Hence the views expressed in its chapter - 3 lack meaningfulness for the reader.

9. Extract (viii): “The tolerance and understanding he- (Radhakrishnan) shows for humanity is simply prophetic (prophet-like²) He maintained that violence cannot be eliminated by violence, hatred cannot be conquered by hatred, and cruelty cannot be driven out by cruelty.” (pages 42-43).

It would be naive to take the above preaching at its face value, overlooking the relevant historical background and the well-known Brahmanic shrewdness (equaled or perhaps surpassed only by the shrewdness of the international Jewry). Since very very long, the high-caste Hindus have successfully kept their low-caste co-religionists deprived of the basic human rights and dignities, by inculcating in the entire Hindu society (including its lowest strata) the religious faith that the fate of the members of its low castes, being divinely ordained, is simply unalterable. To perpetuate this blind faith, the low-caste untouchables had been made to believe that for them it was sin to try to acquire education. With the advent of the British rule, these unfortunate “sub-humans” found themselves provided with opportunity to get educated. The Brahmanic far-sightedness could not fail to apprehend that this British-provided opportunity was sure to result, in course of time, in the deprived castes being aroused from their deep slumber, by some Ambedkars, to rise in violent revolt against the age-old tyranny of the privileged castes. The privileged castes were faced with the problem of how to protect their centuries-old privileges against such a violent holocaust. This historical situation needs to be kept in mind for discovering the real motives behind the patently unrealistic philosophy of non-violence so vehemently preached,

during the last about one and a half centuries, by the outstanding high caste Hindu intellectuals in our sub-continent.

10. If Radhakrishnan also was one of them, he deserves to be credited with the deep insight into human nature which enabled him to benumb the critical faculties of the “liberated” minds among the non-Hindus, by arousing, through his sermonic writings, their deep-rooted instinct of hero-worship.

11. Extract (ix): “Iqbal has laid great emphasis on the unity of humanity and the oneness of the nations of the world Radhakrishnan was no less an advocate of the unity- of humanity and intrinsic oneness of all nations.” (pages 5-6).

Extract (x): “Iqbal and Radhakrishnan believed equally in the infinite potentialities of the individual.” (page 114).

Extract (xi): “One of the several definitions of religion Radhakrishnan has put forward is that religion is an insight into reality He (Iqbal) says: Religion which is essentially a mode of actual living is the only serious way of handling reality.” (page 2).

Extract (xii): “His (Radhakrishnan’s) highest dream is that of a world community composed of all the nations of the world by surrendering national interests for the sake of international peace and harmony.” (page 116).

Extract (xiii): “Iqbal was more concerned with his own nation than the nations of the world.” (page 117).

The extract-(ix) above states categorically that Iqbal and Radhakrishnan both were equally emphatically internationalists. Equally categorical is the statement in the extract-(xiii) above that, unlike Radhakrishnan-vide extract-(xii) above-, Iqbal was more a nationalist than an internationalist. This discrepancy in his findings ought to have led but did not lead the author to try to find out what it was that made the internationalist Iqbal to develop partiality for a particular nation. This quest should have been facilitated by the hint contained in the extract-(xi) above that, according to Iqbal, the real function of the true religion was to enable humanity to properly tackle, reality.

12. It would appear from the book under reference that Radhakrishnan never gave serious thought to the question whether and how his dream of brotherly internationalism could be realistic in practice. The gist of whatever has been attributed to him in this regard in the book is just this: If the human race would not adopt and practice world-wide fraternity, it would be in danger of being annihilated by its latest weapons. Iqbal, on the other hand, did not stop at merely dreaming academically of world-wide human brotherhood. He was consumed by the thought of the need to discover practical ways and means of realising that dream and to imbibe in the appropriate group of people the requisite zeal to carry out that mission.

13. As a result of in-depth study of the personal, social and international aspects of human nature, Iqbal first came to this conclusion: Neither world-wide human brotherhood nor mankind's progress towards individual and collective perfection - vide the extract-(x) above - can be brought about except by adoption of such a way of life, by all the nations, as would ensure international as well as international socio-politico-economic justice.

14. And, as a result of a thorough-going study of history and the major religions, philosophies and ideologies, he made the following discovery:

It is precisely the bringing about of sociopolitico-economic revolution of the above kind which is the real mission of the Quran, and of the Quran alone. All spiritual religions require of their followers to purify their individual selves (souls) and prescribe methods for attaining this purification. It is in Islam alone that purification of individual selves is required to serve also as a preparation for carrying out the above revolutionary mission. Nor is that mission a mission for the achievement of an unrealisable ideal. The earliest decades of the history of Islam are a standing testimony to the fact that mankind is quite capable of adopting the way of life which would ensure intra-national and international socio-politico-economic justice.

The Quran does not lay down any rigid and comprehensive socio-politico-economic system. It has indicated just a few guidelines, without being based whereon no socio-politico-economic system can ever and anywhere be really just. At the same time, it has made it a religious duty of its followers to so organise their society, and to so keep up-dating its organisation, that, in the conditions obtaining at any given time and place, their society is a living and

visible embodiment of all round justice, and serves as a model for the rest of the world. The generality of mankind instinctively gravitates towards visible justice. It has been a small minority of cunning usurpers which has generally kept this basic human craving for justice suppressed, by exploiting the baser instincts of the masses, and has thus been acquiring and retaining socio-economic and race needs today is a sizeable group of people charged with missionary zeal for arousing the popular craving for all-round justice. Arousal of this basic popular craving alone can result in mankind getting rid of the all-round domination of the usurper classes. The question is which group of people is capable of being charged with this missionary zeal. The answer is; The Muslim Ummat, in which, in the earliest decades of its history, unflinching faith in the Quran had produced the said missionary zeal. This Ummat still has unflinching faith in the Quran, though, for various historical reasons, since very long it has been without that missionary zeal. Given the right type of leadership, there is no reason why that zeal cannot be revived in this Ummat through propagation of the correct interpretation of the real message of the Quran in the light of the facts and needs of the present age. There is no other human group possessing this potentiality.

15. Through his mature writings, Iqbal continuously exhorted the Muslim intelligentsia to realise their proper role in the circumstances prevailing in this age, so that, some day in the near future, this intelligentsia throws up from within itself the leadership of the requisite kind. In the light of his line of thinking, as outlined in the preceding two paras., what could be the aim of this exhortation?

Renaissance of Islam? Yes, but not for the betterment of the Muslim nation alone - Islamic renaissance, according to Iqbal, is the only practical way of ensuring enforcement of all-round justice thought out the world, which alone can bring about and sustain world-wide human brotherhood. Iqbal's immediate concern for his own nation is the result of his ultimate concern for the whole human race. This is abundantly clear from all his mature writings. Here, quotation of just one couplet of his should do:-

طهران ہو اگر عالم مشرق کا جنیوا

شاید کرۂ ارض کی تقدیر بدل جائے

This couplet, while admitting that Islamic Ummat (عالم مشرق) is Iqbal's immediate concern, proclaims unambiguously that his ultimate concern is the fate of the whole human race (کرۂ ارض کی تقدیر)

16. A critic is entitled to approve or disapprove of Iqbal's line of thinking; but, before arriving at his judgment in this regard, it is obviously necessary for him to make sure as to what really that line of thinking is. And, it should not be difficult, for anyone who would delve deep enough into Iqbal's mature writings, to discover the thought processes which have given birth to those writings. To declare that Iqbal was narrow-minded as compared to Radhakrishnan, which is what the extract (Xiii) read with the extract (xii) above does, leads one to suspect that the author of the book under reference has not taken the trouble of trying to find out the ultimate purpose for which Iqbal made it his mission to revolutionize the thinking of the Muslim intelligentsia. If the author had identified that ultimate purpose, he would have seen that:9T'bNQ actually bring into being world-wide human brotherhood and to lead mankind to the path of progress towards individual and collective perfection, was the life-mission of Iqbal, while Radhakrishnan, if it is conceded that he really desired brotherly internationalism, was an utopian dreamer, entertaining the pions hope for some such miracle to happen as would realise his dream! Mr V.P. Sing did something for the good of down trodden classes of Brahman ridden Indian Society. What did Dr Radhakrishnan do for the betterment of those hundreds of millions of unfortunate peoples as President of India and as an enlightened social worker? Did he dine with untouchable? Did he mix with those condemned by caste Hindus & their caste system?