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AN INTRODUCTION TO ALLAMA MUHAMMAD IQBAL: A BRIEF DISCUSSION ON IQBAL'S PHILOSYPHY OF ISLAMIC CULTURE AND PARTITION OF INDIA

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"The best land in the world is our India; We are its nightingales; this is our garden. Religion does not teach us to be enemies with each other: We are Indians, our homeland is our India. Then, in the recast version, Iqbal raises the cry:

China and Arabia are ours; India is ours. We are Muslims, the whole world is ours."

ABSTRACT:

Iqbal was a poet, religious philosopher, political activists, and supporter of autonomy to Muslim majority provinces in British India, but cannot be regarded as the 'main' architect of Pakistan. His basic concern was over the falling status of Muslims of India during British rule and ways to arrest the situation. His speech in 1930 at Allahabad session of the All India Muslim League is being always cited as his support to Pakistan, but later on he never made his position very clear over the issue of partition of British India. Yet his contribution to the formation of Pakistan cannot be entirely ruled out because he was speaking out the minds of the Muslim minorities who, by 1920s, not only raised the demand, but started whispering about having a separate socio-political space. He was a towering figure of Islamic modernism, a great poet and also a religious philosopher, whose thinking still has considerable significance. His writings are still being read and researched in India and Pakistan .

KEYWORDS: religious philosopher, Pakistan, India, Ummah, Ijtihad, Tauheed

INTRODUCTION:

Why was British India partitioned? Was the partition of India inevitable? These two and many more questions still haunt the historians and people from India and Pakistan. In the past many reasons have been explained, discussed and

debated, still the research puzzle remains unsolved. For the time being, even if one seals the debate over reasons for the partition, another pertinent question is: Who was an architect of Pakistan? This is related to the above question, and has been equally debated. For this there is a list of claimants, who some way or the other are regarded as an architect of Pakistan, but the front runners for this coveted status in Pakistan are: Mohammad Iqbal popularly known as "Allama" Iqbal, and Qaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. The debate started soon after the demise of Jinnah in 1948. Sayyid Abul Ala Maududi, leader of Jammat-i-Islami, who was against partition of British India and called Jinnah as Kafir-i-Azam, became powerful in the country he opposed to be formed. He wanted to replace Jinnah with a different nationalist icon with which the Jammat could more easily claim affinity. 4 It settled on Muhammad Iqbal, though Iqbal's religious views were in glaring contrast with those of Maududi's.5 Iqbal was a towering figure within the Muslim modernist movement in late colonial India, but his investment in pan-Islamic Muslim identity and politics made him easier to co-opt than the uncompromisingly secular Jinnah. Obviously, the role of Mohammad Iqbal cannot be entirely ignored, but it was Jinnah who made Pakistan a territorial reality. In this paper an attempt is being made to look into the following questions: How much did Iqbal's philosophy on Islam boost a sense of separatism among the Indian Muslims?

Was Iqbal in favour of partition of India into two separate sovereign countries? It will also talk about the context in which Iqbal was writing and conditions of Muslims in colonial India. This paper has relied on published letters of Iqbal, his translated works, and a number of works analysing his poems, politics and philosophy. On the issue of partition of British India in 1947, the author does not support the bargain theory but did believe that the population played a role, at least in the last hours of the partition of British India.

Early life:

Allama Sir Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938) was a poet, philosopher and politician born in Sialkot, British India (now in Pakistan), whose poetry in Urdu, Arabic and Persian is considered to be among the greatest of the modern era and whose vision of an independent state for the Muslims of British India was to inspire the creation of Pakistan. He is commonly referred to as Allama Iqbal, Allama meaning "Scholar". Iqbal was a strong proponent of the political and spiritual revival of Islamic civilisation across the world, but specifically in India; a series of famous lectures he delivered to this effect were published as The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam. One of the most prominent leaders of the All India Muslim League, Iqbal encouraged the creation of a "state in northwestern India for Indian Muslims" in his 1930 presidential address. Iqbal encouraged and worked closely with Muhammad Ali Jinnah, and he is known as Muffakir-e-Pakistan ("The Thinker of Pakistan"), Shair-e-Mashriq ("The Poet of the East"), and Hakeemul-Ummat ("The Sage of Ummah"). He is officially recognized as the "national poet" in Pakistan

The eldest of five siblings in a Kashmiri family. Iqbal's father Shaikh Nur Muhammad was a prosperous tailor, wellknown for his devotion to Islam, and the family raised their children with deep religious grounding. Iqbal was educated initially by tutors in languages and writing, history, poetry and religion. His potential as a poet and writer was recognized by one of his tutors, Syed Mir Hassan, and Iqbal would continue to study under him at the Scotch Mission College in Sialkot. The student became proficient in several languages and the skill of writing prose and poetry, and graduated in 1897. Following custom, at the age of 15 Iqbal's family arranged for him to be married to Karim Bibi, the daughter of an affluent Gujrati physician. The couple had two children: a daughter, Mi'raj Begam (born 1895) and a son, Aftab (born 1899). Iqbal's third son died soon after birth. The husband and wife were unhappy in their marriage and eventually divorced in 1916. Iqbal entered the Government College in Lahore where he studied philosophy, English literature and Arabic and obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree, graduating cum laude. He won a gold medal for topping his examination in philosophy. While studying for his masters' degree, Iqbal came under the wing of Sir Thomas Arnold, a scholar of Islam and modern philosophy at the college. Arnold exposed the young man to Western culture and ideas, and served as a bridge for Iqbal between the ideas of East and West. Iqbal was appointed to a readership in Arabic at the Oriental College in Lahore, and he published his first book in Urdu, The Knowledge of Economics in 1903. In 1905 Iqbal published the patriotic song, Tarana-e-Hind (Song of India).

At Sir Thomas's encouragement, Iqbal traveled to and spend many years studying in Europe. He obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree from Trinity College at Cambridge in 1907, while simultaneously studying law at Lincoln's Inn, from where he qualified as a barrister in 1908. In Europe, he started writing his poetry in Persian as well. Throughout his life, Iqbal would prefer writing in Persian as he believed it allowed him to fully express philosophical concepts, and it gave him a wider audience. It was while in England that he first participated in politics. Following the formation of the All-India Muslim League in 1906, Iqbal was elected to the executive committee of its British chapter in 1908. Together with two other politicians, Syed Hassan Bilgrami and Syed Ameer Ali, Iqbal sat on the subcommittee which drafted the constitution of the League. In 1907, Iqbal traveled to Germany to pursue a doctorate from the Faculty of Philosophy of the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität at Munich. Working under the supervision of Friedrich Hommel, Iqbal published a thesis titled: The Development of Metaphysics in Persia.

Literary career:

Upon his return to India in 1908, Iqbal took up assistant professorship at the Government College in Lahore, but for financial reasons he relinquished it within a year to practice law. During this period, Iqbal's personal life was in turmoil. He divorced Karim Bibi in 1916, but provided financial support to her and their children for the rest of his life. While maintaining his legal practice, Iqbal began concentrating on spiritual and religious subjects, and publishing poetry and literary works. He became active in the Anjuman-eHimayat-e-Islam, a congress of Muslim intellectuals, writers and poets as well as politicians and in 1919 became the general secretary of the organization. Iqbal's thoughts in his work primarily focused on the spiritual direction and development of human society, centered on experiences from his travel and stay in Western Europe and the Middle East. He was profoundly influenced by Western philosophers such as Friedrich Nietzsche, Henri Bergson and Goethe, and soon became a strong critic of Western society's separation of religion from state and what he perceived as its obsession with materialist pursuits. The poetry and philosophy of Mawlana Rumi bore the deepest influence on Iqbal's mind. Deeply grounded in religion since childhood, Iqbal would begin intensely concentrating on the study of Islam, the culture and history of Islamic civilization and its political future, and embrace Rumi as "his guide." Iqbal would feature Rumi in the role of a guide in many of his poems, and his works focused on reminding his readers of the past glories of Islamic civilization, and delivering a message of a pure, spiritual focus on Islam as a source for socio-political liberation and greatness. Iqbal denounced political divisions within and amongst Muslim nations, and frequently alluded to and spoke in terms of the global Muslim community, or the Ummah.

Political career:

While dividing his time between law and poetry, Iqbal had remained active in the Muslim League. He supported Indian involvement in World War I, as well as the Khilafat movement and remained in close touch with Muslim political leaders such as Maulana Mohammad Aliand Muhammad Ali Jinnah. He was a critic of the mainstream Indian National Congress, which he regarded as dominated by Hindus and was disappointed with the League when during the 1920s, it was absorbed in factional divides between the pro-British group led by Sir Muhammad Shafi and the centrist group led by Jinnah. In November 1926, with the encouragement of friends and supporters, Iqbal contested for a seat in the Punjab Legislative Assembly from the Muslim district of Lahore, and defeated his opponent by a margin of 3,177 votes. He supported the constitutional proposals presented by Jinnah with the aim of guaranteeing Muslim political rights and influence in a coalition with the Congress, and worked with the Aga Khan and other Muslim leaders to mend the factional divisions and achieve unity in the Muslim League.

Works in Persian:

Iqbal's poetic works are written mostly in Persian rather. Among his 12,000 verses of poem, about 7,000 verses are in Persian. In 1915, he published his first collection of poetry, the Asrar-e-Khudi (Secrets of the Self) in Persian. The poems delve into concepts of ego and emphasize the spirit and self from a religious, spiritual perspective. Many critics have called this Iqbal's finest poetic work. In Asrar-e-Khudi, Iqbal has explained his philosophy of "Khudi," or "Self." He proves by various means that the whole universe obeys the will of the "Self." Iqbal condemns self-destruction. For him the aim of life is selfrealization and self-knowledge. He charts the stages through which the "Self" has to pass before finally arriving at its point of perfection, enabling the knower of the "Self" to become the viceregent of Allah. Also in Persian and published in 1917, this group of poems has as its main themes the ideal community, Islamic ethical and social principles and the relationship between the individual and society. Although he is true throughout to Islam, Iqbal recognises also the positive analogous aspects of other religions.

Death:

In 1933, after returning from a trip to Spain and Afghanistan, Iqbal's health deteriorated. He spent his final years working to establish the Idara Dar-ul-Islam, an institution where studies in classical Islam and contemporary social science would be subsidized, and advocating the demand for an independent Muslim state. Iqbal ceased practicing law in 1934 and he was granted pension by the Nawab of Bhopal. After suffering for months from a series of protracted illnesses, Iqbal died in Lahore in 1938. His tomb is located in the space between the entrance of the Badshahi Mosque and the Lahore Fort.

Iqbal's philosophy of Islamic Culture:

The foremost core aspect of Muslim culture is the philosophy of Self, defended by Mohammad Allama Iqbal. The proposed philosophy is among one of his great chores first written in the Persian language such as Asrar-e-khudi and Rumuz-i-khudi. Which later translated into other languages such as in the English language by Professor R.A. Nicholson from Cambridge University, entitled "The Secrets of the Self". It renders the philosophical concept of the Self, (personality of an individual). The Secrets of self, followed by another translation of Iqbal's chore: Rumuz-ibekhudi by a Professor A.J. Arberry into the English language, entitled "The Mysteries of Selflessness" which means the individual towards society. Due to acquiring the paramount importance to Iqbal's work, the notion of his great philosophy, "The Self" was further comprehended systematically in his idyllic chores and in his lectures, more specifically, when it comes to "The Reconstruction of Religious Thoughts in Islam". Allama Iqbal enlightened the need for understanding the nature of the Self to understand the nature, (surrounding) of civilized culture and principles of its growth. Iqbal mentioned the relation of the Self with the dynamics of life. He further elaborates the Self, an energetic and divine creation of a being. Through which an individual shall contend to acquire the divine horizons of his personality and to get indulged in happenings of the universe to reach the pinnacle of an ambassador of God on earth. "Though the Self exhibits the central importance of one's (a person) manoeuvres". On which, Allama-Iqbal renunciate the other sets of philosophical and religious notions bolstering contradictions against the (Self) and its actuality (Ali, 2011). These unrestrained philosophical concepts also proposed the existence of Self as a misperceived idea. Also renders apathy, idleness, and dormancy as the allured things at most which seem paradoxical to the universal reality and its endeavours of life in relation with austerity. Hence, Iqbal defied their dogma of Self-induced meanings of the (Self) which is not only ruthless but also contradicts the Islamic perspective of the (Self). He also briefed an example of Muslim's downfall due to the misguidance of those schools of thought. On the other hand, Iqbal proposed the ideal notions of having the right morals in compliance with a religious perspective are just Self Actualization and Selfaffirmation.

Though the creation of Mankind is the paramount creativity of God, an individual shall discern his being as the foremost strength, and the likelihood to groom his spiritual presence to make society better (Abbas, 2017). Iqbal mandates the irregular and optimum fluctuation in (Self) always perpetuates the hike and decline of nations. To achieve enlightenment, it is an imperative act to strengthen your (Self). Also, it is the Self, which empowers to stand against the grain and in strong adversities. Perhaps, any nation will embrace disparities if they abandon their (Self). According to this perspective, the Universal relation of (Self) to matter(surroundings) and with the Culture an individual drives through Self. Which bestows one purpose of being an ambassador of God in life to live on Earth. Moreover, Allama Iqbal phrased the spiritual perspective into a SelfDevelopment. And ingeniously correlates with another notion known as "the liberty" (freedom) (Amin, 2012). Which elaborates that real liberty or freedom is the freedom of self. Perhaps the current existence of self is not in the matured form, to get off free from all uncertainties, an individual ought to tune his (Self) according to the guiding principles of God to be responsible and accountable. Which is the mere message in the spirit of Islam that bestows the comprehensive code of life. Following God's guidance, an individual's self is free to do anything in the vicinity of purity and spirituality which makes the (Self), a divine power, and the submission of self towards God. Iqbal mentioned the ability to surrender the self and love towards God, the utmost right to progress and nourish the (Self), the initial stage of self-development.

He explicitly stated the pinnacle of Self-development by being an ambassador of God. And devoting the self to righteous activities under the guiding principles of God to make the society better and peaceful in the Spirit of Islam. In defending the Muslim culture, he intensified the unseen relation of an individual's self with material(matter) and spirituality. He voiced through his insightful philosophies that the Materialistic world and the spiritual aspect of being are not two annihilating forces. Rather, they are merely connected in such a pattern that it all combines into One, the Self of an individual (Saeed, 2013). Though the matter (materialistic world) and spirituality are indivisible. Connecting these two aspects increase the intellectual and bestows transformations in culture to be civilized. Indeed, He cited the two significant terms which act as mind provoking for example, Alam-i-anfus (Spiritual world), Alam-i-afaq (material world). He vigorously opposed the contradicting schools of thought against both the spiritual and material world. He declared the utmost truth putting both the spiritual and material world in one perspective. He renunciate the predominance of one world over another and cited rationalism to bolster the unity of both in his poetical works. On the other hand, he expanded his philosophy by proposing another constituent of Muslim Culture, which is a society. Iqbal defended the concept of society by emphasizing the true essence of the Self of an individual. He explained that the (self) is quite versatile which is broader than the individual's physical existence (Aamir, 2020). The dynamics of self cater to subtle components which has a coherent relation to the society. Though, the concept of society is not a separate entity in the spirit of Islam. According to Iqbal, society plays a vital role in Human growth and development due to which an individual becomes accountable to form a better-civilized society. Iqbal cited the relation of society and self, "Self is an internal horizon of a being and society portrays the external horizon of a being. Both the self and society are in divine connection, due to which the importance of culture in Muslim society is briefly mentioned in the spirit of Islam. One of his chores such as Rumuz-i-bekhudi quotes "An individual seeks help from society, he intrinsically feels the impulse to acquire his best version, which helps him to learn discipline under the cosmological principles on Earth." Though, individual mediates the transformation of society in the perspective of cultural development (Nauman, 2018). Iqbal also discussed the relation between an Individual and society by using the phrase: "Alone he is weak and powerless, he exhibits vital energies which are immensely scattered everywhere around him, connecting to his narrow mind. Perhaps, he never becomes dormant, his livelihood is solely connected to a society which brings him to consciousness and exploring deep insights to enhance the consistency in growth and development of the (Self)." Iqbal vividly stated the universal connection between an individual's (Self) and society as an imperative gift through which he groomed himself and acquired his divinity. Iqbal's divine perspective also states individuals are the foundational component of its society (Khanday, 2018).

Indeed, society is transformed into a more sophisticated and peaceful organization through divine relations with an individual. Iqbal explicitly defended his concepts of society which depicts itself into a broad spectrum towards individuality. It's devoid of all limits and any race, or any geographical aspects. Though, it is common everywhere which maintains the coherence effect between an individual's self and the society. Moreover, its foundational unity depends on the uniform collaboration of faiths and purposes in life. Which enables one (a person) to sight visions and achieve the pinnacle of development when it comes to the (Self) and its surrounding environment. Iqbal described an ideology which inspires both individual and society is brings towards the spirit of Islam. In which he further mentioned the ideal Muslim society could be achieved through having a firm belief in Tawhid (Iqbal, 2015). Acquiring tawhid preludes the following of the last Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and practicing his (Sunnah). Iqbal deeply emphasized the integration of the Code of Ethics, guiding principles of the society in compliance with the Shariah Law, an Islamic comprehensive code of ethics. Iqbal quoted the downfall of Muslim society due to failure in compliance with the Islamic shariah code of ethics. Iqbal's strong stance enlightens the pinnacle of unity among Muslims that emerged from a Holy Place (Kabah) located in Mecca. Which exhibits a core of the Islamic belief system and it also congregates all Muslims across the globe through the holy journey (Pilgrimage) once a year. Another perspective of divine philosophy,

Iqbal also explained that A Muslim society shall be driven towards a vision and integrate their contemplation to explore the horizons in Science to acquire proficiency in it. Which he claimed a triumph in the Spirit of Islam (Razak, 2017, November 4). Perhaps, it bestows the prerequisites for preserving and promulgating the one faith Tawhid. Iqbal proposed another concept of sustaining society by honouring motherhood. Which he declared to be the true asset of society by providing uprightness of children which transcends from generation to generation (Asim, Nusrat and Khan, 2020).

Islam in Indian sub-continent:

As the conditions of Muslims and Islam in pre-partitioned India provided a context in which Iqbal's religious-cumpolitical ideas germinated, it is important to understand both. In contradiction to what is taught in school textbooks, the first connection of Islam with the sub-continent was through trade and commerce. Arab traders came first, their religion followed. Trade brought them to India's southern sea coasts and coasts of Sri Lanka, where small Muslim communities were established at least by the early eighth century. These traders played key economic roles and were patronised by nonMuslim kings like the Zamorin of Calicut (Kozhikode) who welcomed diverse merchant communities. In many kingdoms Arab and Jewish merchants not only sojourned on the Arabian Sea littoral of the sub-continent, but some were even granted special protection to practise their faiths, and were relieved of taxation. As connected through land, when the situation in the Arab peninsula turned worse and a race to spread Islam through power of the sword started, the subcontinent could not remain fully untouchable. Attacks on the sub-continent were made by central Asians and Arabs but the year 711 A.D is prominently considered as the founding year of Muslim rule in this part of the world. In reality, Muhammad bin Qasim's conquest seems to have been taken for granted at the time and in no sense turned into a watershed in subcontinent history. Instead, it was Turko-Afghans, who began to establish settled kingdoms in the northern heartlands of the sub-continent in the early thirteenth century by contract, and also began to imagine inaugurating an era of continuous Muslim rule. Hence Muslim rule in a true sense began with advancements made by Turko-Afghans rulers and ended when the British took charge of Delhi after crushing the rebellion of 1857.

With the arrival of Muslim rulers Islam spread in the sub-continent in many forms and for various reasons. Some people converted to Islam because its noble principles attracted many in its fold; at certain places, it was the religion of victors, imposed upon the vanquished and many converted to Islam to gain political patronage from the local Muslim rulers. Because of wide regional variations the impact of Islam on India is difficult to summarise. In the south and the east, Muslim rule was relatively benign, and inclusivist. In Hyderabad Deccan and Bengal, Muslim rulers presided over vast Hindu populations; and conversion was extensive and peaceful. However, some regions experienced the militant and exclusivist side of Islam, with the destruction of Hindu temples, and attacks on the Brahmin-dominated Hindu social order taking place in such renowned pilgrimage destinations such as Multan and Somnath. Muslims constituted about one-quarter of India's population around the time the British arrived. Under the Mughals, the Muslims were ruling elites, but this changed with the establishment of colonial rule. The change in status also changed their community practices. After Shah Alam II, the practice of reciting the name of the Ottoman Caliph, and no longer the Mughal emperor, as the defender and protector of the Muslim community in India started. Another significant change was that with the eclipse of the political authority of the Mughal emperor, the Ulema began to represent themselves as the protectors and custodians of the interests of the community. Their sociopolitical situation further aggravated during the

colonial rule, after the introduction of English as an official language, and changes made by the British. They forced them to be relegated to the bottom of the power ladder. Change in position, and status irked the earlier Muslim landlords and nobles. It was this group who was vociferously in favour of a separate state to re-gain their lost status. Once they felt subjugated they raised the slogan of existence of "two nations" in India. Not only Nawabs and landlords but also the Muslim middle class became restive due to their lost status. To overcome that support of Pan-Islamism and Khilafat by the Indian Muslims was the emotional need of the growing Muslim middle class, which was in search of an identity. In the first phase of the history of Muslim rule, the fact that the Muslim elite was in power kept Muslim religious consciousness dormant. It was invoked only when its grip on power was threatened.

Differences between Hindus and Muslims were there in the past also but during the British rule this sharpened. Communal competition between Hindus and Muslims began. G.D. Khosla writes that desiring to re-capture selfesteem, Indian minds harked back to ancient Hindu and Muslim cultures. Hindus sought solace in constructed memories of the Golden Age of Hindu imperialism and the Vedas. Muslims took recourse to the glory of the Prophet, the Khilafat and the Muslim conquest of Mediterranean countries. These sentiments were exploited by imperial rulers and communal groups in the twentieth century, eventually leading to partition in 1947. Another crucial factor was the process of 'symbol selection'; and the fact that Muslim elites chose divisive rather than composite symbols. 'Muslim leaders in north India in the late nineteenth century', Paul Brass writes, 'did not recognise a common destiny with the Hindus, because they saw themselves in danger of losing their privileges as a dominant community'. So they chose to emphasize 'a special sense of history incompatible with Hindu aspirations and a myth of Muslim decline into backwardness'. The use of religious symbols by leaders, in the long term, had political impact on the masses. In addition to lost status and religious revival, economic divide between the two communities encouraged communal polarisation. Though the economic gap between Hindus and Muslims were not very much, in certain region and some sectors of economy the balance was sharply one-sided due to various reasons. All these factors together created division between Hindus and Muslims, which was encouraged and exploited by the colonial rulers to serve their purpose. In 1906 the Muslim League was formed. One of the major reasons for its formation was that the Muslim leadership lost their trust in the Congress leadership, whom it considered a representative of Hindu interests. Though slammed for being a 'communal' organisation, which started the process of partition of India, the League was opposite to many such allegations. Until 1937 the League was a paper organisation. The branch in Bombay, Jinnah's home ground, could only boast of 71 members in 1927. The 1929 session was adjourned because of lack of quorum. When Igbal spoke at Allahabad in 1930 the meeting failed to muster the required quorum of 75 members. The Congress decision in the summer of 1937 to not include Muslim League members in its government in United Province (UP) created a space for the League's revival and offered Jinnah a chance to establish his hold in a province that had spurned his initial overtures. Congress opposed the idea of coalition despite Azad's assertion to the contrary. 30 Afterwards under the leadership of Jinnah the League gained support from Muslims and became a powerful force representing their voices. The political environment changed so much that until 1920s English speaking Muslims who were not too much concerned about seeing Hindus, Buddhists and followers of such religions converting to Islam, in fact their presence was considered as a political liability, began to welcome the converts. Later on, this awwam provided population to fight for Pakistan, which they got in 1947.

Mohammad Iqbal on the Muslim Community:

His productive life can be divided into two phases: pre-1908 and post1908. In the early part of his life, until Iqbal went to Cambridge in 1905, his poetry was imbued with a burning passion for Indian nationalism, and its heterogeneous culture. His poems expressed his eclectic outlook, his respect for Hindu gods, his profound feelings for the rivers, the hills, and the landscape of India. In 1902 Iqbal wrote "Aftab", an Urdu version of Gayatri Mantra, which was published in Makhzan along with an introduction. Then in A Temple for Mankind, he wrote:

Lift all these thicksome, hugesome veils

That God's little earth obscure, divide.

Let's bring together again

Our parted brethren at one place.

Let there no walls remain.

During this phase, he wrote Taranah-e-Hind (Saare-jehan se accha Hindustan Hamara). In 1904 this song of India he recited at the Young Men's Indian Association in Lahore at the request of Lala Hardyal. It extols the glories of his vision about Hindustan.

But after his return from Europe, in 1908, Iqbal was a changed man. He acquired a new world view. It is his post-1908 ideology which has its deep influence or legacy on the minds of his admirers who defend his 'tarana-i-hindi as a product of the time when he followed "a wrong political ideology". Now he began to reflect on religious issues in the wake of the European aggression against Muslim countries, including Turkey and Persia. To the western challenge, he, like his contemporaries Maulana Azad, the Ali brothers, and Hasrat Mohani, advocated 'Pan-Islamism as the political goal of the Islamic world.' He noted that the European countries, in their hectic struggle for power, were treating the Moslem countries (Iran, Egypt, Sudan, Turkey, Morocco), rather shabbily. He was deeply moved by it, and arrived at a conclusion that their emancipation lay in unity, and unity needed a spiritual relationship to string them together. He also challenged the secular ideas in Bandagi Namah. He writes about secular ideological subjugation of the nations of the East and their lure away from religion and in turn religious national identity. He writes, it is better to live for a millennia in a dangerous desert infected with scorpions, ants, venomous snakes and fiery winds, than to live for a minute in servitude. He wrote: "I have no prejudice against any community or nation in the world. All I want to see is Islam return to its pristine simplicity. I wish to see Indians living in peace and I am convinced that such a thing is possible even while every community retains its culture and individuality".

Talking about cultural differences between East and West and glorifying the eastern civilisation, Iqbal said East is the world of man, heart, while the west is the world of tan, body. Also the driving force of the East is ishq, love, while the

driving force of the west is aql, the intellect. On Islamic culture he said that only through the process of 'self-discovery' that Muslims could be free from ideological domination and any other impediments, thereby developing truly a true national identity. While conceding that the Arabs, who gave birth to Islam, contributed to its political evolution, he also took a note of the valuable contribution of non-Arabs in the field of arts and sciences, philosophy and medicine. He considered Iran as the single greatest factor in the growth of Islamic culture and civilisation. But his concept was not universal enough to include, say, African Islam or Indonesian Islam. He also talked about the persisting racialism in Islam, which is supposed to be a nondiscriminatory. He called for deracialisation of Islam to attain pan-Islamic identity. He also noted that the international ideal of Islam had been hitherto overshadowed or rather displaced by Arabian imperialism of earlier centuries of Islam.

Iqbal, a supporter of the Ash'ariyya school, regarded himself as Islam's messenger or Shair-I-Islam, and his poetry became a vehicle of Islamic thoughts. He took up a missionary challenge to compose poetry for the moral regeneration of the 'fallen Muslim community'. That does not mean Iqbal was against reforms in Islam or in favour of establishing the puritanical form of Islam. He rather, condemned, 'traditional' or 'obscurantist' Islam. By giving a rational interpretation of the Quran, he reinterpreted some of the essential Islamic ideals. He sought to revive a dynamic and radical element within Islam by restoring the freedom to use Ijtihad, a means of exercising independent judgment, as a necessary instrument of Muslim politics. But on specific issues, especially those relating to women whom he wanted to lead a 'pure' life, subject to men, and the Islamic restrictions of eating and drinking, he had a conservative view. He warned the reformers against moving too fast in introducing radical changes in the 'old institutions' and practices followed in Muslim countries. He was not happy with the reforms initiated by Kemal Ataturk in Turkey. In Javid Nama, (1120 and 1125) speaking through Sa'id Halim Pasha he writes:

Mustafa Kemal, who sang of a great renewal,

Said the old image must be cleansed and polished;

Yet the vitality of the Kaaba cannot be made new

If a new Lat and Manat from Europe enter its shrine.

No, the Turks have no new melody in their lute,

What they call new is only the old tune of Europe;

No fresh breath has entered into their breast,

No design of a new world is in their mind.

Criticizing the reforms in Turkey, further, in Javid Nama (3285) he writes:

The Turks have departed from their own selves, drunk with Europe,

Having quaffed honeyed poison from the land of Europe;

Of those who have abandoned the antidote of Iraq

What shall I say, except 'God help them'?

The slave of Europe, eager to show off.

In Shikwa and Jawab-i-Shikwah (Complaint and the Answer) Iqbal explains the situation of Muslims. Shikwa is shaped as a complaint against God, accusing him of having ceased to bestow His grace on the Muslims, who had propagated the faith of the Quran and spread God's name on earth. He writes:

The kafir gets all good things

(easements) free, full, fine

-uncultured brute he gets

Wealth, women, wine Whilst Muslims' fasts,

Privations, life sublime

Win him but words, sweet words!

We don't complain

(my, why should we?)

When this poem was first published, it produced two different reactions. While thousands of Muslims felt that the poet had expressed their innermost thoughts, in stirring verse, and thousands of tongues took up its refrains, the more orthodox were scandalised that God should be "accused of injustice". Both were wrong. Iqbal did not share the 'complaint' nor did he accuse God. He merely put into language the feelings of his generation, feelings which he knew were based on that perversity of human nature which blinds self-analysis and rationalises its own misfortunes by blaming the injustice of others. The Shikwa summed up the accumulated bitterness in the minds of Muslims who subconsciously shrank from uncomfortable introspection and blamed "Fate" for the ills which they had become heirs to. When he had thus effectively focused attention on the degradation of the Muslims, for which they were holding the caprice of Providence responsible, the poet produced his Jawab-i-Shikwah, pricking their bubble of complacent selfdelusion. Like all religion, reforms in religious practice, introduction of modern values, and rationality have been debated from a long time in Islam. In this debate Iqbal, like Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, sided with religion. He rejected secular and material foundation of democracy and batted for the Islamic concept of Tauheed (oneness of God or monotheism), the unity of Allah and the unity of life. Tauheed for Iqbal is the unifying force which joins material and spiritual aspects of life into the simple and united entity of life. The most important feature of Muslim society is its faith in the unity of God (Tauheed). God alone is the ultimate source of all power and authority in the material as well as the moral world. Without full faith in this aspect, the doctrines of Tauheed would be imperfect and meaningless. It is this lesson and this implication of the doctrine which in his view the modern age needs. In The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam he writes that a careful study of the Quran and various schools of scholastic theology that arose under the inspiration of Greek philosophy very much broadened the outlook of Muslim thinkers. However, on the whole, it obscured their vision of the Quran. The spirit of Quran was essentially anti-classical, and the result of this perception was a kind of intellectual revolt, the full significance of which has not been realised even up to the present day. The main purpose of the Quran is to awaken in man the higher consciousness of his manifold relations with God

and the universe. Giving precedence to God over science he writes "if God cease to create accidents, the atom ceases to exist as an atom". This does not mean that Iqbal was not receptive to new ideas, rather he was. In Reconstruction he remarked: "It must however be remembered that there is no such thing as finality in philosophical thinking. As knowledge advances and fresh avenues of thought are opened, other views, and probably sounder views than those set forth in these lectures are possible. Our duty is carefully to watch the progress of human thought and to maintain an independent critical attitude towards it."

Although he glorified Islam, Iqbal remained an unrelenting critic of ranting Mullahs who distorted religion and spread hatred. Instead of heeding the Mullahs, Muslims must listen to their own hearts. Ijtihad, the jihad of the mind, was the moving principle of Islam. Without an inner struggle Muslims could not recover the ethical virtues embodied in the Quranic revelation.68 In Reconstruction Iqbal believes that the idea of Ijtihad has its origin in the well known verse of the Quran- "And to those who exert We show Our path". His basic concern was the Muslim community. In order to meet its growing needs, he even attempted a 'revision' and 'reconstruction' of religious thought in Islam. "Even the most orthodox mullah has no right to expel anybody from Islam as long as he has faith in its two basic principles: Tauheed and Risalat (finality of Mohammad's prophethood)." He declared the Ahmediahs being outside the fold of Islam, as they rejected the second principle by revering their leader, Ghulam Ahmad Mirza, as a prophet of God. He insisted on the need of Ijtehad (innovation in religious thought), and of satisfying cultural urges of its followers. "For being a live member of the Muslim Community unconditional faith in Islam is not enough. One must imbibe its culture as well". For Iqbal, Islam was not merely a religious system, but also a political system to be subscribed to by all members of the Muslim Millat (community), which denotes a supra national 'nation' of believers. The greatest service that modern thought has rendered to Islam, and as a matter of fact to all religion, consists in its criticism of what we call material or natural-a criticism which discloses that the merely material has no substance until we discover it rooted in the spiritual. There is no such thing as the profane world. In the Reconstruction he further writes "The essence of Tauheed as a working force is equality, solidarity and freedom. The state from Islamic standpoint is an endeavour to transform these ideal principles into space time forces, an aspiration to realise them in a definite human organisation".

Also, committed to the notion of Millat, he repudiated the British constitutional measures, such as separate electorates and weightage for resolving the communal disease. He felt that the Congress brand of nationalism posed a threat to the protection of Muslim cultural and political aspirations. By demanding a separate identity for Muslims, he thought that communal tension would be contained, and Hindu communal forces would be held at bay. He wanted the merging of Muslim nations into a universal commonwealth on the basis of Shari at - a conception that was central to his poetic vision. Iqbal was not an admirer of Mughal ruler Akbar because of his propagation of Din-e-Illahi, instead he was for Aurangzeb who had faith in Shari at. On Millat, like many other pre-partition and post-partition scholars, Iqbal failed to recognise that Muslims are not a single entity, instead divided on the basis of many hierarchical identities. It is nonrecognition of these differences that led to the emergence of conflicts based on primordial identities in Pakistan, since the 1950s. Iqbal was an admirer of strong leadership; and praised men of a dynamic type who are self-possessed, and of firm determination. He called them sometimes Mard-e-Qalandar, sometimes Mard-e-Hur, and sometimes Mard-e-Mumin. That does not mean he was a supporter of Fascism. He declared himself against all forms of state worship, whether Fascistic or Communistic. He gave the individual the right to differ from the views of the state. This argument

is also supported by the statement of Iqbal in which he says, "Islam as a system of emotional unification recognizes the worth of the individual as such, and rejects blood-relationship as the basis of human unity". In contradistinction to Nietzsche's, who is a character in Javid Nama, superman who mocks at religion and spring exclusively from the aristocratic stock to ride roughshod over the demons, Iqbal's perfect man is adorned with the attribute even of God. For Iqbal political ideology of a country should primarily be composed of two basic elements, namely: Quranic concept of Universal Millat, and his concept of Khudi(self). Iqbal wants the 'self' of the individual integrated into the 'self' of the Ummah without any intermediate stage in between. His concept of khudi, of a creative individuated selfhood, is articulated against mystical notions of fana, or the annihilation of the individual self in the presence of God. He defines it as a sense that "all feeling of separation is... ignorance; and all "otherness" is mere appearance, a dream, a shadowa differentiation born of relation essential to the self-recognition of the Absolute'. In a speech delivered in Tehran on the occasion of the First International Conference on Igbal, March 10-12, 1986, the then president of Iran, Sayyid Ali Khameni, stated that the Islamic Republic of Iran is 'the embodiment of Iqbal's dream'. He added that our people have translated into action his doctrine of selfhood'. Linking the individual with attainment of the self in Javid Nama through The Martyr-King (3335) Iqbal writes:

How man grows from a handful of dust

With a heart, and with desire in that heart!

His concern is to taste the delight of rebellion,

Not to behold anything but himself;

For without rebellion the self is unattainable,

And while the self is not attained, defeat is inevitable.

Iqbal, definitely, suggested that the power of Ijtihad be transferred from Ulemas to the legislature. But he was aware of the difficulties this suggestion might create in a country like India where the legislature would include non-Muslims also. While discussing the issue in another context, he conceded that "the concept of separation of church and state is not altogether unknown to Islam." But this separation, he hastened to add, was essentially that of functions and not of beliefs. He insisted that Church State should not be more dominant, and rule all other ideas embodied in the system of Islam. According to Iqbal, the spiritual and the temporal domains were not distinct in Islam since "the nature of the act, however secular in its import, is determined by the attitude of mind with which the agent does it". Iqbal's philosophical reconstructions of Islamic thought made plain was the gaping chasm between a view of Indian nationalism based on keeping religion out of politics and the normative Muslim conception of treating the spiritual and temporal domains in non-oppositional terms.

As capitalism and communism were two leading thoughts of that period or any period, Iqbal was critical towards both. He was for a society based on Islamic ideals and values. In Javid Nama (1070) he writes:

The soul of both is impatient and intolerant,

Both of them know not God, and deceive mankind.

One lives by production, the other by taxation

And man is a glass caught between these two stones

He also tried to use Islam as a tool against socialism. In a letter to Jinnah he writes:".... but as I have said above in order to make it possible for Muslim India to solve these (communal) problems it is necessary to redistribute the country and to provide one or more Muslim states with absolute majorities. Don't you think that time for such a demand has already arrived....Perhaps this is the best reply you can give to atheistic socialism of Jawaharlal Nehru". This shows he wanted Jinnah to raise the demand of Muslim India to fight against the socialism of Nehru.

Iqbal's Idea and Pakistan:

Does Iqbal's thought, discussed above, influence the partition of India? Yes it influenced partition, but it did not lead to the partition of India. More or less similar views had been expressed by Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan and a few other scholars during those days. He never declared that as Muslims were a different nation, which Sayyid Ahmed Khan and later on Jinnah expressed, a different country is needed for them. Indeed, as Ayesha Jalal marks out, it was not until 1946 that Pakistan became a realistic option. The demand for Pakistan should be viewed as a bargaining position on the part of Jinnah and the Muslim League, which did not exclude other possible political arrangements. In this context Iqbal can be seen as working within an open-ended context of a spectrum of possibilitieS Ideologically, he was against the idea of nation and nationalism. For him, if it is not geographic nationalism, which was anti-thetical to the universalising aspects of Islam. He associated nationalism with jahiliyat, and described the conception as having the same role as the rejection of the finality of Muhammad's prophethood in the beliefs of Qadianis.

He first encountered active politics when, during his student days in London in 1908, he was chosen as a member of the executive council of the newly established, British branch of the Indian Muslim League. The appointment of the Simon Commission in 1927 split the Muslim League into two factions, one led by Sir Muhammad Shafi and the other by Mohammad Ali Jinnah. In 1929, Iqbal joined the Shafi group, and for four years (1926-30) he was president of the Punjab Muslim League.96 It was a part of his speech at the Allahabad session of the All India Muslim League's conference, in 1930, which draws controversy, and tags him as "spiritual architect" of Pakistan. In first part of that historic speech he stated: I would like to see the Punjab, North West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state.....formation of a consolidated North-West Muslim state appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims at least of North West India". In a later part he said "The idea need not alarm the Hindus or the British. India is the greatest Muslim country in the world. The life of Islam as a cultural force in this country very largely depends on its centralisation in a specified territory.....I demand the formation of a consolidated Muslim State in the best interests of India and Islam. For India, it means security and peace resulting from an internal balance of power; for Islam an opportunity to rid itself of the stamp that Arabian imperialism was forced to give it, to mobilise its law, its education, its culture and to bring them into closer contact with its own original spirit and with the spirit of modern times."

This vision of Iqbal reached its territorial fulfilment in the post-1971 Pakistan with its boundaries almost what he had in mind. The part of the speech was published in The Times on October 3, 1931 by Dr. Edward Thomson, who called it a 'demand' for a Muslim state. To clarify his stand, Iqbal wrote a response to that piece: I would like to see the Punjab, NorthWest.....may I tell Dr Thomson, in this passage I do not put forward a "demand" for a Moslem state outside the British Empire, but only a guess at the possible outcome in the dim future of the mighty forces now shaping the destiny of the Indian sub-continent. No Indian Muslim with any pretence to sanity contemplates a Moslem state or series of States in North-West India outside the British Commonwealth of Nations as a plan of practical politics......I am all for a redistribution of India into provinces with effective majorities of one community or another on lines advocated by the Nehru and the Simon Reports. Also, in a letter dated 6th March 1934 to Raghib Ehsan of Calcutta, Iqbal wrote: 'I am enclosing two copies of Edward Thompson's review of my book. It is interesting in many ways, and you may like to publish it in your paper...... Please note that the author of this review confuses my scheme with Pakistan. I propose to create a Muslim province within the Indian federation; the 'Pakistan' scheme proposes separate Federation of Muslim provinces in the north west of India outside the Indian federation directly related to England.' Iqbal's proposal was set firmly within an all India context. He wanted those regions to be within India, and demanded one third representation to Muslims of the rest of the country in the federal legislature. His statement was more in sense of giving more autonomy to these regions. In that historic speech, Iqbal further said "I do not put forward a "demand" for a Moslem state outside the British empire......No Indian Moslem with any pretence to sanity contemplates a Moslem state or series of states in North Western India outside the British commonwealth of nation as a plan of practical politics". His recommendation was on similar lines and reasons that had prompted the Nehru report to recommend the separation of Sindh from Bombay presidency and to constitute the NWFP into an "independent" administrative unit. Also, his intention was to pull the Punjabi politicians out of their small corner, their 'ruralism', into a wider context related to India's other Muslims. In this he was not widely supported by Sind or NWFP and in Punjab also his idea was not well received. Also in a letter to Jinnah, Igbal wrote on 28th May 1931: ".... After a long and careful study of Islamic law, I have come to the conclusion that if this system of law is properly understood and applied at least the right to subsistence is secured to everybody. But the enforcement and development of the shariat of Islam is impossible in this country without a free Muslim state or states. This has been my honest conviction for many years and I still believe this to be the only way to solve the problem of bread for Muslims as well as to secure a peaceful India. If such thing is impossible in India, the only other alternative is a civil war which as a matter of fact is going on for some time in the shape of Hindu-Muslim riots......But as I have said above in order to make it possible for Muslim India to solve these problems it is necessary to redistribute the country and to provide one or more Muslim states with absolute majorities." In this letter he has used the word state or states. In his conception of state(s) he did not include Bengal and Muslim minority regions, before 1937. In his advice to M.A. Jinnah he stated "I think that the Muslims of North West India and Bengal ought at present [to] ignore Muslim minority provinces. This is the best course to adopt in the interests of Muslim majority and minority provinces". By state or states he meant federal division of power with autonomy to Muslim states, and not partition of India. To clarify more, in one of his poems in Javid Nama written in 1932 Iqbal has used the word 'India', and talked about two traitors (Mir) Jafar of Bengal and (Mir) Sadiq of Deccan, due to whom their kingdoms were colonised. Not in similar letters and spirit, but the full poem does evoke Iqbal's tarana-i-hind. This contradicts all those who find him an architect of Pakistan after his speech in 1930. He writes (2565):

A nation, which had loosed the bonds of every nation,

Thus lost its high sovereignty and its faith.

Do you know that the land of India,

Dear to the heart of every sensitive soul,

A land whose every manifestation lit up the world,

Now grovels amid dust and blood?

Further in 2635 he writes:

His (Jafar's) treachery divided the people's unity;

His nation is demeaned by the fact of his being.

Whenever a nation is devastated

The root to its ruin is a Sadiq or a Jaafar.

God save me from the spirit of Jaafar,

Save me from the spirits of the present time.

In this stanza he talks about treachery and people's unity, which means while writing Javid Nama in 1932, he was for unity and not separation or partition.

The idea of a separate Muslim state was a bargaining point mooted by Iqbal, as a political alternative in case the leaders of the All India National Congress did not concede the demands made at the All-Parties Muslim Conference, which still sought a federal solution to the Hindu-Muslim conflict. After his famous lecture in 1930, in 1931 and 1932 he represented Muslims of India at the Round Table Conference in England to discuss the political future of India. In a statement issued on 6 December 1933, Iqbal contended that the Aga Khan had offered Mahatma Gandhi Muslim cooperation, if the Congress agreed to accept the Muslim demands and regarded Mahatma Gandhi's condition that the Muslim should not support the claims of the depressed classes as "inhuman". Pandit Nehru refuted both charges. On Iqbal's question how India's problem could be solved if the majority community was prepared neither to make concessions nor to accept the award of a third party, Pandit Nehru writes that Iqbal thought that there were only two alternatives, either to allow British imperialism to continue permanently or to redistribute India on the basis of religious, historical and cultural affinities. Nehru writes: "I do not think that these are the only two alternatives he mentions. There are many other avenues. In any event he ought to know full well, that if any community, majority or minority, seeks an alliance with imperialism, it will have to face the unrelenting and continuous opposition and hostility of Indian nationalism. As a matter of fact, no community or minority can do so. Only a few leaders and upper class people may do so, for every community as a whole suffers from it. The masses can never compromise with imperialism for their only hope lies in freedom from its shackles. Nor do I believe in the religious redistribution of India. Such divisions are most undesirable and cannot take place in the modern world. But I am not against redistribution or reshaping of different provinces which will give different cultural groups the fullest opportunity for self-development". Adressing Iqbal, about post-Khilafat agitation, which ended in the end of Khalifa rule in Turkey by Kemal Ataturk, Nehru wrote: "The old feudal leaders who had laid low crept back into prominence, helped by British policy, which had always supported

them. But they could not come back to old position because time had changed. The Moslem were also throwing up, rather belatedly, a middle class, and the very experience of a mass political movement, under the leadership of the National Congress, had made a vital difference. Though the mentality of the Moslem masses and the new growing middle class was shaped essentially by events, Sir Mohammad Iqbal, played an important part in influencing the latter and especially the younger generation. The masses were hardly affected by him. He was influenced by the circumstances then prevailing and mass feeling among the Moslems, and he himself influenced and added intensity of these sentiments. Yet he was very far from being a mass leader, he was a poet, an intellectual and a philosopher with affiliation to the old feudal order. Iqbal's first Persian work, Asrar-i-Khudi, published in 1915, on its first appearance took by storm the younger generation of Indian Moslems. The admirers and supporters of Iqbal's role as an architect of Pakistan cite a statement of Jinnah to Mr Matloob Sayyed, his Secretary after the Muslim League passed the Pakistan Resolution:- "Iqbal is no more amongst us, but had he been alive he would have been happy to know that we did everything that he wanted us to do". Then in a foreword to Iqbal's letters, the Quaid-i-Azam wrote, in 1943, about Iqbal's part in the creation of Pakistan:- His views were substantially in consonance with my own and had finally led me to the same conclusion as a result of careful examination and study of the constitutional problems facing India and found expression in due course in the united will of Muslim India as enumerated in the Lahore Resolution of the All India Muslim League, popularly known as Pakistan Resolution passed on 23rd March 1940. In the Pakistan Resolution the word is 'states', which Iqbal also supported but within British India and not as a separate sovereign country or countries. In Pas Chih Bayad Kard Ay Aqwam-I Sharq (What Should Then be Done O People of the East), published in 1936, Iqbal has written Lament on the differences among Indians. In the first section he dealt with the problem of the Muslims vis-à-vis the Hindus of the subcontinent. He has written "Freedom of the country from the British bondage was the ideal before all, but the Hindu leaders seemed to behave as if they wanted to inherit from the British Government the authority to rule the country without sharing it with other communities." What percentage of Indian Muslims favoured an independent Pakistan is still unclear, but there is no doubt that the most prominent community leaders wanted a separate state - or at least staked out a claim for Pakistan in the hope of winning concessions in the final round of negotiations. Iqbal's position was on this line.

CONCLUSION:

In the modern world Iqbal's poems played a crucial role in the successful Iranian revolution of 1979. After the revolution, Ayatollah Khameni stated that in its conviction that the Quran and Islam are to be basis of all revolutions and movements, Iran was following the path shown by Mohammad Iqbal. Another leader, Dr Ali Shariati, who has been described as core ideologue of the Iranian revolution characterised Iqbal as a figure who brought a message of 'rejuvenation', 'awakening 'and power to the Muslim world. He defined Iqbal's work as a jihad, salvation, awareness and liberation in the Muslim World. But the situation has changed since the USSR and USA's misadventure in Afghanistan. Post 11 September 2001 attack on twin towers in New York, followed by the so called Global War Against Terrorism, have further exacerbated violence in West and South Asia.

At present, Islam, as a religion is drawing a lot of attention because radical groups are using it to support their deeds and cover up their heinous acts. In such a situation both reforms and rational interpretation of religion are needed. In this Iqbal can be of a help, but this cannot be in a very significant amount. Iqbal criticised the reforms in Turkey but

never talked about the obscurantist values followed in other parts of the Arab world. As a result of those reforms, today, except in Turkey (and even there, according to many accounts) religious radicalism is on a high rise in all other Islamic countries and there is a growing intolerance on alternative ideas among the people.

In my personal interaction with Pakistani middle and upper class, I have found out that they have developed a negative portrait of Jinnah. I found three reasons for this. Firstly, the majority members of these classes always look towards India for various reasons, including, 'unity of Pakistan'. They think that if Pakistan had not been formed, they too would have been reaping the benefits of development and growth like their class counterparts in India. It is their class interests which make them critical towards Jinnah. The rise in militancy and violence too makes them question Jinnah's rationality for a religion-based state. Secondly, the conservatives among these classes find Jinnah not suitable to propagate and promote their dogmatic religious ideas. Hence, Iqbal is an ideal for them. Thirdly, what some scholars terms Punjabisation of Pakistan, is also a reason. Iqbal was from Punjab, while Jinnah was a non-Punjabi, so an outsider.

Conclusion Iqbal was a firm believer in religion without which the social system cannot work properly. That is why he focussed his efforts on the revival of Islam and the protection of Islamic society. He believed Islam to be the most valuable contribution to world thought. Islamic society has a permanent element in its structure of thought, such as the unity of God, the finality of Prophethood, the sharia't, the Islamic code of law and Akhuwah, (Brotherhood). To Iqbal, the stable character of a society directly depends upon the essential regard for the ultimate realities that govern life. From the above assessment of Iqbal's views it can be said that Iqbal defines Tawhid, Risalah, and Akhuwah as the foundational and basic principles of Ummah (Muslim community). For him, if a community deviates from any of these principles, it will deviate from the actual goals. Thus, Iqbal was the most dynamic scholar-philosopher of the twentieth century, who gave many valuable ideas and vehemently emphasized that Muslims should hold fast to the teachings of the Qur'an in order to progress in life.

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