IQBAL AND HIS FAMOUS ADDRESS in 1930

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Essay On The Life Of Allama Iqbal

Allama Muhammad Iqbal was born at Sialkot, India (now in Pakistan), on ninth November, 1877 of a pious family of small traders. His father's name was Noor Muhammad. His ancestors came from Kashmir. He got his education from government college, Lahore. In Europe from 1905 to 1908, he earned his degree in philosophy from the university of Cambridge, certified as a barrister in London, and obtained a doctorate from the college of Munich. His thesis, The improvement of Metaphysics in Persia, found out a few elements of Islamic spiritualism formerly unknown in Europe.

Return from Europe

On his return from Europe, he received his livelihood by using the practice of legislation, but his popularity got here from his beautiful Persianand Urdu-language poetry, which became written within the classical fashion for public oration. His poetry have become widely recognized, even among the illiterate. Almost all the cultured Indian and Pakistani Muslims of his and later generations have had the habit of quoting Iqbal. Even we can say that his poetry is famous in all over the world.

Before he visited Europe, his poetry affirmed Indian nationalism, as in Naya shawala ("the new Altar"), but time faraway from India brought about him to shift his perspective. He got here to criticize nationalism for a twofold motive: in Europe it had brought about destructive racism and imperialism, and in India it was now not founded on an adequate degree of common cause. In a speech brought at Aligarh in 1910, beneath the title "Islam as a Social and Political best," he indicated the brand new Pan-Islamic course of his hopes. The recurrent issues of Iqbal's poetry are a memory of the vanished glories of Islam, a criticism approximately its present decadence, and a name to unity and reform. Reform may be accomplished by strengthening the individual through 3 successive ranges: obedience to the regulation of Islam, strength of mind, and reputation of the concept that everyone is doubtlessly a vicegerent of God (na`ib, or mu`min). Moreover, the life of action is to be favored to ascetic resignation.

Three widespread poems from this period, Shikwah ("The grievance"), Jawab-e shikwah ("the answer to the complaint"), and Khizr-e rah ("Khizr, the guide"), had been posted later in 1924 inside the Urdu series Bang-e dara ("the decision of the Bell"). In those works Iqbal gave excessive expression to the pain of Muslim powerlessness. Khizr (Arabic: Khidr), the Qur`anic prophet who asks the maximum tough questions, is pictured bringing from God the baffling problems of the early 20th centurry.

Popularity got here in 1915 with the publication of his long Persian poem Asrar-e khudi (The secrets of the Self). He wrote in Persian because he sought to deal with his enchantment to the whole Muslim international. In this work he presents a idea of the self that may be a sturdy condemnation of the self-negating quietism (i.E., the belief that perfection and religious peace are attained by using passive absorption in contemplation of God and divine matters) of classical Islamic mysticism; his criticism bowled over many and excited controversy. Iqbal and his admirers progressively maintained that innovative self-confirmation is a fundamental Muslim distinctive feature;

his critics stated he imposed issues from the German logician Friedrich Nietzsche on Islam.

The dialectical satisfactory of his thinking changed into expressed by the next long Persian poem, Rumuz-e bikhudi (1918; The Mysteries of Selflessness). Written as a counterpoint to the individualism preached inside the Asrar-ekhudi, this poem called for self-surrender.

Lo, like a candle wrestling with the night time
O'er my personal self I pour my flooding tears.
I spent my self, that there is probably more mild,
Extra loveliness, greater pleasure for different guys.

The Muslim network, as Iqbal conceived it, ought successfully to train and to inspire generous service to the beliefs of brotherhood and justice. The mystery of selflessness became the hidden power of Islam. In the long run, the best great mode of energetic self-attention become the sacrifice of the self in the service of causes more than the self. The paradigm was the lifestyles of the Prophet Muhammad and the devotion of the primary believers. The second poem completes Iqbal's idea of the very last destiny of the self.

Later, he published 3 greater Persian volumes. Payam-e Mashriq (1923; "Message of the East"), written in reaction to J.W. Von Goethe's West-östlicher Divan (1819; "Divan of West and East"), affirmed the conventional validity of Islam. In 1927 Zabur-e 'Ajam ("Persian Psalms") regarded, about which A.J. Arberry, its translator into English, wrote: "Iqbal displayed here an altogether first-rate expertise for the most delicate and exquisite of all Persian patterns, the ghazal," or love poem. Javid-nameh (1932; "The tune of Eternity") is taken into consideration Iqbal's masterpiece. Its subject, paying homage to Dante's Divine Comedy, is the ascent of the poet, guided by the extremely good 13th-century Persian mystic Jalal advert-Din ar-Rumi, thru all of the realms of notion and revel in to the very last come upon.

Iqbal's later guides of poetry in Urdu have been Bal-e Jibril (1935; "Gabriel's Wing"), Zarb-e kalim (1937; "The Blow of Moses"), and the Armaghan-e Hijaz (1938; "gift of the Hejaz"), which contained verses in each Urdu and Persian. He is considered the finest poet in Urdu and Persian of the twentieth century.

Iqbal as a Philosopher

His philosophical position changed into articulated within the Reconstruction of spiritual thought in Islam (1934), a quantity based on six lectures brought at Madras, Hyderabad, and Aligarh in 1928-29. He argued that a rightly focused guy must unceasingly generate vitality through interaction with the functions of the residing God. The Prophet Muhammad had back from his unitary experience of God to let loose in the world a brand new form of manhood and a cultural international characterized by means of the abolition of priesthood and hereditary kingship and by means of an emphasis at the look at of records and nature. The Muslim community inside the gift age ought, through the exercise of ijtihad--the precept of felony development--to plot new social and political institutions. He additionally encouraged a theory of ijma'--consensus. Iqbal tended to be

progressive in adumbrating trendy ideas of trade but conservative in initiating real change.

In the course of the time that he became turning in those lectures, Iqbal started out working with the Muslim League. On the annual session of the league at Allahabad, in 1930, he gave the presidential address, in which he made a famous announcement that the Muslims of northwestern India ought to demand reputation as a separate country.

Iqbal's grave in Lahore

After a long period of illness, Iqbal died in April 1938 and became buried in front of the incredible Badshahi Mosque in Lahore. Two years later, the Muslim League voted for the concept of Pakistan. That the poet had encouraged the making of that choice, which became a fact in 1947, is undisputed. He has been acclaimed as the founder of Pakistan, and each year Iqbal Day is well known by means of Pakistanis.

Elements of his concept are explored in k.G. Saiyidain, Iqbal's educational Philosophy, 6th ed. Rev. (1965), a well-known analysis of the relevance of Iqbal's ideas about education written via a prominent Indian educationist; Annemarie Schimmel, Gabriel's Wing, second ed. (1989), a radical analysis of Iqbal's spiritual symbolism, such as a complete bibliography in English; Syed Abdul Vahid, Iqbal: His artwork and idea, new ed. (1959), a general advent; Hafeez Malik (ed.), Iqbal, Poet-logician of Pakistan (1971), representative Pakistani views; and S.M.H. Burney (S.M.H. Barni), Iqbal, Poet-Patriot of India (1987), focusing on nationalism and secularism in his poetry.

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ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

Allahabad Session

December-1930

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRES

BY

DR. SIR MUHAMMAD IQBAL

BARRISTER-AT-LAW,

LAHORE

Gentlemen,

I am deeply grateful to you for the honour you have conferred upon me in inviting me to preside over the deliberations of the All-India Muslim League at one of the most critical moments in the history of Muslim political thought and activity in India. I have no doubt that in this great assembly there are men whose political experience is far more extensive than mine, and for whose knowledge of affairs I have the highest respect. It will, therefore, be presumptuous on my part to claim to guide an assembly of such men in the political decisions which they are called upon to make today. I lead no party; I follow no leader. I have given the best part of my life to a careful study of Islam, its law and polity, its culture, its history and its literature. This constant contact with the spirit of Islam, as it unfolds itself in time, has, I think, given me a kind of insight into its significance as a world fact. It is in the light of this insight, whatever its value, that, while assuming that the Muslims of India are determined to remain true to the spirit of Islam, I propose, not to guide you in your decisions, but to attempt the humbler task of bringing clearly to your consciousness the main principle which, in my opinion, should determine the general character of these decisions.

Islam and Nationalism

It cannot be denied that Islam, regarded as an ethical ideal plus a certain kind of polity - by which expression I mean a social structure, regulated by a legal system and animated by a specific ethical ideal - has been the chief formative factor in the life-history of the Muslims of India. It has furnished those basic emotions and loyalties which gradually unify scattered individuals and groups, and finally transform them into a well-defined people, possessing a moral consciousness of their own. Indeed it is no exaggeration to say that India is perhaps the only country in the world where Islam, as a people-building force, has worked at its best. In India, as elsewhere, the structure of Islam as a society is almost entirely due to the working of Islam as a culture inspired by a specific ethical ideal. What I mean to say is that Muslim society, with its remarkable homogeneity and inner unity, has grown to be what it is, under the pressure of the laws and

institutions associated with the culture of Islam. The ideas set free by European political thinking, however, are now rapidly changing the outlook of the present generation of Muslims both in India and outside India. Our younger men inspired by these ideas, are anxious to see them as living forces in their own countries, without any critical appreciation of the facts which have determined their evolution in Europe. In Europe, Christianity was understood to be a purely monastic order which gradually developed into a vast Church-organisation. The protest of Luther was directed against this Church-organisation, not against any system of polity of a secular nature, for the obvious reason that there was no such polity associated with Christianity. And Luther was perfectly justified in rising in revolt against this organisation; though, I think, he did not realize that in the peculiar conditions which obtained in Europe his revolt would eventually mean the complete displacement of universal ethics of Jesus by the growth of a plurality of national and hence narrower systems of ethics. Thus the upshot of the intellectual movement initiated by such men as Rousseau and Luther was the break-up of the one into a mutually ill-adjusted many, the transformation of a human into a national outlook, requiring a more realistic foundation, such as the notion of country, and finding expression through varying systems of polity evolved on national lines, i.e., on lines which recognize territory as the only principle of political solidarity. If you begin with the conception of religion as complete other-worldliness, then what has happened to Christianity in Europe is perfectly natural. The universal ethics of Jesus is displaced by national systems of ethics and polity. The conclusion to which Europe is consequently driven is that religion is a private affair of the individual, and has nothing to do with what is called man's temporal life. Islam does not bifurcate the unity of man into an irreconcilable duality of spirit and matter. In Islam God and the universe, spirit and matter, church and state, are organic to each other. Man is not the citizen of a profane world to be renounced in the interest of a world of spirit situated elsewhere. To Islam matter is spirit realizing itself in space and time. Europe uncritically accepted the duality of spirit and matter probably from Mannichaean thought. Her best thinkers are realizing this initial mistake to-day, but her statesmen are indirectly forcing the world to accept it as an unquestionable dogma. It is, then, this mistaken separation of spiritual and temporal which has largely influenced European religious and political thought, and has resulted practically in the total exclusion of Christianity from the life of European states. The result is a set of mutually ill-adjusted states dominated by interests, not human but national. And these mutually ill-adjusted states, after trampling over the moral and religious convictions of Christianity, are today feeling the need of a federated Europe, i.e. the need of a unity which the Christian Church-organisation originally gave them, but which, instead of reconstructing in the light of Christ's vision of human brotherhood, they considered it fit to destroy under the inspiration of Luther. A Luther in the world of Islam, however, is an impossible phenomenon; for here there is no Church-organisation, similar to that of Christianity in the middle ages, inviting a destroyer. In the world of Islam we have a universal polity whose fundamentals are believed to have

been revealed, but whose structure, owing to our legists' want of contact with the modern world, stands today in need of renewed power by fresh adjustments. I do not know what will be the final fate of the national idea in the world of Islam, whether Islam will assimilate and transform it, as it has assimilated and transformed before many ideas expressive of a different spirit, or allow a radical transformation of its own structure by the force of this idea, is hard to predict. Professor Wensinck of Leiden (Holland) wrote to me the other day: "It seems to me that Islam is entering upon a crisis through which Christianity has been passing for more than a century. The great difficulty is how to save the foundations of religion when many antiquated notions have to be given up. It seems to me scarcely possible to state what the outcome will be for Christianity, still less what it will be for Islam." At the present moment the national idea is racialising the outlook of Muslims, and thus materially counteracting the humanising work of Islam. And the growth of racial consciousness may mean the growth of standards different and even opposed to the standards of Islam.

I hope you will pardon me for this apparently academic discussion. To address this session of the All-India Muslim League you have selected a man who is not despaired of Islam as a living force for freeing the outlook of man from its geographical limitations, who believes that religion is a power of the utmost importance in the life of individuals as well as states, and finally who believes that Islam is itself Destiny and will not suffer a destiny! Such a man cannot but look at matters from his own point of view. Do not think that the problem I am indicating is a purely theoretical one. It is a very living and practical problem calculated to affect the very fabric of Islam as a system of life and conduct. On a proper solution of it alone depends your future as a distinct cultural unit in India. Never in our history Islam has had to stand a greater trial than the one which confronts it today. It is open to a people to modify, reinterpret or reject the foundational principles of their social structure; but it is absolutely necessary for them to see clearly what they are doing before they undertake to try a fresh experiment. Nor should the way in which I am approaching this important problem lead anybody to think that I intend to quarrel with those who happen to think differently. You are a Muslim assembly and, I suppose, anxious to remain true to the spirit and ideals of Islam. My sole desire, therefore, is to tell you frankly what I honestly believe to be the truth about the present situation. In this way alone it is possible for me to illuminate, according to my light, the avenues of your political action.

The Unity of an Indian Nation What, then, is the problem and its implications? Is religion a private affair? Would you like to see Islam, as a moral and political ideal, meeting the same fate in the world of Islam as Christianity has already met in Europe? Is it possible to retain Islam as an ethical ideal and to reject it as a polity in favour of national polities in which religious attitude is not permitted to play any part? This question becomes of special importance in India where the Muslims happen to be in a minority. The proposition that religion is a private individual experience is not surprising on the lips of a European. In Europe the conception of Christianity as a monastic order, renouncing the world of matter and fixing

its gaze entirely on the world of spirit, led, by a logical process of thought, to the view embodied in this proposition. The nature of the [Holy] Prophet's [P. B. U. H.] religious experience, as disclosed in the Quran, however, is wholly different. It is not mere experience in the sense of a purely biological event, happening inside the experient and necessitating no reactions on its social environment. It is individual experience creative of a social order. Its immediate outcome is the fundamentals of a polity with implicit legal concepts whose civic significance cannot be belittled merely because their origin is revelational. The religious ideal of Islam, therefore, is organically related to the social order which it has created. The rejection of the one will eventually involve the rejection of the other. Therefore, the construction of a polity on national lines, if it means a displacement of the Islamic principle of solidarity, is simply unthinkable to a Muslim. This is a matter which at the present moment directly concerns the Muslims of India. "Man," says Renan, "is enslaved neither by his race nor by his religion, nor by the course of rivers, nor by the direction of mountain ranges. A great aggregation of men, sane of mind and warm of heart, creates a moral consciousness which is called a nation." Such a formation is quite possible, though it involves the long and arduous process of practically re-making men and furnishing them with a fresh emotional equipment. It might have been a fact in India if the teachings of Kabir and the Divine Faith of Akbar had seized the imagination of the masses of this country. Experience, however, shows that the various caste units and religious units in India have shown no inclination to sink their respective individualities in a larger whole. Each group is intensely jealous of its collective existence. The formation of the kind of moral consciousness which constitutes the essence of a nation in Renan's sense demands a price which the peoples of India are not prepared to pay. The unity of an Indian nation, therefore, must be sought, not in the negation, but in the mutual harmony and cooperation of the many. True statesmanship cannot ignore facts, however unpleasant they may be. The only practical course is not to assume the existence of a state of things which does not exist, but to recognise facts as they are, and to exploit them to our greatest advantage. And it is on the discovery of Indian unity in this direction that the fate of India as well as of Asia really depends. India is Asia in miniature. Part of her people have cultural affinities with nations in the East, and part with nations in the middle and west of Asia. If an effective principle of cooperation is discovered in India it will bring peace and mutual goodwill to this ancient land which has suffered so long, more because of her situation in historic space than because of any inherent incapacity of her people. And it will at the same time solve the entire political problem of Asia.

It is, however, painful to observe that our attempts to discover such a principle of internal harmony have so far failed. Why have they failed? Perhaps, we suspect each other's intentions, and inwardly aim at dominating each other. Perhaps, in the higher interests of mutual cooperation, we cannot afford to part with monopolies which circumstances have placed in our hands, and conceal our egoism under the cloak of a nationalism, outwardly simulating a large-hearted patriotism, but inwardly as narrow-minded as a caste or a tribe. Perhaps, we are unwilling to recognize that each group has a

right to free development according to its own cultural traditions. But whatever may be the causes of our failure, I still feel hopeful. Events seem to be tending in the direction of some sort of internal harmony. And as far as I have been able to read the Muslim mind, I have no hesitation in declaring that, if the principle that the Indian Muslim is entitled to full and free development on the lines of his own culture and tradition in his own Indian homelands is recognized as the basis of a permanent communal settlement, he will be ready to stake his all for the freedom of India. The principle that each group is entitled to free development on its own lines is not inspired by any feeling of narrow communalism. There are communalisms and communalisms. A community which is inspired by feeling of ill-will towards other communities is low and ignoble. I entertain the highest respect for the customs, laws, religious and social institutions of other communities. Nay, it is my duty, according to the teachings of the Quran, even to defend their places of worship if need be. Yet I love the communal group which is source of my life and behaviour; and which has formed me what I am by giving me its religion, its literature, its thought, its culture, and thereby recreating its whole past, as a living operative factor, in my present consciousness. Even the authors of the Nehru Report recognise the value of this higher aspect of communalism. While discussing the separation of Sind they say: "To say from the larger view-point of nationalism that no communal provices should be created is, in a way, equivalent to saying from the still wider international viewpoint that there should be no separate nations. Both these statements have a measure of truth in them. But the staunchest internationalist recognises that without the fullest national autonomy it is extraordinarily difficult to create the international state. So also without the fullest cultural autonomy, and communalism in its better aspect is culture, it will be difficult to create a harmonious nation."

Muslim India within India

Communalism, in its higher aspect, then, is indispensable to the formation of a harmonious whole in a country like India. The units of Indian society are not territorial as in European countries. India is a continent of human groups belonging to different races, speaking different languages and professing different religions. Their behaviour is not at all determined by a common race consciousness. Even the Hindus do not form a homogeneous group. The principle of European democracy cannot be applied to India without recognising the fact of communal groups. The Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India within India is, therefore, perfectly justified. The resolution of the All Parties Muslim Conference at Delhi is, to my mind, wholly inspired by this noble ideal of a harmonious whole which, instead of stiffling the respective individualities of its component wholes, affords them chances of fully working out the possibilities that may be latent in them. And I have no doubt that this house will emphatically endorse the Muslim demands embodied in this resolution. Personally I would go further than the demands embodied in it. I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-Government within the British Empire, or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian

Muslim state appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims at least of the North-West India. The proposal was put forward before the Nehru Committee. They rejected it on the ground that, if carried into effect, it would give a very unwieldy state. This is true in so far as the area is concerned; in point of population the state contemplated by the proposal would be much less than some of the present Indian provinces. The exclusion of Ambala Division and perhaps of some districts where non-Muslims pre-dominate, will make it less extensive and more Muslim in population - so that the exclusion suggested will enable this consolidated state to give a more effective protection to non-Muslim minorities within its area. 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. This centralisation of the most living portion of the Muslims of India, whose military and police service has, notwithstanding unfair treatment from the British, made the British rule possible in this country, will eventually solve the problem of India as well as of Asia. It will intensify their sense of responsibility and deepen their patriotic feelings. Thus, possessing full opportunity of development within the body-politic of India, the North-West Indian Muslims will prove the best defenders of India against a foreign invasion, be that invasion the one of ideas or of bayonets. The Punjab with fifty-six per cent Muslim population supplies fifty-four per cent of the total combatant troops in the Indian Army, and if the nineteen thousand Gurkhas recruited from the independent state of Nepal are excluded, the Punjab contingent amounts to sixty two per cent of the whole Indian Army. This percentage does not take into account nearly six thousand combatants supplied to the Indian Army by the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan. From this you can easily calculate the possibilities of the North-West Indian Muslims in regard to the defence of India against foreign aggression. The Right Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri thinks that the Muslim demand for the creation of autonomous Muslim states along with North-West border is actuated by a desire "to acquire means of exerting pressure in emergencies on the Government of India." I may frankly tell him that the Muslim demand is not actuated by the kind of motive he imputes to us; it is actuated by a genuine desire for free development which is practically impossible under the type of unitary government contemplated by the nationalist Hindu politicians with a view to secure permanent communal dominance in the whole of India. Nor should the Hindus fear that the creation of autonomous Muslim states will mean the introduction of a kind of religious rule in such states. I have already indicated to you the meaning of the word religion, as applied to Islam. The truth is that Islam is not a church. It is state, conceived as a contractual organism long before Rousseau ever thought of such a thing, and animated by an ethical ideal which regards man not as an earth-rooted creature, defined by this or that portion of the earth, but as a spiritual being understood in terms of a social mechanism, and possessing rights and duties as a living factor in that mechanism. The character of a Muslim state can be judged from what the Times of India pointed out sometime ago in a leader on the Indian Banking

Inquiry Committee. "In ancient India," the paper points out, "the state framed laws regulating the rates of interest; but in Muslim times, although Islam clearly forbids the realization of interest on money loaned, Indian Muslim states imposed no restrictions on such rates." I therefore demand the formation of a consolidated Muslim state in the best interests of India and Islam. For India it means security and peace resulting from the internal balance of power; for Islam an opportunity to rid itself of the stamp that Arabian Imperialism was forced to give it, to mobilize 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.

Federal States Thus it is clear that in view of India's infinite variety in climates, races, languages, creeds and social systems, the creation of autonomous states, based on the unity of language, race, history, religion and identity of economic interests, is the only possible way to secure a stable constitutional structure in India. The conception of federation underlying the Simon Report necessitates the abolition of the Central Legislative Assembly as a popular assembly, and makes it an assembly of the representatives of federal states. It further demands a redistribution of territory on the lines which I have indicated. And the Report does recommend both. I give my whole-hearted support to this view of the matter, and venture to suggest that the redistribution recommended in the Simon Report must fulfil two conditions. It must precede the introduction of the new constitution, and must be so devised as to finally solve the communal problem. Proper redistribution will make the question of joint and separate electorates automatically disappear from the constitutional controversy of India. It is the present structure of the provinces that is largely responsible for this controversy. The Hindu thinks that separate electorates are contrary to the spirit of true nationalism, because he understands the word nation to mean a kind of universal amalgamation in which no communal entity ought to retain its private individuality. Such a state of things however does not exist. Nor is it desirable that it should exist. India is the land of racial and religious variety. And to this, the general economic inferiority of the Muslims, their enormous debt, especially in the Punjab, and their insufficient majorities in some of the provinces as at present constituted, and you will begin to see clearly the meaning of our anxiety to retain separate electorates. In such a country and in such circumstances, territorial electorates cannot secure adequate representation of all interests, and must inevitably lead to the creation of an oligarchy. The Muslims of India can have no objection to purely territorial electorates if provinces are demarcated so as to secure comparatively homogeneous communities possessing linguistic, racial, cultural and religious unity.

Federation as understood in the Simon Report But in so far as the question of the powers of the Central Federal States is concerned, there is a subtle difference of motive in the constitutions proposed by the Pandits of India and the Pandits of England. The Pandits of India do not disturb the central authority as it stands at present. All that they desire is that this authority should become fully responsible to the Central Legislature which they maintain intact, and where their majority will become further

reinforced on the nominated element ceasing to exist. The Pandits of England, on the other hand, realizing that democracy in the centre tends to work contrary to their interests, and is likely to absorb the whole power now in their hands, in case a further advance is made towards responsible government, have shifted the experiment of democracy from the centre to the provinces. No doubt, they introduce the principle of federation and appear to have made a beginning by making certain proposals, yet their evaluation of this principle is determined by considerations wholly different to those which determine its value in the eyes of Muslim India. The Muslims demand federation because it is pre-eminently a solution of India's most difficult problem i.e. the communal problem. The Royal Commissioners' view of federation, though sound in principle, does not seem to aim at responsible government for federal states. Indeed it does not go beyond providing means of escape from the situation which the introduction of democracy in India has created for the British, and wholly disregards the communal problem by leaving it where it was.

Thus it is clear that, in so far as real federation is concerned, the Simon Report virtually negatives the principle of federation in its true significance. The Nehru Report realizing Hindu majority in the Central Assembly reaches a unitary form of government because such an institution secures Hindu dominance throughout India; the Simon Report retains the present British dominance behind the thin veneer of an unreal federation, partly because the British are naturally unwilling to part with the power they have so long wielded, and partly because it is possible for them, in the absence of an inter-communal understanding in India, to make out a plausible case for the retention of that power in their own hands. To my mind a unitary form of Government is simply unthinkable in a self-governing India. What is called 'residuary powers' must be left entirely to self-governing states, the Central Federal State exercising only those powers which are expressly vested in it by the free consent of federal states. I would never advise the Muslims of India to agree to a system, whether of British or of Indian origin, which virtually negatives the principle of true federation, or fails to recognize them as a distinct political entity.

Federal Scheme as discussed in the Round Table Conference

The necessity for a structural change in the Central Government was seen probably long before the British discovered the most effective means for introducing this change. That is why at a rather late stage it was announced that the participation of the Indian Princes in the Round Table Conference was essential. It was a kind of surprise to the people of India, particularly the minorities, to see the Indian Princes dramatically expressing their willingness at the Round Table Conference to join an All-India Federation and, as a result of their declaration, Hindu delegates - uncompromising advocates of a unitary form of government - quietly agreeing to the evolution of a federal scheme. Even Mr. Sastri who, only a few days before, had severely criticised Sir John Simon for recommending a federal scheme for India, suddenly became a convert and admitted his conversion in the plenary session of the Conference - thus offering the Prime Minister of England an occasion for one of his wittiest observations in his concluding

speech. All this has a meaning both for the British who have sought the participation of the Indian Princes, and the Hindus who have unhesitatingly accepted the evolution of an All-India Federation. The truth is that the participation of the Indian Princes - among whom only a few are Muslims in a federation scheme serves a double purpose. On the one hand it serves as an all important factor in maintaining the British power in India practically as it is, on the other hand it gives overwhelming majority to the Hindus in an All-India Federal Assembly. It appears to me that the Hindu-Muslim differences regarding the ultimate form of the Central Government are being cleverly exploited by British politicians through the agency of the Princes who see in the scheme prospects of better security for their despotic rule. If the Muslims silently agree to any such scheme it will simply hasten their end as a political entity in India. The policy of the Indian Federation, thus created, will be practically controlled by Hindu Princes forming the largest group in the Central Federal Assembly. They will always lend their support to the Crown in matters of Imperial concern; and in so far as internal administration of the country is concerned they will help in maintaining and strengthening the supremacy of the Hindus. In other words the scheme appears to be aiming at a kind of understanding between Hindu India and British Imperialism - you perpetuate me in India, and I in return give you a Hindu oligarchy to keep all other Indian communities in perpetual subjection. If therefore the British Indian provinces are not transformed into really autonomous states, the Princes' participation in a scheme of Indian federation will be interpreted only as a dexterous move on the part of British politicians to satisfy, without parting with any real power, all parties concerned - Muslims with the word federation, Hindus with a majority in the centre, and British Imperialists - whether Tory or Labourite - with the substance of real power.

The number of Hindu States in India is far greater than Muslim states; and it remains to be seen how the Muslim demand for 33 per cent seats in the Central Federal Assembly is to be met within a House or Houses constituted of representatives taken from British India as well as Indian states. I hope the Muslim delegates are fully aware of the implications of the federal scheme as discussed in the Round Table Conference. The question of Muslim representation in the proposed All-India Federation has not yet been discussed. "The interim report," says Reuter's summary, "contemplates two chambers in the Federal Legislature - each containing representatives both of British India and States, the proportion of which will be a matter of subsequent consideration under the heads which have not yet been referred to the Sub-Committee." In my opinion the question of proportion is of the utmost importance, and ought to have been considered simultaneously with the main question of the structure of the Assembly.

The best course, I think, would have been to start with a British Indian Federation only. A federal scheme born of an unholy union between democracy and despotism cannot but keep British India in the same vicious circle of a unitary Central Government. Such a unitary form may be of the greatest advantage to the British, to the majority community in British India and to the Indian Princes; it can be of no advantage to the Muslims unless

they get majority rights in five out of eleven Indian Provinces with full residuary powers, and one-third share of seats in the total House of the Federal Assembly. In so far as the attainment of sovereign powers by the British Indian Provinces is concerned the position of H. H. the Ruler of Bhopal, Sir Akbar Hydari and Mr. Jinnah is unassailable. In view, however, of the participation of the Princes in the Indian Federation we must now see our demand for representation in the British Indian Assembly in a new light. The question is not one of Muslim share in a British Indian Assembly, but one which relates to representation of British Indian Muslims in an All-India Federal Assembly. Our demand for 33 per cent must now be taken as a demand for the same proportion in the All-India Federal Assembly exclusive of the share allotted to the Muslim states entering the Federation.

The Problem of Defence

The other difficult problem which confronts the successful working of a federal system in India is the problem of India's defence. In their discussion of this problem the Royal Commissioners have marshalled all the deficiencies of India in order to make out a case for Imperial administration of the army. "India and Britain," say the Commissioners, "are so related that India's defence cannot now or in any future which is within sight, be regarded as a matter of purely Indian concern. The control and direction of such an army must rest in the hands of agents of the Imperial Government. Now, does it necessarily follow from this that further progress towards the realization of responsible Government in British India is barred until the work of defence can be adequately discharged without the help of British officers and British troops? As things are, there is a block on the line of constitutional advance. All hopes of evolution in the Central Government towards the ultimate goal described in the declaration of 20th August 1917 are in danger of being indefinitely frustrated if the attitude illustrated by the Nehru Report is maintained that any future change involves the putting of the administration of the army under the authority of an elected Indian Legislature." Further to fortify their argument they emphasise the fact of competing religions and rival races of widely different capacity, and try to make the problem look insoluble by remarking that "the obvious fact, that India is not, in the ordinary and natural sense, a single nation is nowhere made more plain than in considering the difference between the martial races of India and the rest." These features of the question have been emphasised in order to demonstrate that the British are not only keeping India secure from foreign menace but are also the "neutral guardians of internal security." However, in federated India, as I understand federation, the problem will have only one aspect, i.e. external defence. Apart from provincial armies necessary for maintaining internal peace, the Indian Federal Congress can maintain, on the North-West Frontier, a strong Indian Frontier Army, composed of units recruited from all provinces and officered by efficient and experienced military men taken from all communities. I know that India is not in possession of efficient military officers, and this fact is exploited by the Royal Commissioners in the interest of an argument for Imperial administration. On this point I cannot but quote another passage from the Report which, to my mind, furnishes the best argument against the

position taken up by the Commissioners. "At the present moment," says the Report, "no Indian holding the King's Commission is of higher army rank than a captain. There are, we believe, 39 captains of whom 25 are in ordinary regimental employ. Some of them are of an age which would prevent their attaining much higher rank, even if they passed the necessary examination before retirement. Most of these have not been through Sandhurst, but got their Commissions during the Great War. Now, however genuine may be the desire, and however earnest the endeavour to work for this transformation the overriding conditions so forcibly expressed by the Skeen Committee (whose members, apart from the Chairman and the Army Secretary, were Indian gentlemen) in the words, "Progress... must be contingent upon success being 'secured at each stage and upon military efficiency being maintained throughout must in any case render such development measured and slow. A higher command cannot be evolved at short notice out of existing cadres of Indian officers, all of junior ranks and limited experience. Not until the slender trickle of suitable Indian recruits for the officer class - and we earnestly desire an increase in their numbers flows in much greater volume, not until sufficient Indians have attained the experience and training requisite to provide all the officers for, at any rate, some Indian regiments, not until such units have stood the only test which can possibly determine their efficiency, and not until Indian officers have qualified by a successful army career for high command, will it be possible to develop the policy of Indianisation to a point which will bring a completely Indianised army within sight. Even then years must elapse before the process could be completed." Now I venture to ask who is responsible for the present state of things? Is it due to some inherent incapacity of our martial races or to the slowness of the process of military training? The military capacity of our martial races is undeniable. The process of military training may be slow as compared to other processes of human training. I am no military expert to judge this matter. But as a layman I feel that the argument, as stated, assumes the process to be practically endless. This means perpetual bondage for India, and makes it all the more necessary that the Frontier Army, as suggested by the Nehru Report, be entrusted to the charge of a committee of defence the personnel of which may be settled by mutual understanding.

Again it is significant that the Simon Report has given extraordinary importance to the question of India's land frontier, but has made only passing references to its naval position. India has doubtless had to face invasions from her land frontier; but it is obvious that her present masters took possession of her on account of her defenceless sea coast. A self-governing and free India, will, in these days have to take greater care of her sea coast than her land frontiers. I have no doubt that if a Federal Government is established, Muslim federal states will willingly agree, for purposes of India's defence, to the creation of neutral Indian military and naval forces. Such a neutral military force for the defence of India was a reality in the days of Mughal Rule. Indeed in the time of Akbar the Indian frontier was, on the whole, defended by armies officered by Hindu generals. I am perfectly sure that the scheme of a neutral Indian army, based on a

federated India, will intensify Muslim patriotic feeling, and finally set at rest the suspicion, if any, of Indian Muslims joining Muslims from beyond the frontier in the event of any invasion. The Alternative I have thus tried briefly to indicate the way in which the Muslims of India ought, in my opinion, to look at the two most important constitutional problems of India. A redistribution of British India, calculated to secure a permanent solution of the communal problem, is the main demand of the Muslims of India. If, however, the Muslim demand of a territorial solution of the communal problem is ignored, then I support, as emphatically as possible, the Muslim demands repeatedly urged by the All India Muslim League and the All India Muslim Conference. The Muslims of India cannot agree to any constitutional changes which affect their majority rights, to be secured by separate electorates, in the Punjab and Bengal, or fail to guarantee them 33 per cent representation in any Central Legislature. There were two pitfalls into which Muslim political leaders fell. The first was the repudiated Lucknow Pact which originated in a false view of Indian nationalism, and deprived the Muslims of India from chances of acquiring any political power in India. The second is the narrow-visioned sacrifice of Islamic solidarity in the interest of what may be called Punjab Ruralism resulting in a proposal which virtually reduces the Punjab Muslims to a position of minority. It is the duty of the League to condemn both the Pact and the proposal. The Simon Report does great injustice to the Muslims in not recommending a statutory majority for the Punjab and Bengal. It would either make the Muslims stick to the Lucknow Pact or agree to a scheme of joint electorates. Despatch of the Government of India on the Simon Report admits that since the publication of that document the Muslim community has not expressed its willingness to accept any of the alternatives proposed by the Report. The despatch recognizes that it may be a legitimate grievance to deprive the Muslims in the Punjab and Bengal of representation in the councils in proportion to their population merely because of weightage allowed to Muslim minorities elsewhere. But the despatch of the Government of India fails to correct the injustice of the Simon Report. In so far as the Punjab is concerned - and this is the most crucial point - it endorses the so-called 'carefully balanced scheme' worked out by the official members of the Punjab Government which gives the Punjab Muslims a majority of two over the Hindus and Sikhs combined, and a proportion of 49 per cent of the Houses as a whole. It is obvious that the Punjab Muslims cannot be satisfied with less than a clear majority in the total House. However, Lord Irwin and his Government do recognize that the justification for communal electorates for majority communities would not cease unless a two-third majority of the Muslim members in a provincial council unanimously agree to surrender the right of separate representation. I cannot however understand why the Government of India, having recognized the legitimacy of Muslim grievance, have not had the courage to recommend a statutory majority for the Muslims in the Punjab and Bengal. Nor can the Muslims of India agree to any such changes which fail to create at least Sind as a separate province and treat the North-West Frontier Province as a province of inferior political status. I see no reason why Sind

should not be united with Baluchistan and turned into a separate province. It has nothing in common with the Bombay Presidency. In point and civilization the Royal Commissioners find it more akin to Mesopotamia and Arabia than India. The Muslim geographer Mas'udi noticed this kinship long ago when he said, "Sind is a country nearer to the dominions of Islam." The first Omayyad ruler is reported to have said of Egypt:

"Egypt has her back towards Africa and face towards Arabia." With necessary alterations the same remark describes the exact situation of Sind. She has her back towards India and face towards Central Asia. Considering further the nature of her agricultural problems which can invoke no sympathy from the Bombay Government, and her infinite commercial possibilities, dependent on the inevitable growth of Karachi into a second metropolis of India, it is unwise to keep her attached to a Presidency which. though friendly today, is likely to become a rival at no distant period. Financial difficulties, we are told, stand in the way of separation. I do not know of any definite authoritative pronouncement on the matter. But, assuming there are any such difficulties, I see no reason why the Government of India should not give temporary financial help to a promising province in her struggle for independent progress. As to the North-West Frontier Province, it is painful to note that the Royal Commissioners have practically denied that the people of this province have any right to. Reform. They fall far short of the Bray Committee, and the council recommended by them is merely a screen to hide the autocracy of the Chief Commissioner. The inherent right of the Afghan to light a cigarette is curtailed merely because he happens to be living in a powder house. The Royal Commissioners' epigrammatic argument is pleasant enough, but far from convincing. Political reform is light, not fire; and to light every human being is entitled whether he happens to live in a powder house or a coal mine. Brave, shrewd and determined to suffer for his legitimate aspirations, the Afghan is sure to resent any attempt to deprive him of opportunities of full self-development. To keep such a people contented is in the best interest of both England and India. What has recently happened in that unfortunate province is the result of a stepmotherly treatment shown to the people since the introduction of the principle of self-government in the rest of India. I only hope that the British statesmanship will not obscure its view of the situation by hoodwinking itself into the belief that the present unrest in the province is due to any extraneous causes. The recommendation for the introduction of a measure of reform in the N.W.F.P. made in the Government of India's despatch is also unsatisfactory. No doubt the despatch goes further than the Simon Report in recommending a sort of representative Council and a semirepresentative cabinet, but it fails to treat this important Muslim province on an equal footing with the other Indian Provinces. Indeed the Afghan is, by instinct, more fitted for democratic institutions than any other people in India.

Round Table Conference I think I am now called upon to make a few observations on the Round Table Conference. Personally, I do not feel optimistic as to the results of this conference. It was hoped that away from

the actual scene of the communal strife, and in a changed atmosphere, better councils would prevail; and a genuine settlement of the differences between the two major communities of India would bring India's freedom within sight. Actual events, however, tell a different tale. Indeed the discussion of the communal question in London has demonstrated, more clearly than ever, the essential disparity between the two great cultural units of India. Yet the Prime Minister of England apparently refuses to see that the problem of India is international and not national. He is reported to have said that "his Government would find it difficult to submit to Parliament proposals for the maintenance of separate electorates, since joint electorate were much more in accordance with British democratic sentiments." Obviously he did not see that the model of British democracy cannot be of any use in a land of many nations; and that a system of separate electorates is only a poor substitute for a territorial solution of the problem. Nor is the Minorities Sub-Committee likely to reach a satisfactory settlement. The whole question will have to go before the British Parliament; and we can only hope that the keen sighted representatives of the British nation, unlike most of our Indian politicians will be able to pierce through the surface of things and see clearly the true fundamentals of peace and security in a country like India. To base a constitution on the concept of a homogenous India, or to apply to India principles dictated by British democratic sentiments, is unwittingly to prepare her for a civil war. As far as I can see, there will be no peace in the country until the various people that constitute India are given opportunities of free self-development on modern lines without abruptly breaking with I am glad to be able to say that our Muslim delegates fully realize the importance of a proper solution of what I call India's international problem. They are perfectly justified in pressing for a solution of the communal question before the question of responsibility in the Central Government is finally settled. No Muslim politician should be sensitive to the taunt embodied in that propaganda word - communalism expressively devised to exploit what the Prime Minister calls the British democratic sentiment, and to mislead England into assuming a state of things which does not really exist in India. Great interests are at stake. We are seventy million, and far more homogenous that any other people in India. Indeed, the Muslims of India are the only Indian people who can fitly be described as a nation in the modern sense of the word. The Hindus, though ahead of us in almost all respects, have not yet been able to achieve the kind of homogeneity which is necessary for a nation and which Islam has given you as a free gift. No doubt they are anxious to become a nation but the process of becoming a nation is a kind of travail, and in the case of Hindu India, involves a complete overhauling of her social structure. Nor should the Muslim leaders and politicians allow themselves to be carried away by the subtle but fallacious argument that Turkey and Persia and other Muslim countries are progressing on national i.e. lines. The Muslims of India are differently situated. The countries of Islam outside India are practically wholly Muslim in population. The minorities there belong, in the language of the Quran, to the 'people of the Book. There are no social barriers between Muslims and the 'people of the Book.' A Jew or Christian

or a Zoroastrian does not pollute the food of a Muslim by touching it, and the Law of Islam allows intermarriage with the 'people of the Book.' Indeed the first practical step that Islam took towards the realization of a final combination of humanity was to call upon peoples possessing practically the same ethical ideal to come forward and combine. The Quran declares, "O people of the Book! Come let us join together on the 'word' (Unity of God), that is common to us all." The wars of Islam and Christianity, and, later, European aggression in its various forms, could not allow the infinite meaning of this verse to work itself out in the world of Islam. Today it is being gradually being realized in the countries of Islam in the shape of what is called Muslim Nationalism.

It is hardly necessary for me to add that the soul test of the success of our delegates is the extent to which they are able to get the non-Muslim delegates of the Conference to agree to our demands as embodied in the Delhi Resolution. If these demands are not agreed to, then a question of a very great and far-reaching importance will arise for the community. Then will arrive the moment for an independent and concerted political action by the Muslims of India. If you are at all serious about your ideals and aspirations you must be ready for such an action. Our leading men have done a good deal of political thinking, and their thought has certainly made us, more or less, sensitive to the forces which are now shaping the destinies of peoples in India and outside India. But I ask, has this thinking prepared us for the kind of action demanded by the situation which may arise in the near future? Let me tell you frankly that, at the present moment, the Muslims of India are suffering from two evils. The first is the want of personalities. Sir Malcolm Hailey and Lord Irvin were perfectly correct in their diagnosis when they told the Aligarh University that the community had failed to produce leaders. By leaders I mean men who, by Divine gift or experience, possess a keen perception of the spirit and destiny of Islam, along with an equally keen perception of the trend of modern history. Such men are really the driving forces of a people, but they are God's gift and cannot be made to order. The second evil from which the Muslims of India are suffering is that the community is fast losing what is called the herdinstinct. This makes it possible for individuals and groups to start independent careers without contributing to the general thought and activity of the community. We are doing today in the domain of politics what we have been doing for centuries in the domain of religion. But sectional bickerings in religion do not much harm to our solidarity. They at least indicate an interest in what makes the sole principle of our structure as a people. Moreover, this principle is so broadly conceived that it is almost impossible for a group to become rebellious to the extent of wholly detaching itself from the general body of Islam. But diversity in political action, at a moment when concerted action is needed in the best interest of the very life of our people, may prove fatal. How shall we, then, remedy these two evils? The remedy of the first evil is not in our hands. As to the second evil I think it is possible to discover a remedy. I have got definite views on the subject; but I think it is proper to postpone their expression till the apprehended situation actually arises. In case it does arise leading

Muslims of all shades of opinion will have to meet together, not to pass resolutions, but finally to determine the Muslim attitude and to show the path to tangible achievement. In this address I mentioned this alternative only because I wish that you may keep it in mind, and give some serious thought to it in the meantime.

The Conclusion Gentlemen, I have finished. In conclusion I cannot but impress upon you that the present crisis in the history of India demands complete organisation and unity of will and purpose in the Muslim community, both in your own interest as a community, and in the interest of India as a whole. The political bondage of India has been and is a source of infinite misery to the whole of Asia. It has suppressed the spirit of the East, and wholly deprived her of that joy of self-expression which once made her the creator of a great and glorious culture. We have a duty towards India where we are destined to live and die. We have a duty towards Asia, especially Muslim Asia. And since 70 millions of Muslims in a single country constitute a far more valuable asset to Islam than all the countries of Muslim Asia put together, we must look at the Indian problem not only from the Muslim point of view but also from the standpoint of the Indian Muslim as such. Our duty towards Asia and India cannot be loyally performed without an organised will fixed on a definite purpose. In your own interest, as a political entity among other political entities of India, such an equipment is an absolute necessity. Our disorganized condition has already confused political issues vital to the life of the community. I am not hopeless of an intercommunal understanding but I cannot conceal from you the feeling that in the near future our community may be called upon to adopt an independent line of action to cope with the present crisis and an independent line of political action, in such a crisis, is possible only to a determined people, possessing a will focalised by a single purpose. Is it possible for you to achieve the organic wholeness of a unified will? Yes, it is. Rise above sectional interests and private ambitions, and learn to determine the value of your individual and collective action, however directed on material ends, in the light of the ideal which you are supposed to represent. Pass from matter to spirit. Matter is diversity; sprit is light, life and unity. One lesson I have learnt from the history of Muslims. At critical moments in their history it is Islam that has saved Muslims and not vice versa. If today you focus your vision on Islam and seek inspiration from the ever-vitalising idea embodied in it, you will be only reassembling your scattered forces, regaining your lost integrity, and thereby saving yourself from total destruction. One of the profoundest verses in the Holy Quran teaches us that the birth and rebirth of the whole of humanity is like the birth and rebirth of a single individual. Why cannot you who, as a people, can well claim to be the first practical exponent of this superb conception of humanity, live and move and have your being as a single individual? I do not mystify anybody when I say that things in India are not what they appear to be. The meaning of this, however, will dawn upon you only when you have achieved a real collective ego to look at them. In the words of the Quran, "Hold fast to yourself; no one who erreth can hurt you, provided you are well-guided." (5:104)

Allama Iqbal and Ideology Of Pakistan

For too long now there was a parochial working out of what Pakistani historical past as a tutorial discipline entails, as there's a firm assumption that it must be in charge to the general public eye.

Many are of the idea that history is perhaps, already gift previously. And that the historian's function is just one of assorting information and routine along a chronological and byte-sized narrative; as if it have been a jigsaw puzzle where the portions were information that slot in a constant tapestry of countrywide belonging.

These traditionalist frameworks end up very real when narratives related to Dr Muhammad Iqbal's statements related to the reliable demand for separation ended in the public de facto assuming that Iqbal also referred to as for a partitioned Muslim state.

The fable Pakistan stories textbook presents Iqbal as a pious orthodox Muslim thinker with the message being that Pakistan, the fatherland, can also be permitted to his imaginative and prescient.

It isn't shocking then that Iqbal has end up the father of Pakistan as he used to be the primary to name for "the Punjab, North West Frontier Province, Sind and Balochistan amalgamated into a single state" in his presidential handle to the 21st session of the All-India Muslim League that used to be held in Allahabad on the twenty ninth of December, 1930.

What's stunning, nevertheless, is that if one were to learn Iqbal's seminal presidential tackle within the old context, it turns into clear that his imaginative and prescient certainly not genuinely known as for the partitioned Muslim state of Pakistan.

From the very onset of Iqbal's deal with, it's clear that he was once posing the ideological dichotomy between Islam and Western nationalism as a clash as it had the competencies to disrupt Islam as an edifice of lifestyles.

In setting the parameters of this conflict between Islam and present day nationalism inside the South Asian context, the genius of Iqbal neither chose an isolationist procedure, such as the one adopted by using the Deobandi institution of concept, nor did he need to appease the colonial powers and their separation of church and state.

Instead, Iqbal expounded the inspiration that Islam used to be no longer simply an "moral superb" but in addition an overarching legal political "social constitution" which, throughout the "existence-history of the Muslims of India" had unified "scattered participants and organizations".

For Iqbal, Western nationalism used to be centred on a "narrower system of ethics" which took agency of faith far from the public to the personal sphere.

Iqbal countered the proposal of territory arguing that Islam used to be a "drive for freeing the outlook of man from its geographical obstacles" and that religion used to be a power of the utmost value in the life of person, as well as of states.

He maintained that if democracy had been to be utilized there had to be recognition of the "units of Indian society" no longer from a territorial standpoint however as an alternative through accounting for the varied nature of India's "communal groups".

Within them, Indian Muslims have been the most homogenous and united in India and had been the only individuals who would be "fitly described as a nation in the cutting-edge sense of the word", he argued.

However does that imply Iqbal was once talking a couple of partitioned Muslim state?

For many the demand for Pakistan after Iqbal's tackle which known as for the North-West to come to be a single state and the introduced oppression below the "Hindu" Congress is adequate to solidify the proposal that Iqbal estimated Pakistan.

Institution histories cite faraway statements from Iqbal's 1930 handle contending that he will also be viewed as a separatist; more than a few communal agencies would effortlessly no longer "sink their respective individualities in a better whole" are these gold lines which tickle the patriotic coronary heart.

Yet nationalist narratives readily disregard Iqbal pointing out that were communal agencies entitled to the self sustaining development of their cultures in their possess "Indian dwelling-lands" then they'd be ready to shield the "freedom of India".

The omission of Iqbal's arbitration between Western beliefs of state and the position of Islam as mentioned in his deal with from our school histories is unfortunate - his reply for this disruption is what makes Iqbal an unequivocal visionary for Muslim nationalism in a land as diverse as India.

Muslim India inside India

There may be also a need to contextualise the December 1930 presidential address and Iqbal's historical predicament before portray with a brush the Pakistani green of national zeal as the poet-baby-kisser's tract on self reliant states within a federation goes amiss in our mainstream narratives.

The meant viewers for the deal with used to be not simply Indian Muslims, but the speech was a right away rebuttal to the Nehru report of 1929 which "rejected the important Muslim needs for a separate voters and weightage for minorities".

The notion of a federation for Iqbal warranted an abolition of the central Legislative meeting and rather called for an meeting which might symbolize the federal states and hence get rid of the "communal main issue".

How can one argue for a partitioned Muslim state if Iqbal himself affirmed that "correct redistribution will make the query of joint and separate electorates robotically disappear from the constitutional controversy of India".

An answer could now not be reached except all parties understood that the argument of the Muslims in India was once "worldwide and not national" as communal companies had been international locations in themselves.

When Iqbal referred to as for a consolidated Muslim state, which would be centralised in a distinctive territory, namely the North-West of India, let us not disregard that he argued for a "Muslim India within India".

Might be, what makes Iqbal's rhetoric even more strong was once that his political inspiration was adjoined and equipped neatly into his idea of the common Muslim millat.

The consolidation of the Muslim state was once a stepping stone in the direction of the unification of the world Islamic community, as Islam used to be a "peoples building force" and again no longer simply an "perfect".

A consolidated state for Islam used to be an "opportunity to rid itself from the stamp of Arab imperialism" and rather to revamp its "regulation, tradition, education and to deliver them in closer context with the spirit of trendy times".

There is nothing orthodox about Iqbal and he in no way referred to as for a Pakistan as a partitioned Muslim state in his December 1930 presidential handle to the All-India Muslim League - an tackle that is recalled as the primary stepping stone toward a separate native land justified in our college histories through remoted statements of sovereign marked territory.

As a substitute, we ought to read Iqbal's statements intently on that day, and uphold him as a Muslim nationalist of the time, whose political proposals known as for concord between Western democracy and Islamic nationalism by way of an overarching concept of Islam as a cultural drive within India.

It's ironic that answering a question about who spelt out the inspiration of Pakistan in tuition histories has emerge as anything of a funny story seeing that the variety of separatism Iqbal had been spelling out truly on no account had its desired outcome on Indian Muslims.

The question put up to the Pakistan stories student in regards to the 1930 handle will have to no longer be filtered through an already present Pakistan in intellect. As an alternative, features of gain knowledge of throughout the Nineteen Thirties should flesh out how Muslim proposals projected their visions for syncretic power between religiously marked categories of "majorities" and "minorities" in a British free India.

"on the planet of Islam today, we've a common polity whose fundamentals are believed to were revealed, but whose constitution ... stands at present wanting renewed power by way of fresh adjustments. I have no idea what is going to be the final fate of the countrywide idea on the planet of Islam," said Iqbal.

Ref:

http://www.amiqbalpoetry.com/

THE COMPLAINT Shikwa In English

Why should I choose the loser's role?

Forbear to seek what gain I may?

Nor think of what the morrow holds,

But brood o'er woes of yesterday?

Why should my ears enraptured hear

The plaintive notes of Philomel?

Fellow-bard! a rose am I

To lose me in sweet music's swell?

For I too have the gift of song

Which gives me courage to complain,

But ah! 'tis none but God Himself

Whom I, in sorrow, must arraign!

I grant that we have earned repute

As ever reconciled to Fate,

But to Thee still a tale of pain

I can no longer help narrate.

Though we may seem like voiceless lyres,

Within, imprisoned anguish cries;

Its urge compels, and I obey,

Framing these plaintive melodies.

Hear Thou, O God! these sad complaints

From those of proven fealty;

Beneath proud spires in Western lands,

And made that magic melody

Thrill over Afric's burning sands.

The pageantries of mighty kings

To us were shows that mattered not,

Beneath the shade of blades unsheathed

In Kalima we glory sought.

Our only life was then to face

The perils Of Thy holy wars;

To glorify Thy name we died,

Adorned with hallowed battle scars.

Not lust for power for our own sakes

Our drawn-sword's playfulness

inspired,

Nor roamed we hand-in-glove with

Death

For worldly riches we desired.

Our people, had they set their hearts

On this world's riches or its gold,

Not idol-breaking would have gone

But idols would have bought and sold.

We stood our ground like rocks when once

The foe had met our phalanx dread;

Before our might the bravest quailed

And, vanquished, from the battle fled. And those who offered Thee affront Our swift, relentless fury faced, Their mightiest arms we set at nought, Their insolence and pride abased. On all men's minds we set Thy seal, Thy tawhid's firm and sure impress—The selfsame message preached our lips When swords danced high in battle's stress.

Declare Thou whose fierce valour once Did Khyber's barriers overthrow? Or whose resistless might once laid Famed Caesar's proudest cities low? Who smashed to dust man's handwrought gods, Those things of straw and earth and

Those things of straw and earth and clay?

And who did unbelieving hosts To spread Thy name and glory slay? And who was it that quenched and cooled The fiery urns of fair Iran? Thy holy Ka'ba's hallowed shrine, Whose bosoms reverently held Thy great and glorious Book Divine— If our meed still the obloquy That we have shirked the Faithful's part, How then canst Thou make claim to be The kindly faith-compelling heart? For there are those of other faiths Among whom many sinners, Some humble, others puffed with pride, Drunken in their effrontery; If some have vision, thousands are Of little worth, neglectful, worse; And millions upon millions live From Thy dear, glorious name averse. Yet see how still Thy bounties rain On roofs Of unbelieving clans, While strikes Thy thunder-bolt the homes Of all-forbearing Mussalmans! In idol-houses, hark! they say, "Behold, the Muslim star sinks low! How glad they are that now at last Thy Ka'ba's brave protectors go! They say, "The world is well rid now Of hymn-reciting camel-men, Their Quran folded in their arms,

At last they hie them from our ken! Thus they rejoice who own Thee not; Yet still unmindful seemest Thou Of Thine own One-ness, Thy tawhid— Art Thou so unregarding now? That ignorant men who lack the grace To ope their lips in conclave high Should have their coffers treasure-filled, Is not the burden of our sigh; But O, that this world's best should fall To unbelievers from Thy hand While we on promises are fed Of pleasures in a shadowy land! Where are those favours which Thou once Upon our grateful hearts didst pour ? Why cherishest Thou not, O Lord. The Faithful as in days of yore? Why from the bounties of this life The Faithful now no profit gain Though still Almighty Thou remainest Did we forswear our faith to Thee? To Thy dear Prophet cease to cling? Of idol-breaking did we tire? Or take to idol-worshipping? Or did we weary of Thy Love, Or Thy Love's rapture ever shun? Or turned we from the path which trod Oaran's Owais and Salman? Thy Takbeer's unextinguished flame Within our hearts we cherish yet: Aethiop Belal's life, the star By which our own lives' course we set! But even if a change hath been, And we in Love are less adept, Or out of resignation's path Our erring wayward feet have stept; If, unlike trusted compasses, Our souls respond not now to you, And if to laws of faithfulness Our roving hearts are now less true; Must Thou too play the fickle flirt With us, with others, day by day, We cannot help the sinful thought Which shame forbids our lips to say. Upon the peak of Mount Faran Thy glorious Faith Thou didst perfect— With one Divinest gesture drew A host of fervid first-elect;

Thy flaming Beauty filled the world And set a myriad hearts on fire; Then blew the quintessence of Love In Man to passion's wild desire. Ah, why within our deadened hearts That holy flame today leaps not? Though still those burnt-out victims we Which once we were, hast Thou forgot? Upon the dale of Nejd is stilled The clanging of the captive's chains; To glimpse the camel-litter, Qais No longer with his madness strains The yearnings of the heart are dead. The heart itself is cold: so we: And desolation fills our house For shines not there the Light of Thee. O blessed day when Thou shalt come, A thousand graces in Thy train But yet there uncompanioned sits A lonely bulbul, all day long; Its throat a-throb with music still And pouring out its heart in song. The darkening cypress sways no more; From shadowy nests its doves have fled; The withered blossoms droop and die, And all around their petals shed; Those memoried, old garden walks Of all their former pride lie shorn, Despoiled of raiment green, each branch In nakedness now stands forlorn; Unmoved by passing seasons' change, The songster sits and sings alone: Would there were in this garden some Could feel the burden of its moan! This life no more its joy retains, Nor even death can bring relief; 'Tis sweet to sit alone and sigh And eat a sad heart out in grief. Out from the mirror of my soul ' What gems of thought now strive to shine; What visions splendid, dreams sublime. Arise within this breast of mine! But in this garden lives not one To see and hear, to feel and know: No tulip with its streak of pain,

To sense my heart-blood's smarting flow.

May this sad bulbuls lonely song
To grief each listening soul awake;
The clangour of these rousing bells
Make drowsy hearts their sleep forsake!
Let Faithful hearts re-plight their troth,
And forge afresh their bond Divine;
Let in the long-parched breast of each
The old thirst wake for sweet old wine!
The blood of sweet Arabian vine
O'erflows this wine-jar Ajamy,
Although the singer sings in Ind,
Of Hijaz is his melody.

shikwa is translated in English by Altaf Husain

JAWAB - E - SHIKWA by Allama Iqbal with English Translation:

Dil Se Jo Baat Nikalti Hai, Asar Rakhti Hai

Par Nahin, Taaqat-e-Parwaaz Magar Rakhti Hai

When passion streaming from the heart turns human lips to lyres,

Some magic wings man's music then, his song with soul inspires;

Qudsi-Ul-Asal Hai, Riffat Pe Nazar Rakhti Hai

Khaak Se Uthti Hai, Gardoon Pe Guzar Rakhti Hai

Man's words are sacred then, they soar, The ears of heaven they seek,

From dust those mortal accents rise, Immortals hear them speak;

Ishq Tha Fitna Gar-o-Sarkash-o-Chalaak Mera

Aasman Cheer Gaya Nala-e-Bebaak Mera

So wild and wayward was my Love, such tumult raised its sighs,

Before its daring swiftly fell the ramparts of the skies.

Peer-e-Gardoon Ne Kaha Sun Ke, Kahin Hai Koi!

Bole Sayyaare, Sar-e-Arsh-e-Bareen Hai Koi!

The skies exclaimed in wonderment, "Some one is hiding here,"

The wheeling Planets paused to say, "Seek on the highest sphere."

Chaand Kahta Tha, Nahin, Ahl-e-Zameen Hai Koi!

Kehkashaan Kehti Thi, Poshida Yahin Hai Koi!

The silver Moon said, "You are wrong, Some mortal it must be,"

The Milky Way too joined converse, "Here in our midst is he."

Kuch Jo Samjha Tau Mere Shikwe Ko Rizwan Samjha

Mujhe Jannat Se Nikala Huwa Insan Samjha

Rizwan alone, my plaintive voice began to recognise,

He knew me for a human who had lost his Paradise.

Thi Farishton Ko Bhi Hairat, Ke Yeh Awaz Hai Kya!

Arsh Walon Pe Bhi Khulta Nahin Yeh Raaz Hai Kya!

And even the Angels could not tell what was that voice so strange,

Whose secret seemed to lie beyond Celestial wisdom's range.

Taa Sar-e-Arsh Bhi Insan Ki Tag-o-Taaz Hai Kya?

Aa Gyi Khak Ki Chutki Ko Bhi Parwaaz Hai Kya?

They said, "Can Man now roving come and reach these regions high?

That tiny speck of mortal clay, has it now learnt to fly?

Ghafil Aadaab Se Yeh Sukkaan-e-Zameen Kaise Hain

Shokh-o-Gustakh Yeh Pasti Ke Makeen Kaise Hain!

How little do these beings of earth the laws of conduct know;

How coarse and insolent they are, these men who live below.

Iss Qadar Shokh Ke Allah Se Bhi Barham Hai

Tha Jo Masjood-e-Malaeek Yeh Wohi Aadam Hai?

So great their insolence indeed, they dare even God upbraid!

Is this the Man to whom their bow the Angels once had made?

Alam-e-Kaif Hai, Dana-e-Ramooz-e-Kam Hai

Haan, Magar Ijz Ke Asrar Se Namehram Hai

Of Quality and Quantity He knows the secrets, true—

The ways of humbleness as well If he a little knew!

Naaz Hai Taagat-e-Guftaar Pe Insanon Ko

Baat Karne Ka Saliga Nahin Nadanon Ko!

That they alone are blest with speech how proud these humans be,

Yet, ignorant, they lack the art to use it gracefully."

Ayi Aawaz Ghum-Angaiz Hai Afsana Tera

Ashk-e-Betaab Se Labraiz Hai Paimana Tera

Then spake a Voice Compassionate: "Thy tale enkindles pain,

Thy cup is brimming full with tears which thou couldst not contain

Asmangeer Huwa Naara-e-Mastana Tera

Kis Qadar Shokh Zuban Hai Dil-e-Diwana Tera

Even High Heaven itself is moved by these impassioned cries;

How wild the heart which taught thy lips such savage melodies!

Shukr Shikwe Ko Kiya Husn-e-Ada Se Tu Ne

Hum Sukhan Kar Diya Bandon Ko Khuda Se Tu Ne

Its grace yet makes this song of thine a song of eulogy;

A bridge of converse thou hast formed 'Twixt mortal man and Me!

Hum Tau Mayal Ba-Karam Hain, Koi Sayal Hi Nahin

Rah Dikhlaen Kise Rahraw-e-Manzil Hi Nahin

Behold, my hands arc full of gifts, but who comes seeking here?

And how shall I the right road shew when there's no traveller?

Tarbiat Aam Tau Hai, Jauhar-e-Qabil Hi Nahin

Jis Se Taamir Ho Aadam Ki Yeh Woh Gil Hi Nahin

My loving care is there for all, If deserved but by few!

Not this the clay from which I can an Adam's shape renew!

Koi Qabil Ho Tau Hum Shan-e-Kai Dete Hain

Dhoondne Walon Ko Dunya Bhi Nai Dete Hain!

On him who merits well I set the brightest diadem,

And those who truly questing come, a new world waits for them.

Hath Be-Zor Hain, Ilhaad Se Dil Khoo-Gar Hain

Ummati Baais-e-Ruswai-e-Paighamber (S.A.W) Hain

Apostate hearts and palsied hands Your earthly lives debase,

You all, to your great Prophet (PBUH), are Bringers of deep disgrace;

But-Shikan Uth Gaye, Bagi Jo Rahe But-Gar Hain

Tha Braheem Pidar, Aur Pisar Aazar Hain

Those idol-breakers all have gone, You idolaters are,

Abraham was the father, you His sons, are but Azar;

Badah Aasham Naye, Bada Naya, Khum Bhi Naye

Harm-e-Kaaba Naya, But Bhi Naye, Tum Bhi Naye

Now stranger bands carousal hold, Strange are both cup and wine,

A strange new Ka'ba you have reared, Strange idols oh its shrine!

Woh Bhi Din The Ke Yehi Maya-e-Raanai Tha

Nazish-e-Mousam-e-Gul Lala-e-Sahrai Tha!

The tulip of the wilds once reigned the queen of blossom-time:

In this once lay the quintessence of loveliness sublime.

Jo Musalmaan Tha Allah Ka Saudai Tha

Kabhi Mehboob Tumhara Yehi Harjai Tha

Once every true-born Mussalman by Allah set his store,

This fickle-hearted courtesan even you did once adore!

Kisi Yakjai Se Ab Ehd-e-Ghulami Kar Lo

Millat-e-Ahmad (S.A.W.) Ko Magami Kar Lo!

Go, seek some constant mistress now, to her a new bond sign,

Muhammad's universal creed to narrow bounds confine!

Kis Qadar Tum Pe Garan Subah Ki Baidari Hai

Hum Se Kab Pyar Hai! Haan Neend Tumhain Pyari Hai

To pray to me at break of day You now an ordeal deem,

Your morning slumber sweeter far— Yet you would faithful seem!

Tabaa-e-Azad Pe Qaid-e-Ramazan Bhari Hai

Tumhi Keh Do, Yehi Aaeen-e-Wafadari Hai?

The hardships of the fast oppress your natures—now grown free;

Such are your ways and you still would protest your love for me!

Qoum Mazhab Se Hai, Mazhab Jo Nahin, Tum Bhi Nahin

Jazb-e-Baham Jo Nahin, Mehfil-e-Anjum Bhi Nahin

Unto a nation faith is life, You lost your faith and fell,

When gravitation fails, must cease concourse celestial.

Jin Ko Ata Nahin Dunya Mein Koi Fann, Tum Ho

Nahin Jis Qoum Ko Parwaye Nasheman, Tum Ho

You love your homes the least among the nations of the earth,

You are the most incompetent in knowledge and in worth;

Bijliyan Jis Mein Hon Aasudah, Woh Khirman Tum Ho

Baich Khate Hain Jo Aslaaf Ke Madfan, Tum Ho

You are a barn where lightning stays, where ruin idle lies,

Ancestral coffins long entombed your only merchandise;

Ho Niko Naam Jo Qabaron Ki Tajarat Kar Ke

Kya Na Baicho Ge Jo Mil Jaen Sanam Pathar Ke

In turning graves to profit, you have proved yourselves adept;

Should idol-trading offer gain of course you would accept.

Safah-e-Dehr Se Batil Ko Mitaya Kis Ne?

Nau-e-Insan Ko Ghulami Se Chhuraya Kis Ne?

Whose striving, from this world of mine, Its falsehoods did efface?

Whose toil, from age-old ignorance set free the human race?

Mere Kaabe Ko Jabeenon Se Basaya Kis Ne?

Mere Quran Ko Seenon Se Lagaya Kis Ne?

And whose the brows whose worship filled My Ka'ba's hallowed shrine?

Or whose the breasts which fondly held My 'Glorious Book Divine'?

The Tou Aaba Woh Tumhare Hi, Magar Tum Kya Ho?

Hath Par Hath Dhare Muntazir-e-Farda Ho!

These were your great progenitors; You lack their brain and brawn;

You sit and wait in slothful ease for every morrow's dawn.

Kya Kaha? "Bahr-e-Musalman Hai Faqt Wade-e-Hoor

Shikwa Be-Ja Bhi Kare Koi Tau Lazim Hai Shaoor!

And did you say, for Muslims I mere promises dispense?

Unjust laments at least should show some spark of commonsense.

Adal Hai Fatir-e-Hasti Ka Azal Se Dastoor

Muslim Aaeen Huwa Kafir Tau Mile Hoor-o-Qasoor

Eternal is the Law of God and Justice is its name,

Should infidels like Muslims live the meed shall be the same.

Tum Mein Hooron Ka Koi Chahne Wala Hi Nahin

Jalwa-e-Toor Tau Maujood Hai, Moosa Hi Nahin

Not a single one among you is longing for houris

The Effulgence of 'Tur' exists but there is no Moses

Manfa'at Aik Hai Is Qaum Ki, Nuqsan Bhi Aik

Ek Hi Sab Ka Nabi (S.A.W), Din Bhi, Iman Bhi Aik

Your nation's weal, your nation's woe, In common you all share,

Your Prophet (PBUH) and your creed the same, the same Truth you declare;

Harm-e-Paak Bhi, Allah Bhi, Quran Bhi Aik,

Kuch Bari Baat Thi Hote Jo Musalmaan Bhi Aik!

And one your Ka'ba, One your God, and one your great Quran;

Yet, still, divided each from each, Lives every Mussalman.

Firqa Bandi Hai Kahin, Aur Kahin Zaatain Hain

Kya Zamane Mein Panapne Ki Yehi Baatain Hain?

You split yourselves in countless sects, In classes high and low;

Think you the world its gifts will still on such as you bestow?

Kon Hai Taarik-e-Aaeen-e-Rasool-e-Mukhtar (S.A.W.)?

Maslihat Waqt Ki Hai Kis Ke Amal Ka Maayaar?

Who now forgetfully neglect My Rasool's Law sublime?

And whose lives write them clearly down As servers of the time?

Kis Ki Ankhon Mein Samaya Hai Sha'ar-e-Aghyar

Ho Gyi Kis Ki Nigah Tarz-e-Salaf Se Baizar?

To whom now other customs seem far nobler than their own?

By whom your great forefathers' ways once followed, are forsworn?

Qalb Mein Souz Nahin, Rooh Mein Ehsas Nahin

Kuch Bhi Paigham-e-Muhammad (S.A.W.) Ka Tumhain Paas Nahin

Your hearts are now of longing void, Your souls now know no zeal,

You heed no more that message great which Ahmad (PBUH) did reveal.

Jaa Ke Hote Hain Masajid Mein Saf-Aara, Tau Ghareeb

Zehmat-e-Roza Jo Karte Hain Gawara, Tau Ghareeb

If worship's echoes ring in mosques, It is the poor who pray;

If any fasting's hardship bear, It is the poor, today;

Naam Leta Hai Agar Koi Hamara, Tau Ghareeb

Pardah Rakhta Hai Agar Koi Tumhara, Tau Ghareeb

It is the humble and the poor who still my name esteem,

Theirs is the word, theirs is the deed, Yours the shame they redeem.

Umra Nasha-e-Doulat Mein Hain Ghafil Hum Se

Zinda Hai Millat-e-Baiza Ghurba Ke Dam Se

The rich are drunk with wine of wealth, their God they hardly know,

It is because the poor yet live That wells of Faith still flow.

Waaiz-e-Qoum Ki Woh Pukhta Khayali Na Rahi

Barq Taba'ee Na Rahi, Shaola Maqali Na Rahi

That judgment ripe is no more theirs who play your preachers' role,

Nor kindling accents from their lips, reveal the flaming soul.

Reh Gyi Rasm-e-Azan, Rooh-e-Bilali Na Rahi

Falsafa Reh Gya, Talqeen-e-Ghazali Na Rahi

Azan yet sounds, but never now Like Bilal's, soulfully;

Philosophy, conviction-less, Now mourns its Ghazzali,

Masjidain Marsiya Khawan Hain Ke Namazi Na Rahe

Yani Woh Sahib-e-Ausaf-e-Hijazi Na Rahe

Untrod by praying feet, the mosques lament their emptiness,

For gone are those exemplars great of Arab godliness

Shor Hai Ho Gaye Dunya Se Musalman Nabood

Hum Ye Kehte Hain Ke The Bhi Kahin Muslim Maujood!

'Tis said: "The Muslims quit this world, Their days are on the wane

The Muslims died out long ago; Such a lament is vain.

Waza Mein Tum Ho Nisara, Tau Tamaddun Mein Hanood,

Yeh Musalman Hain! Jinhain Dekh Ke Sharmaen Yahood?

From Christians you have learnt your style, your culture from Hindus;

How can a race as Muslims pass who shame even the Jews?

Yun To Syed Bhi Ho, Mirza Bhi Ho, Afghan Bhi Ho

Tum Sabhi Kuch Ho, Batao To Musalman Bhi Ho!

You are known as Syed, and Mughal, you call yourselves Pathan;

But can you truly claim as well the name of Mussalman?

Dam-e-Taqreer Thi Muslim Ki Sadaqat Bebak

Adal Uss Ka Tha Qawi, Loos-e-Mara'at Se Pak

The Muslim was sincere of speech, of fear his voice was free;

Just, staunch, he scorned the slightest breath of partiality.

Shajar-e-Fitrat-e-Muslim Tha Haya Se Namnak

Tha Shujaat Mein Woh Ek Hasti-e-Fouq-Ul-Idraak

In nature, like a tree, kept fresh by modesty most rare,

Yet braver than the bravest he, intrepid past compare.

Khud Gudazi Nam-e-Kaifiat-e-Sehbayesh Bood

Khali Az Khawaish Shudan Soorat-e-Meenayesh Bood

Like wine, upon the drinker's lips, his joy, in losing, lay;

As the cup pours its liquor out, he poured his 'self' away.

Har Musalman Rag-e-Batil Ke Liye Nashtar Tha

Uss Ke Aaeena-e-Hasti Mein Amal Jouhar Tha

What the knife is to cankerous growths, to all untruth was he,

His actions, in life's mirror shone like light, vibratingly.

Jo Bharosa Tha Usse Quwwat-e-Bazoo Par Tha

Hai Tumhain Mout Ka Dar, Uss Ko Khuda Ka Dar Tha

If he was confident of aught, It was his right arm's might,

He feared but God, while thoughts of death your craven souls affright.

Baap Ka Ilm Na Bete Ko Agar Azbar Ho

Phir Pisar Qabil-e-Miraas-e-Pidar Kyunkar Ho!

When sons, lacking their fathers' worth, are neither skilled nor sage,

With what deserving can they claim their fathers' heritage?

Har Koi Mast-e-Mai-e-Zaug-e-Tan Asani Hai,

Tum Musalman Ho? Ye Andaaz-e-Musalmani Hai?

he love of ease, like fumes of wine makes sots of you today,

How dare you pass as Mussalmans? That is not Islam's way?

Haidari Faqr Hai Ne Doulat-e-Usmani Hai

Tum Ko Aslaaf Se Kya Nisbat-e-Rohani Hai?

Nor Usman's treasure-chest you own, Nor Ali's empty bowl,

With spirits of such great forbears, What kinship has your soul?

Woh Zamane Mein Mu'azzaz The Musalman Ho Kar

Aur Tum Khawar Huwe Taarik-e-Quran Ho Kar

The honoured of their times, they lived, For theirs was true iman,

You live disgraced, as having left the paths of Al-Quran.

Tum Ho Apas Mein Ghazabnak, Woh Apas Mein Raheem

Tum Khatakaar-o-Khatabeen, Woh Khata Posh-o-Kareem

You roll the eye of mutual wrath, Their eye was ever kind;

You err, for errors look, while they were generously blind.

Chahte Sub Hain Ke Hon Auj-e-Surayya Pe Muqeem,

Pehle Waisa Koi Paida Tau Kare Qalb-e-Salim!

Aspiring for the Pleiades, How simple it all seems!

But let there first be hearts like theirs, To justify such dreams.

Takht-e-Faghfoor Bhi Un Ka Tha, Sareer-e-Ke Bhi

Yunhi Baatain Hain Ke Tum Mein Woh Hameeyyat Hai Bhi?

They reigned upon the Chinese throne, They wore the Persian crown:

Where is that honour that they knew—Words are your whole renown.

Khudkushi Shewa Tumhara, Woh Ghayoor-o-Khuddar

Tum Akhuwat Se Gurezan, Woh Akhuwat Pe Nisar

They fought for honour, self-respect, Yours the self-slayer's knife,

You shun the ties of brotherhood, They cherished more than life

Tum Ho Guftar Sarapa, Woh Sarapa Kirdar

Tum Taraste Ho Kali Ko, Woh Gulistan Bah Kinar

You can but weave the web of words, They did their deeds of might:

You pine after a bud: they basked In gardens flower-bright.

Ab Talak Yaad Hai Qoumon Ko Hikayat Un Ki

Naqsh Hai Safah-e-Hasti Pe Sadaqat Un Ki

The world remembers still the tales which hymn their bravery,

And in their storied book of life shines their sincerity.

Misl-e-Anjum Ufaq-e-Qoum Pe Roshan Bhi Huwe

But-e-Hindi Ki Mohabbat Mein Barhman Bhi Huwe

Upon your nation's sky you rose like stars of brilliant hue,

The lure of India's idols made even Brahmans out of you;

Shauq-e-Parwaz Mein Mehjoor-e-Nasheman Bhi Huwe

Be-Amal The Hi Jawan, Deen-e-Se Badzan Bhi Huwe

Drawn by the wander-lust, you went a-roving 'from your nests:

Slothful in good, your youth next learnt to doubt their faith's behests;

In Ko Tehzeeb Ne Har Bande Se Azad Kiya

La Ke Kaabe Se Sanamkhane Mein Abad Kiya

'Enlightenment' ensnared you all, and all your 'fetters' fell,

The land of Ka'ba you forsook, In idol-land to dwell!

Qais Zehmat Kash-e-Tanhai-e-Sehra Na Rahe

Shehr Ki Khaye Huwa, Bad Ye Pema Na Rahe!

If longing Qais roams no more, but seeks the town again,

Leaving the lonely desert wastes to share tile life 0f men,

Woh To Diwana Hai, Basti Mein Rahe Ya Na Rahe

Ye Zaroori Hai Hijab-e-Rukh-e-Laila Na Rahe!

Qais is mad: what if he dwells in town or wilderness?

Yet from him Layla must not veil her face in bashfulness!

Gila-e-Jor Na Ho, Shikwa-e-Baidad Na Ho

Ishq Azad Hai, Kyun Husn Bhi Azad Na Ho!

Complain ye not of heart unkind nor speak of tyranny!

When Love no bondage knows, then why should Beauty not be free?

Ehd-e-Nau Barq Hai, Aatish Zan-e-Har Khirman Hai

Ayman Is Se Koi Sehra No Koi Gulshan Hai

Each stack and barn it sets on fire, This lightning-like New Age,

Nor bowling wild nor garden gay escapes its flaming rage;

Is Nayi Aag Ka Aqwam-e-Kuhan Indhan Hai

Millat-e-Khatam-e-Rusal (S.A.W.) Shaola Ba Perahan Hai

This new fire feeds on fuel old,—The nations of the past,

And they too burn to whom was sent God's Messenger, the last.

Aaj Bhi Jo Baraheem (A.S.) Ka Imaan Paida

Aag Kar Sakti Hai Andaz-e-Gulistan Paida

But if the faith of Abraham there, once again, is born,

Where leaps this flame, flowers will bloom, and laugh its blaze to scorn.

Dekh Kar Rang-e-Chaman Ho Na Pareshan Mali

Koukab-e-Ghuncha Se Shakhain Hain Chamakne Wali

Yet, let the gardener not be sad to see the garden's plight,

For soon its branches will be gay with buds, like stars of light;

Khas-o-Khashaak Se Hota Hai Gulistan Khali

Gul Bar Andaaz Hai Khoon-e-Shuhada Ki Laali

The withered leaves and weeds will pass, and all its sweepings old;

For there, again, will martyr-blood in roses red unfold.

Rang Gardoon Ka Zara Dekh Tau Unnabi Hai

Yeh Nikalte Huwe Suraj Ki Ufaq Taabi Hai

But look! a hint of russet hue, Brightening the eastern skies,

The glow on you horizon's brow, Heralds a new sunrise.

Ummatain Gulshan-e-Hasti Mein Samar Cheeda Bhi Hain

Aur Mehroom-e-Samar Bhi Hain, Khazan Didah Bhi Hain

In Life's old garden nations lived who all its fruits enjoyed,

While others longed in vain, while some the winter blasts destroyed;

Saikron Nakhl Hain, Kaheeda Bhi, Baleeda Bhi Hain

Saikron Batan-e-Chaman Mein Abhi Poshida Bhi Hain

Its trees are legion; some decay, While others flush with bloom,

And thousands still their birth await, Hid in the garden's womb;

Nakhl-e-Islam Namoona Hai Bru-Mandi Ka

Phal Hai Ye Saikron Saalon Ki Chaman Bandi Ka

A symbol of luxuriance, The Tree of Islam reigns,

Its fruits achieved with centuries of garden-tending pains.

Pak Hai Gard-e-Watan Se Sirr-e-Daman Tera

Tu Woh Yousaf Hai Ke Har Misr Hai Kinaan Tera

Thy robe is free from dust of home, Not thine such narrow ties,

That Yousuf thou, who Canaan sweet, In every Egypt lies;

Qafila Ho Na Sake Ga Kabhi Weeran Tera

Ghair Yak Bang-e-Dara Kuch Nahin Saman Tera

The gafila can ne'er disperse Thou holdest the starting bells

Nought else is needed, if thy will Thy onward march impels.

Nakhl-e-Shama Asti-o-Dar Shaola Dawad Resha-e-Tu

Aaqbat Soz Bawad Saya-e-Andesha-e-Tu

Thou candle-tree! thy wick-like root, Its top with flame illumes,

Thy thought is fire, its very breath all future care consumes.

Tu Na Mit Jaye Ga Iran Ke Mit Jane Se

Nasha-e-Mai Ko Ta'aluq Nahin Pemane Se

And thou shalt suffer no surcease should Iran's star decline,

'Tis not the vessel which decides the potency of wine;

Hai Ayan Yorish-e-Tataar Ke Afsane Se

Pasban Mil Gaye Kaabe Ko Sanam Khane Se

'Tis proved to all the world, from tales of Tartar conquerors,

The Ka'ba brave defenders found in temple-worshippers.

Kashti-e-Haq Ka Zamane Mein Sahara Tu Hai

Asr-e-Nau Raat Hai, Dhundla Sa Sitara Tu Hai

In thee relies the bark of God, Adrift beyond the bar,

The new-born age is dark as night, And thou its dim pole-star.

Hai Jo Hangama Bipa Yorish-e-Balghari Ka

Ghafilon Ke Liye Pegham Hai Baidari Ka

The Bulgars march! the fiend of war in fearful fury breathes;

The message comes: "Sleepers, awake! The Balkan cauldron seethes."

Tu Samajhta Hai Ye Saman Hai Dil Aazari Ka

Imtihan Hai Tere Isaar Ka, Khud-Dari Ka

Thou deemest this a cause of grief, Thy heart is mortified;

But nay, thy pride, thy sacrifice, Thus, once again, are tried.

Kyun Harasan Hai Saheel-e-Faras-e-Aada Se

Noor-e-Haq Bujh Na Sake Ga Nafs-e-Aada Se

Beneath thy foes if chargers neigh? Why tremblest thou in fright?

For never, never, shall their breath extinguish Heaven's light.

Chashme-e-Aqwam Se Makhfi Hai Haqiqat Teri

Hai Abhi Mehfil-e-Hasti Ko Zaroorat Teri

Not yet have other nations seen what thou art truly worth,

The realm of Being has need of thee for perfecting this earth.

Zinda Rakhti Hai Zamane Ko Hararat Teri

Koukab-e-Qismat-e-Imkan Hai Khilafat Teri

If aught yet keeps world alive, 'Tis thine impetuous zeal,

And thou shalt rise its ruling star, And thou shalt shape its weal.

Waqt-e-Fursat Hai Kahan, Kaam Abhi Baqi Hai

Noor-e-Touheed Ka Itmam Abhi Bagi Hai

This is no time for idle rest, Much yet remains undone;

The lamp of tawhid needs thy touch to make it shame the sun!

Misl-e-Bu Qaid Hai Ghunche Mein, Preshan Ho Ja

Rakht Bar Dosh Hawaye Chamanistan Ho Ja

Thou art like fragrance in the bud, Diffuse thyself: be free.

Perfume the garden breeze, and fill the earth with scent of thee.

Hai Tunk Maya To Zarre Se Byaban Ho Ja

Naghma-e-Mouj Se Hangama-e-Toofan Ho Ja!

From dusty speck, do thou increase to trackless desert-main.

From a faint breeze, a tempest grow, Become a hurricane!

Quwwat-e-Ishq Se Har Past Ko Bala Kar De

Dehr Mein Ism-e-Muhammad (S.A.W.) Se Ujala Kar De Raise thou, through Love, all humble to greatness and to fame; Enlighten thou the groping world with dear Muhammad's Name. Ho Na Ye Phool To Bulbul Ka Tarannum Bhi Na Ho Chaman-e-Dehr Mein Kaliyon Ka Tabassum Bhi Na Ho If this fair flower blossom not, The bulbul will not sing, Nor rose-buds make the garden smile welcoming in the spring; Ye Na Saqi Ho To Phir Mai Bhi Na Ho, Khum Bhi Na Ho Bazm-e-Touheed Bhi Dunya Mein Na Ho, Tum Bhi Na Ho If he is not the saki, then nor jar nor wine will be, Nor in this world will tawhid shine, Nor thy heart beat in thee; Khema Aflak Ka Istada Issi Naam Se Hai Nabz-e-Hasti Tapish Aamadah Issi Naam Se Hai Yonder ethereal skyey tent, This great name still sustains, And dancing to its music, flows the blood in Life's own veins. Dasht Mein, Daman-e-Kuhsar Mein, Maidan Mein Hai Behr Mein, Mouj Ki Aghosh Mein, Toofan Mein Hai 'Tis in the forests and the hills, And on the tranquil plains, On the seas, in the arms of waves, In roar of hurricanes; Cheen Ke Shehr, Maragash Ke Byaban Mein Hai Aur Poshida Musalman Ke Iman Mein Hai A music heard in China's towns, Morocco's desert-song, And hid within each Muslim's heart, It makes his faith grow strong. Chashm-e-Agwam Ye Nazara Abad Tak Dekhe Riffat-e-Shan-e-'Rafaana La Ka Zikrak' Dekhe Let all the peoples of the world see till the end of time, How I have made this glorious name beyond all thought sublime! Mardam-e-Chashm-e-Zameen Yani Woh Kali Dunya Woh Tumhare Shuhada Palne Wali Dunya That pupil of the eye of Earth, Soil only dark men tread, That region where have always been your martyrs born and bred, Garmi-e-Mehr Ki Parwarda Hilali Dunya Ishq Wale Jise Kehte Hain Bilali Dunya That land upon the hot sun's lap, That land of al-hilal, Which lovers fondly love to call The land of their Bilal,--Tapish Andoz Hai Iss Naam Se Paare Ki Tarah Ghouta Zan Noor Mein Hai Aankh Ke Tare Ki Tarah Is all a-quiver with this Name, Like trembling mercury, Like pupils dark, in pools of light, It swims perpetually! Agal Hai Teri Sipar, Ishq Hai Shamsheer Teri Mere Darvaish! Khilafat Hai Jahangeer Teri Thy shield be wisdom, be thy sword the flaming Love Divine, My fond dervish! dost thou not know that all the world is thine? Ma Siwa Allah Ke Liye Aag Hai Takbeer Teri Tu Musalman Ho To Taqdeer Hai Tadbeer Teri All else but God is at thy feet, If sounds thy Takbeer great; If thou a Muslim truly art, Thy effort is thy fate. Ki Muhammed (S.A.W.) Se Wafa Tu Ne Tau Hum Tere Hain

Yeh Jahan Cheez Hai Kya, Loh-o-Qalam Tere Hain To my Muhammad be but true, And thou hast conquered me; The world is nought: thou shalt command My Pen of Destiny.

Ref:

 $\underline{http://shayari3.blogspot.com/2012/03/jawab-e-shikwa-by-allama-iqbal-with.html}$

www.alhassanain.org/english