

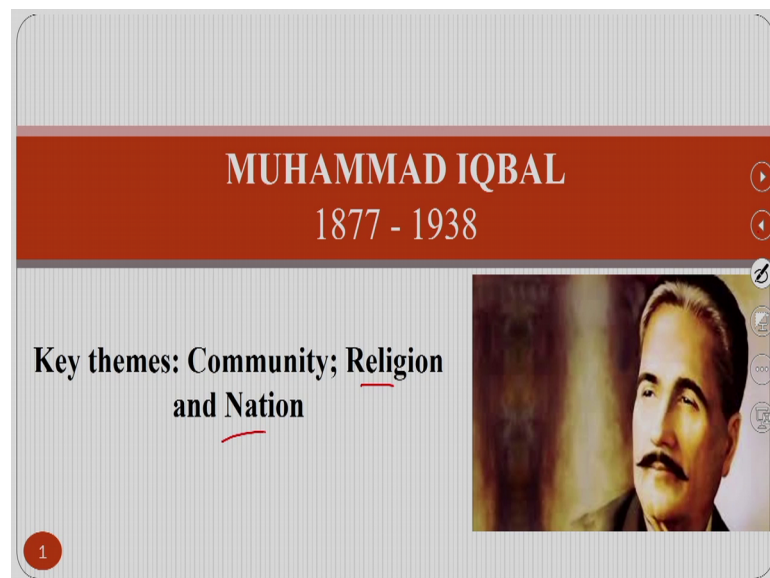
**Introduction to Modern Indian Political Thought**  
**Dr. Mithilesh Kumar Jha**  
**Department of Humanities & Social Sciences**  
**Indian Institute of Technology, Guwahati**

**Lecture – 16**  
**Muhammad Iqbal: Religion and Nation**

Hello and welcome friends to the second and concluding lecture on Iqbal. In the first lecture we have discussed Iqbal his political life influences on his thought and his conception of Khudi or self and also his ideas about reconstruction of religious thought in Islam.

In this lecture we are going to discuss his thought on community and religion and also how it is connected to this idea of community.

(Refer Slide Time: 01:04)



So, in this lecture we will discuss his views on religion, nation and how this ideas on religion and nation is deeply connected with the idea of community in the sense of Qawm and miller. And as we have discussed in Iqbal, he was trying to reconcile between two contradictory forces of nationalism as a territorially defined geography on the one hand and the universal appeal of humanism, in Islam or global fraternity on the other.

So, Iqbal in a way swimming against the tide of his time in a sense of establishing or articulating the idea of pan Islamism or Millat as a religious community in Islam and trying to reconcile it with the idea of nationalism.

So, in this lecture we are going to discuss his thought on qawm, Millat and how these are embedded in his overall thinking and theorisation of Islam or Islamic religion. We will begin with his criticism to Sufism from which he derived some of the ideas, but he also critic the Indian variant of Sufism which tries to articulate the individual and his role in a sense of connecting with a higher spiritual self by withdrawing from the real world.

Iqbal on the other hand wanted the individual to constantly act upon his thinking and belief and we have seen in the previous lecture in his philosophy of self how he define individual as someone who act and someone act that defines him and not just his thinking or thought about society politics and religion.

(Refer Slide Time: 02:58)

**Critique of Sufism**

- Although Iqbal was influenced by Sufism, he did not accept its philosophy as a whole. He accepted the teachings of Sufis as it emphasized on the role of intuitions in the process of cognition.
- At the same time he completely rejected the negative attitude of the Sufis towards reason and rationalistic philosophy and he was also critical of their preaching of men's withdrawal from the real world.
- Iqbal believed that the mysticism of the Sufis cannot contribute to the overall development of human personality.

So, to look at his critic of Sufism what you find is Iqbal was influenced by many ideals of Sufism and;however, he did not accept Sufism and it is philosophy as a whole. What he accept from Sufism is the teaching of Sufis as a it emphasized on the role of intuitions in the process of cognitions. This is opposite to the western focus on rationalism or region as the basis of thought Iqbal derived his understanding of cognitive process or thinking from the Islamic tradition especially Sufism which believes in the role of intuition in the cognitive process.

However, Iqbal who has also problems with many of the teachings of Sufism so, he completely rejected the negative attitude of the Sufis towards reason and rationality and it is emphasis more and more on experience or the feelings or the emotions or the belief systems. So, Iqbal was trying to reconcile between these intuitions, beliefs and faith on the one hand and reason and rationality on the other hand there is the contribution of Iqbal in the reconstruction of religious thought in Islam.

And he was also critical of their preaching's of men's withdrawal from the real world. So, in many of the religious doctrines including Sufism there is this understanding of human being and it is true nature and realization of such true nature by withdrawing the self from the real world the outer world.

Iqbal has a very radical understanding of such view points where he believes that man must act upon or ceaselessly engage with the real world and that engagement enables him or her to realise the true nature of the self and it also help in the reconstruction of society and transformation of the social political condition of the community.

So, many of the degradation that he saw in India as a whole particularly among the Muslim community he believed in this ideals that such teachings of withdrawal from the real world lead to stagnation or withdrawal or resignation of a individual to the fate and to the divinity. He wanted a self individual who is who is a defining himself, who is acting upon his beliefs and that acting enables the self to define itself and not the divine intervention or the fate as we have seen in his idea of idea of self or Khudi Asrar-i-khudi. So, in Iqbal there is deriving of certain ideals from Sufism, but also rejection of many of it is negative teachings which teach the individual to withdraw from the real world.

So, Iqbal believed that the mysticism of the Sufi cannot contribute to the overall development of human personality. And therefore, he want the reconciling between mysticism intuitions or some religious doctrines or principles in Islam with the modern national or logical arguments of the modern continental analytical philosophy.

So, he wanted to combine the to redefine the notion of self the notion of self within the Islam and on that basis he also criticised the western conception of self and his theory of politics or Millat or Qawm is defined by such reinterpretation of Islam in the light of modern knowledge and thinking.

(Refer Slide Time: 07:11)

**His views on Religion and Islam:**

- In his famous Allahabad speech (1930), he said that religion is a power of the utmost importance in the life of individuals as well as for the states. This is further implied in his statement that 'Islam is something more than a creed, it is a community, a nation. The membership of Islam as a community is not determined by birth, locality or naturalization; it consists in the identity of belief'!
- Iqbal argued that Islam is a philosophy of life, the embodiment of definite historical and cultural traditions, social and legal institutions and way of living. He also believed that working of Islam as a culture is inspired by a specific ethical ideal.

3

If you look at his views on religion and Islam particularly his a speech in Allahabad as a president of the Muslim league he said that religion is a power of the utmost importance in the life of individual as well as for the states. Now this point is crucial to understand the shift in Iqbal from a patriotic Indian nationalist to a supporter of separatist Muslim nationhood and gradually to a kind of pan Islamic thinker in terms of Millat Millat as a community of Islam as a creed.

So, in his whole articulation thought process religion becomes the basis the very foundation of all his philosophy of self or community or nationhood or the pan Islamic notion of community. So, he developed the critic to Congress notion of Swaraj or politics which emphasis on the secular notion of politics. Whereas, Iqbal was promoting or articulating a polity which will be guided by the Islamic principle or Islamic laws of course, it will be reinterpreted with the modern knowledge with the reason and he was for the liberal interpretation nonetheless his polity or his understanding of polity and state is something which he should be guided by the religion.

So, religion for and therefore, he argued in many of his speeches and writings against any form of Swaraj and politics which is which is rejecting the religion and professing secularism which he considered as a reason of decline in the west he was very critical about that. So, he said that Swaraj for him has no meaning unless it also include the religion and religious teachings.

So, for Iqbal religion and its power remains very fundamental and it has application for individual self and also for the polity of the state. This is further implied in his statement that Islam is something more than a creed for Iqbal religion is not narrowly defined as a belief system or merely as a fate or creed. But for Iqbal Islam is something more than a creed it is a community or a nation this we will discuss when we will discuss Qawm and Millat, but for Iqbal the idea of Islam or the Islamic laws and traditions is much more than a creed or a belief system.

The membership of Islam as a community is not determined by birth, locality naturalisation; it consists in identity of belief the ideal the principle the moral belief system or an ethical belief system of self and how self is manifestation of divinity and what is the ideal of the self and this realization of divinity in self is possible within the community and that community is the community of Islam.

So, he considers this idea of Islam as a community or as a nation which is not determined or its membership is not determined by the birth, locality or naturalization. So, all the boundaries of birth race or geography are transcended by this new interpretation of Islam and the role of Islam in governing individual and the collective life.

In Islam with Iqbal's philosophy which provides a kind of equality a kind of comradeship among the believers of Islam which determines the nature of the community or the nation which is a kind of continuum for Iqbal. So, Iqbal argued that Islam is a philosophy of life the embodiment of definite historical and cultural, traditions, social and legal institutions and a way of living. He also believed that working of Islam as a culture is inspired by a specific ethical ideal that belief in one God supreme almighty and that supreme almighty is manifested through it is believer.

The individual self is the manifestation of such such divinity and the objective of the life for Iqbal is to realize such divinity in the individual self to constantly act upon one's belief system and not merely by thinking or by resigning by withdrawing from the real world.

So, for Iqbal Islam is a philosophy of life which is embodiment of definite historical and cultural traditions and also social and legal he wanted to have a modern system of collective consensual decision making. But that decision making should be based on ijtihad that so, collective argument about policies, laws, institutions and the frameworks to

govern the modern collective life. But that should be guided by a particular belief system or a philosophy which is provided by Islam, which is beyond the narrowly defined or interpretation of Islam as merely as a belief system or creed.

(Refer Slide Time: 12:57)

End - Common milk

- He never equated Muslim nationalism with religious intolerance and with narrow communal outlook. He said, “Islam does not bifurcate the unity of man into an irreconcilable duality of spirit and matter. In Islam, God and the universe, spirit and the matter are organic to each other.”
- Iqbal openly acknowledged that the reformation of Islam would serve the sociopolitical ends as well. He explained the need to reform Islam by citing the progress of the development of social thought and science in the west. “It is the duty of the leaders of the world of Islam today to understand the real meaning of what has happened in Europe and then move forward with self control and clear insight into the ultimate aims of Islam as a social policy.”

4

So, in Iqbal we also find that he never equated Muslim nationalism with religious intolerance and with narrow communal outlook. So, for him the Islam and Islamic religion is interpreted or projected in a broader liberal which can include all kind of differences or plurality and yet believe in one particular almighty or god as a way of combining the difference and yet believing in something to which all agree despite of their different or plural characteristics.

So, for Iqbal the definition of Muslim nationalism was not about religious intolerance or communal in outlook he said that Islam does not bifurcate the unity of man into an irreconcilable duality of a spirit and matter. In Islam god and the universe a spirit and the matter are organic to each other so, this is also Iqbal response to the modern conception of self, a spirit and the matter. So, there is a lots of debate in analytical philosophy about the primacy of a spirit over a matter or among the materialism about this quality of god or the man or nature or the man.

Iqbal tries to transcend such binary or duality by explaining it as a kind of continuum, as a kind of constant ceaseless movement for acquiring new and newer newer form or a spirit. So, in Iqbal idea of nation also is a kind of continuum so, as a individual believer

in Islam one can realise it is true nature or true meaning only in a community that community of Islam can be either com which is a nation Millat which is a kind of Islamic community which encompasses all the national boundary.

So, in Iqbal there is a kind of constant unfolding of oneself from individual to the larger and to the still larger kind of thing. So, in such definition there is a kind of organic connection between each other rather than the duality or binary as often seen in many many philosophy and thought process.

So, Iqbal openly acknowledges that the reformation of Islam would serve the socio political as well. So, in a sense Iqbal is someone trying to preach the religious or the supremacy of a particular form of worship or belief system. For Iqbal Islam is something much more than merely a belief system or a creed and he thought that if the is jihad that we have discussed the liberal interpretation or per permitting the individual or giving the permission to individual to interpret the Islamic laws particularly liberally in their own in their own ways.

Then, it can also lead to the socio political and as well on the social and the political polices can also be formulated on the basis of such liberal interpretation of Islam. Here it is also significant to note that Iqbal is also making a difference between the complete freedom or the free will to interpret is jihad by individual on the one hand and also submitting to the will of god on the other.

So, this continuum from the liberal interpretation of a is jihad and submitting to the will of god in a form of community that is something also very unique to Iqbal which is very distinct from the modern, western conception of at a mystic self thinking and realising its own self the way it thinks and act upon in a isolatry atomistic way.

Iqbal is conceptualising the individual in connection with the community and that is something very unique in his thought. So, he explained the need to reform Islam by citing progress of the development of social thought and science in the west. So, many of his ideals about the self, the ego, the rationality, the role of logic comes from his engagement with the modern western philosophy.

So, he believe then that it is the duty of the leaders of the world of Islam today to understand that the real meaning of what has happened in Europe and then move forward

with self control and a clear insight into the ultimate aims of Islam as a social policy. So, he believed that Islam can be a guide for the public political and social policies among the Muslims community as a whole and he cautioned or he invited the leaders among the Muslim communities to realise the true meaning of modern science or modern rationality.

And it is role to reinterpret Islam in the light of modern circumstances in the according to the requirements of the modern life and that can perhaps lead to a kind of social policy which will be in continuation with the ultimate aim of Islam. So, the religious embeddedness of Iqbal remains very foundational when he is trying to reinterpret Islam liberally or the tradition of is jihad.

(Refer Slide Time: 19:04)

**His idea on *khudi*, *Qawm*, and *Millat***

- His most significant contributions to political thought were the twin concepts of *Khudi* (self-affirmation, or ego) and *Millat* (used by Iqbal to refer to the religious community and equated with nation).
- Although he championed the need for the free development of the *khudi*, he saw the need to counterbalance it with the concept of *Bekhudi*. *Bekhudi*, in Iqbal's use essentially refers to the force that brings the individual ego in line with the social/community ego.
- Iqbal's use of the term *Millat* is interesting. The term is generally used in the Quran to refer to a religious community. Iqbal's interpretation of Islam as a polity led him to postulate that the individual ideally belongs to a supra-territorial community of believers, the *Millat*.

His ideas on Khudi the self the Qawm which is nation or nationality on Millat which is the universal community on the basis of Islam so, if you look at these notions in Iqbal we find that the more significant contribution to political thought of Iqbal were the twin concepts of Khudi which is self affirmation or ego and the Millat used by Iqbal to refer to the religious community and equated with nation. So, a Qawm and Millat is a kind of continuation based on the religious ideals and laws of Islam.

So, this connection, this twin principle of Khudi or the self on the one hand and the notion of Millat or the religious community on the basis of Islam on the other end something which is the contribution of Iqbal to political thought. So, what we find is that



although he championed the need for the free development of the Khudi or the self the individual he saw the need to counterbalance it with the concept of Bekhudi.

Bekhudi in Iqbal's use essentially refer to the force that brings the individual ego in line with the social and the community ego there is a kind of new interpretation by looking at the comparative traditions of Islamic tradition of self intuitions and ethical moral principle on the one hand and the modern western conception of self on the other. So, Iqbal in his conception of individuality focuses on the free development of individual in his notion of Khudi or self he also somewhat interpret or counterbalance it with this collective self or the role of community.

So, the Khudi the self can attain or can achieve or realise it is own self in a community not in isolation from the community and not by being autonomous or free from the community and larger collective self. So, so, in Iqbal's philosophy and writings and works you find a very delicate balance or counterbalance between the free will or complete free will of the self to develop itself on the one hand.

And also how he want that individual to submit to the collective ego or the ego of the community and that way he thought that individual can realise it is own true meaning as prescribed in the Islamic laws and tradition. Here the use of term Millat in Iqbal's philosophy is very interesting in a sense that term is generally used in Quran this word Millat which is also form of community of pan Islamic community based on Islam or a belief in Islam this term he has taken from Quran where it refers to a religious community.

But the interpretation he gave is along the line of modern quality where there was debate about league of nation or the community of the nation or the global intuition in such a way he propounded this idea of Millat or pan Islamism which he has taken from many other Muslim scholars and preachers. So, his interpretation of Islam as a polity lead him to postulate that the individual ideally belongs to it is supra territorial community of believers in one faith one absolute being that he calls.

(Refer Slide Time: 23:08)

**From 'Qawm' to 'Millat'**

- Iqbal earlier emphasized on Islam as National community (*Qawm*) whereas in the later period he proceeded to emphasize on Islam as a part of *Millat* (religious community). He elaborated that the body and soul of the *Millat* are composed of a belief in the unity of God; this very unity is the basis for the unity of thought amongst Muslims.
- Iqbal clearly visualized the Muslims as part of a wider 'nation' of believers bound together by the teachings of the Prophet and the message of the Quran. Therefore, we can clearly see a transition in his thought from Muslim nationalism to a pan-Islamic unity.
- He, as a philosopher, never clearly separate the concept of the religious community (*Millat*) and the national community (*Qawm*). Although, he tried to distinguish these two concepts, he was not very consistent. It is because he stated Indian Muslims as a nation in his famous presidential address of 1930. But in his opinion this did not mean that any religious community constituted a nation.

6

There is also his shift in this idea of community from *Qawm* to *Millat*. So, he also because of the immediate circumstances or the historical circumstances of his time supported this idea of *Qawm* or that definition of *Qawm* based on religion. So, therefore, he championed the cause of separate institute for Muslims in Indian subcontinent, but he was not satisfied or in his matured philosophy, he certainly talked more about the *Millat* and he rejected the whole idea of nation and nationalism like Tagore.

So, there is a shift in his thought from *Qawm* to *Millat* and what we find is that in Iqbal earlier emphasised on Islam as national community. And he articulated Pakistan on the basis of this homogeneities or similarity or a kind of religious gift to the Muslims in subcontinent in which automatically or naturally enables them to form as a people as a community.

So, his idea of *Qawm* as a national community he emphasised in his earlier writings whereas, in the later period or in his later writings he proceeded to emphasize on Islam as a part of *Millat* which is a religious community of those who believe in the same god or the who believes in the salute of that almighty. So, he elaborated that the body and soul of *Millat* are composed of a belief in the unity of god and this very unity is the basis for unity of thought among the Muslims.

So, the global community of Islam as a *Millat* is possible because of this unity in a belief about the unity of the god, there is there is one god that is absolute god. And that belief

enables a kind of unity of thought among different races, different territorial communities or mystic communities who may follow the Islam and yet they develop a similarity in outlook in their thought, in their polity and Iqbal gradually emphasis more on such idea of Millat as the true community or as a ultimate objective of Islam. And the way he was trying to reinterpret Islam not merely as a religious doctrine, but also as a guide for the political community.

So, Iqbal clearly visualized Muslim as part of a wider nation that is a supra nation not geographically or territorially defined nation of believers bound together by the teachings of the prophet and the message of the Quran. So, that is something which unite, which give a kind of similarity in outlook or in thought among different groups, different races different geographies of the believers in Quran or the message of prophet.

So, therefore, we can clearly see transition in his thought from Muslim nationalism to a pan Islamic thinker or someone who supported the pan Islamic unity. So, he as a philosopher; however, never clearly separate the concept of religious community as a Millat or pan Islamism and the national community as a Qawm and that although he tried to distinguish these two concepts, he was not very consistence. It is because, he stated Indian Muslims as a nation in his famous presidential address of 1930's, but in his opinion this did not mean that any religious community constituted a nation.

So, there is a kind of tension in this concept of Qawm and Millat Millat in Iqbals thought where on the one hand he promoted or articulated the idea of Millat as the ultimate objective of Islam and all the nations of Islamic world should unite to form such community and he began to write in person also because, person is the mean mode of communication among the Muslim world. So, gradually he eh he moved away from his writings in Urdu to a to person writing and his intimate knowledge of person enabled him to conceptualise a such a world community of Islam on the basis of Islamic teachings and laws.

But, he also supported and promoted the idea of Pakistan on the basis of religion. And so, therefore, the Qawm and the Millat remain a kind of inconsistent ideals or kind of tension in Iqbals thoughts and philosophy.

(Refer Slide Time: 28:29)

➤ He wrote it in the following words: *Rumi*  
Our essence is not bound to any place;  
Neither is our heart of India or Syria, or Rum;  
Nor any fatherland do we profess except Islam.

➤ Further;  
China and Arabia are ours, so is India ours;  
We are Muslims, and the whole world is our country.

➤ And, therefore, for Iqbal establishment of a Muslim state in Indian subcontinent was not an end in itself but a means to achieve a higher goal by integrating the national identity with the world *Millat*. This understanding of *Millat* in Iqbal was based on two principle - a) 'absolute equality of all the members of the community'; b) 'the law of God is absolutely supreme'. This kind of pan-Islamism will bring about, according to Iqbal, a spiritual democracy - which is the ultimate aim of Islam in which 'many can become one without sacrificing its plural character'.

7

So, to understand this more we can take this two couplets from Iqbal and one can understand this tension of Qawm and Millat in his thought. So, he wrote it in this tension one can understand from this writing of Iqbal where he says; our essence is not bound to any place neither is or heart of India or Syria or Rum; Rum is here he is referring to Rumi a mystic figure who profoundly wrote on the idea of self and Iqbal was greatly influenced by his teaching.

So, he writes that our essence is not bound to any place in a geographical sense also neither is our heart of India or Syria or Rum nor any fatherland do we profess except Islam. So, Islam is the basis of Millat or the ultimate elegance for the any Muslim believer or any believer in Islam. So, they do not confine their elegance and loyalty to a particular nation which is geographically or territorially defined, but something which is religiously defined which is Millat.

And therefore, he wanted the believers to believe in such a community of pan-Islamic nations. So, further on we can find that China and Arabia are ours so, is India ours we are Muslims and the whole world is our country. So, it is a kind of transformation in his thought about the role of Islam or how one can constitute a community of the world on the basis of Islamic laws or the Islamic principles.

And therefore, for Iqbal establishment of a Muslim state or a nation in Indian subcontinent was not an end in itself, but a means to achieve a higher goal by integrating the

national identity with the world Millat. So, he supported the creation of Pakistan as a separate nation, but that was not an end itself for Iqbal that was a means to achieve something higher, something superior that is the community of Islam the Millat.

This understanding of Millat in Iqbal was based on this 2 principle; one was the absolute equality of all the members of the community. So, there is no discrimination on the basis of race language or the geographical location or the territory for him the absolute equality of all members the whole idea of fraternity or brotherhood the true meaning in Islam becomes one of the founding principle of this idea of Millat in Iqbal

So, absolute equality of all members of the community and b the love of god is absolutely supreme so, the second principle of this Millat is the will of Allah or will of god. So, therefore, in his conception of self also while he wanted the individual to define himself or herself yet should be willing to the willing to submit himself or herself to the will of god or the ego of community or the collective self.

So, that is something which constitute his idea of Millat as well which is based on these two principles; one on absolute equality of all the members of the community, the second this belief in one god which is absolutely supreme. So, this kind of pan Islamism will bring about according to Iqbal a spiritual democracy and this is something which is an alternative to this peculiar or the western modes of democracy and it is beliefs in this dichotomisation of different spheres of life between polity, economy, polity, economy and religion on the other hand. And religions recedes to the private life for Iqbal religion should be at the for front of all sphere of life and more so, in the collective life of the community.

So, he believes that this idea of pan Islamism will bring about a spiritual democracy which is the ultimate aim of Islam in which the many can become one without sacrificing its plural characteristics. So, this is his idea of pan Islamism or Millat where all the communities despite of their different characteristic, different physical outlook, different language, different races can form a solidarity can form a brotherhood on the basis of these two principle and that can lead to a kind of spiritualised democracy which is the ultimate aim of Islam the way he tries to use Islam for the political transformation in the community.

(Refer Slide Time: 33:35)

**Nation and nationalism**

- Iqbal's critique of the nation-state and his call for the political re-organization of India were the result of his attempts to relocate the 'nation' along the lines of religion, which he felt was the only way to secure the proper development of the individual.
- Iqbal's re-formulation of the concept of the nation and nationhood should not simply be understood as a re-assertion of Pan-Islamism. There is a need for deeper engagement with the concepts.
- Allama rejected the ideology of nationalism and the modern nation-state structure as they originated in the west. Like many other Indian thinkers i.e Gandhi and Tagore, he was very critical of the colonial influence. The mere transplantation of western political ideas and institutions, Iqbal argued, would only serve to perpetuate colonial domination, even after de-colonization.

8

So, now to discuss about his views on nation and nationalism we find Iqbal's critic of nation state and he is called for political re organisation of India where the result of his attempts to relocate the nation along the lines of religion. So, for him Muslims in Indian sub continent is automatically done constitute a nation or a people which he felt was only way to secure the proper development of the individual.

So, Iqbals re formation of the concept of nation and nationalism so, not simply be understood as a re assertion of pan Islamism. And therefore, one needs to deeply engage with these concepts of nation and Millat in Iqbal, there is no kind of either or one in place of the other. There is a kind of continuum in his thought about individual the community in the form of Qawm and then finally, Millat.

Iqbal we also we also known as Allama Iqbal rejected the ideology of nationalism and the modern nation state a structure as the originated in the west, like many other Indian thinkers such as Gandhi and Tagore he was very critical of the colonial influence. And the mere transplantation of western, political ideas and institutions Iqbal argued would only serve to perpetuate colonial domination even after the decolonisation.

So, there is a some kind of originality and the critic to the blind imitation of western concepts and ideals by many many leaders and thinkers in Indian sub continent. And like Gandhi and Tagore Iqbal was able to see that, that even after the political independence if

one disconnect oneself from one's own tradition one's own religion then perhaps the it will lead to the perpetualization of colonialism even after India attain the independence.

(Refer Slide Time: 35:44)

**Critique of Nationalism :**

- In his poem '*Khizr-i-Rah*' (The Guided Path), a work in which Iqbal made references to political events which had shaken the Muslim world, he described 'western civilization' and 'nationhood' as the 'narcotics of imperialism'.
- Iqbal declared nationalism to be the greatest enemy of Islam. Writing to Sayyid Muhammad Shahid-al-din Jaffari in 1923, he noted that the export of the political ideal of nationalism into the East had spurred him to write on the nature of 'true Islam'. He stated that though he had been one of the first in India to call for a 'Mutahida qawmiyyat' (composite or united nationalism), he rejected such views as his ideas matured.
- His study of Islam had led him to conclude that nationalism was not only incompatible with Islam, but it was a threat to the very principles of Islam.

9

So, he gradually developed a critic of nationalism and in his poem Khizr-i- Rah the guided path where he also described the future of Islamic polity it is a work in which Iqbal made reference to the political events which had shaken the Muslim world. He described the western civilisation and nationhood as the narcotics of imperialism which leads to exploitation of one nation to the other.

And the idea of nationalism, the self interest and the perpetualization or maximisation of self interest which leads to competition and ultimately to war and conflicts Iqbal followed understood such negative or destructive forces in western civilisation and nationhood. And therefore, he criticised such ideals of nation, nationalism and state as in modern east.

So, Iqbal declared nationalism to be the greatest enemy of Islam which prevented the formation of the global pan Islamic community in the form of Millat. So, writing to Sayyid Muhammad Shahid-al-din Jaffari in 1923, he noted that the export of the political ideals of nationalism into east had spurred him to write on the nature of true Islam. He stated that though he had been one of the first in India to call for a Mutahida qawmiyyat that is composite or united nationalism.

So, unlike Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan he wanted Muslims in India to participate in all India struggle for political independence. So, he was in the beginning in support of this composite or combined nationalism, he rejected such views as his ideas matured emphasised more and more on Millat than on the idea of nation which he believes as a kind of enemy of Islam which prevented the formation of the global community of Islam.

So, his study of Islam had led him to conclude that nationalism was not only incompatible with Islam, but it was a threat to the very principal of Islam which is about the realisation of true god or absolute belief in that god. And that belief in god enables a kind of absolute equality among the members of members of the believers and he believes that the fermentation of such believers into different nationality and nation is the per greatest threat to the Islam itself.

(Refer Slide Time: 38:29)

**Vision for Pakistan:**

- His ideology of Muslim nationalism preceded the spread of the ideas of pan-Islamism which assert the necessity of uniting on the basis of Islam irrespective of state, territorial, ethnic/racial or national differences.
- He believed Islam as a means of uniting for resisting the domination of the west and it is necessity of the social progress and independent development of the people of the east.
- However, he agree with the view of Muslim as a superclass and a supranational entity. Therefore he emphasized on religious isolation of the Muslim community as well as the blending of the concepts of religious and national unity.

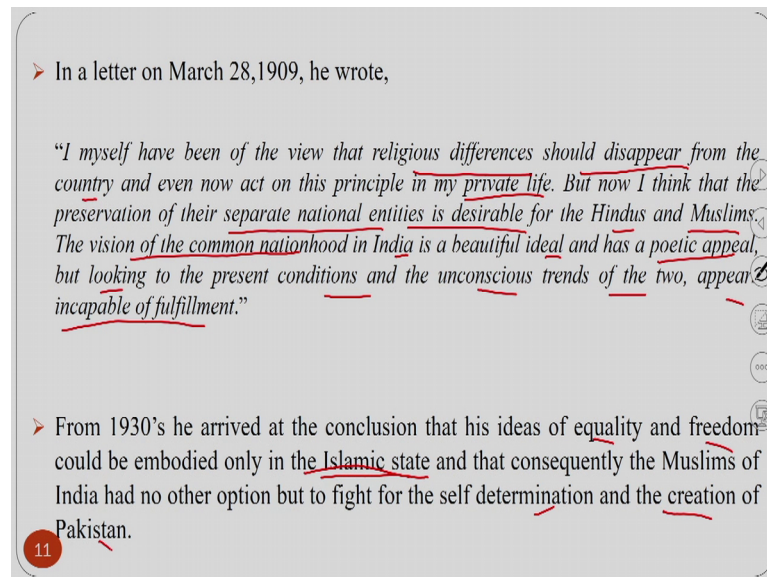
So, to look at his vision for Pakistan we find that his ideology of Muslim nationalism precede; preceded the spread of ideas of pan Islamism which asserts the necessities of uniting on the basis of Islam irrespective of state, territory, ethnic racial and national differences. So, his gradual shift was to form a global community of Islam, Millat or pan Islamism, but in the beginning he was also in support of a separate nationhood in Indian sub continent for the Muslims.

So, he believes that Islam as a means of uniting for resisting the domination of west and it is necessity of the social progress and independent development of the people in the



east. However, he agrees with the view of Muslim as a super class and supranational national entity and that remains very foundational in his philosophy. So, he emphasised on the religious isolation of Muslim community as well as blending of the concepts of religious and national unity in his overall understanding.

(Refer Slide Time: 39:39)



➤ In a letter on March 28, 1909, he wrote,

*“I myself have been of the view that religious differences should disappear from the country and even now act on this principle in my private life. But now I think that the preservation of their separate national entities is desirable for the Hindus and Muslims. The vision of the common nationhood in India is a beautiful ideal and has a poetic appeal, but looking to the present conditions and the unconscious trends of the two, appears incapable of fulfillment.”*

➤ From 1930’s he arrived at the conclusion that his ideas of equality and freedom could be embodied only in the Islamic state and that consequently the Muslims of India had no other option but to fight for the self determination and the creation of Pakistan.

So, in later on march 28, 1909, he wrote, “I myself have been of the view that religious differences should disappear from the country and even now act on this principle in my private life. But now I think that the preservation of their separate national entities is desirable for the Hindus and Muslims. The vision of the common nationhood in India is a beautiful ideal and has a poetic appeal, but looking to the present condition and the unconscious trends of the two, appears in capable of fulfilment.” And therefore, he supported this combination of religion with the emerging idea of nation and nationhood.

So, from 1930’s he arrived at the conclusion that his ideas of equality and freedom could be embodied only in the Islamic state and that consequently the Muslims of India had no other option, but to fight for the self determination and creation of Pakistan and that is how he becomes the spirit behind the ideals of Pakistan.

(Refer Slide Time: 40:59)

**Iqbal's letter to Nehru**

*"Nationalism in the sense of love of one's country and even readiness to die for its honor is a part of the Muslim faith. It comes into conflict with Islam only when it begins to play the role of a political concepts and claims to be a principle of human solidarity demanding that Islam should recede to the background of a mere private opinion and cease to be a living factor in the national life."*

*"Nationalism was an independent problem for Muslims only in those countries where they were in the minority. In countries with a Muslim majority nationalism and Islam are practically identical but in countries where Muslims are in minority, their demand for self determination as cultural unification is completely justified."*

12

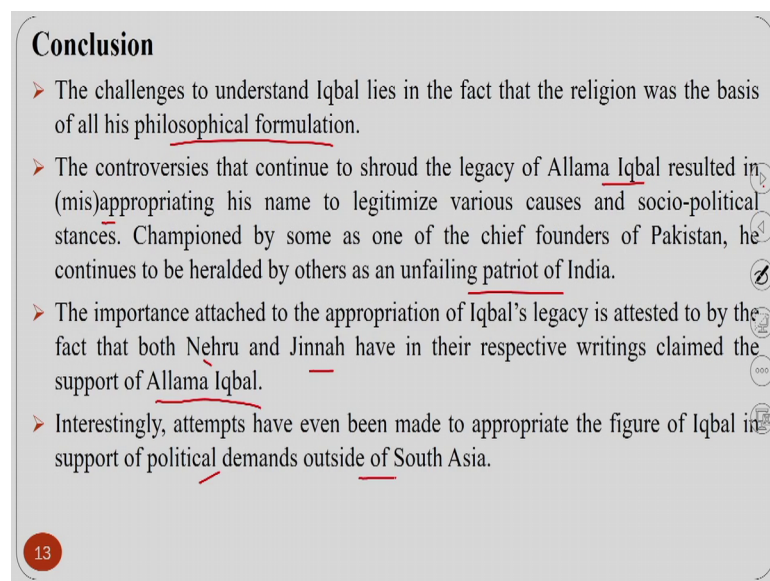
So, one can also find his struggle with this idea of nation and nationalism and the role of religion in his ideal of national and nationalism in his letters to Nehru. So, he writes "nationalism in the sense of love of one's country and even readiness to die for it is honour is a part of the Muslim faith. It comes into conflict with Islam only when it begins to play the role of a political concepts and claims to be the principle of human solidarity demanding that Islam should recede to the background of a mere private opinion and cease to be a living factor in the national life."

And that is his whole criticism of the secular notion of the politics or the nationhood promoted by the congress. He wanted Islam or the religion to be at the forefront of the national life and that is how he conceptualise Pakistan as Islamic nation or Muslims in Indian sub continent to have a nation or state of their own where they can govern themselves according to their own religious tradition or beliefs.

So, he further writes that "nationalism was an independent problem for Muslims only in those countries where they are in minority. In countries with a Muslim majority nationalism and Islam are practically identical, but in countries where Muslims are in minority, they demand for self determination as cultural unification is completely justified." So, that is something which is based on his belief in Islam and it is teaching which enables the individual to realise his individual his self and also the community of believers to govern itself according to the laws and laws and principles of Islam.

So, therefore, here it also seems that the nationalism as such is not a problem for the Muslims, it becomes a problem when religion is receded into the background merely as a private opinion something which has role in the public political national life. Iqbal was against such ideals and he wanted whether a country is dominated by Muslim majority then there is a no problem because, there is religion and nation is identical in such a country. But when there is a Muslim which is in minority then, they demand for self determination or cultural unification is completely justified because they want to govern themselves according to their own laws or their own traditions.

(Refer Slide Time: 43:53)



**Conclusion**

- The challenges to understand Iqbal lies in the fact that the religion was the basis of all his philosophical formulation.
- The controversies that continue to shroud the legacy of Allama Iqbal resulted in (mis)appropriating his name to legitimize various causes and socio-political stances. Championed by some as one of the chief founders of Pakistan, he continues to be heralded by others as an unfailing patriot of India.
- The importance attached to the appropriation of Iqbal's legacy is attested to by the fact that both Nehru and Jinnah have in their respective writings claimed the support of Allama Iqbal.
- Interestingly, attempts have even been made to appropriate the figure of Iqbal in support of political demands outside of South Asia.

13

So, that is how he thought about nation and despite nation being enemy or a kind of obstruction for the formation of Millat he supported for the immediate cause formation of separate statehood on the basis of Islam or religion. So, now, to conclude we find that the challenges to understand Iqbal lies in the fact that the religion was the basis of all the philosophical formulation.

So, his notion of self or Bekhudi selflessness his nation of Qawm or nationhood or the Millat the global community of Islam every conception of his thought is based on his belief in the Islamic laws and Islamic teachings. The controversy that continue to shroud the legacy of Allama Iqbal resulted in appropriating or misappropriating his name to legitimize various causes and socio political stances. Championed by some as one of the chief founders of Pakistan, he continues to be heralded by others as the unfailing patriot

of India. And that is the controversial legacies of Iqbal whether, we should be appropriated or projected as a national poet of Pakistan or a spirit behind the Syria dominated Iran or as a patriot patriotic leader of India.

And there is the contenscious nature of debates and discussion regarding the appropriation of Iqbal and his legacy. But in his thought we see the emphasis of the emphasis on the religion and embeddedness of his religious thought on his philosophy of self and the community and his gradual movement towards the ultimate objective of realising a community of the world beyond the limitations of geographical, geographically defined national territories in India, Pakistan or eh Syria or any other country.

So, there is this problem in appropriating or misappropriating Iqbal. The importance attached to appropriation of Iqbals legacy is attested to by the fact that both the Nehru and Jinnah have in their respective writings claimed the support of Allama Iqbal. Even Rabindranath Tagore remembered on his death he wrote that it was a great loss for India, because of his teachings and his appeal not just to a particular nation, but to a global humanity and the human ideals in Islam is perfectly articulated in his conception of Millat. So, interestingly attempts have been made to appropriate the figure of Iqbal in support of political demands outside of south Asia as well.

(Refer Slide Time: 47:04)

- Indeed Iqbal was a prophetic and visionary political thinker which helped in shaping the 'Muslim renaissance' in Indian subcontinent along with Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan. His comparative approach enabled him to criticize Western philosophy in the light of Islamic traditions and teachings at the same time he also argued for liberal interpretation (*ijtihad*) of Islam/Islamic law in the light of modern knowledge and rationality.
- Iqbal's works are often read as spirit behind the formation of Pakistan which is not completely true. As we have seen that his thought embedded as it was in Islamic tradition culminated into the articulation of *Millat*. However, *Qawm* and *Millat* remained an unresolved tensions in his philosophy and thought. Although, he rejected the whole concept of nation and nationalities yet his thought became the basis for creation of Pakistan.
- And it further led to, perhaps somewhat awkwardly, in limiting Iqbal and his philosophy to territorial boundary of nation which was by and large about the universal humanism in Islam and had a universal appeal.

So, indeed Iqbal was a prophetic and visionary political thinker which helped in shaping the Muslim renaissance in India or Indian sub-continent along with Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan as we have discussed in the previous lecture. His comparative approach that is his understanding of Hindu as well as the Muslim tradition on the one hand and Islamic laws and teachings on the other hand and western philosophy on the other enabled him to criticize western philosophy in the light of Islamic traditions and teachings.

At the same time he also argued for the liberal interpretation or *ijtihad* of Islam or Islamic law in the light of modern knowledge and rationality. So, there is a kind of two-way movement in his thinking, in his philosophy, where he responds to the decline of the West from his understanding or inspiration from Islamic teachings or principles. While on the other hand he wanted Islamic laws and Quran to be interpreted liberally in the light of modern knowledge and rationality so, that is a kind of unique contribution of Iqbal.

Iqbal's works are often read as a spirit behind the formation of Pakistan, which is not completely true. As we have seen that his thought embedded as it was in Islamic tradition culminated into the articulation of *Millat* the global community of Islam. However, *Qawm* and *Millat* remained an unresolved tension in his philosophy and thought. Although, he rejected the whole concept of nation and nationalities yet his thought became the basis for the creation of Pakistan and therefore, his appropriation as the national poet a spirit behind the Pakistani nationalism or nationhood.

And it further led to, perhaps somewhat awkwardly, in limiting Iqbal and his philosophy to territorial boundary of nation which was by and large about universal humanism in Islam and had a universal appeal. So, Iqbal and his appropriation and limitation of his thought to a particular nation and nationality is something which is which is a constantly being done appropriation and misappropriation by different different communities different nationalities.

But, Iqbal by and large was arguing more and more about formation of a polity or a system of governance and a state which is guided by the Islamic laws and Islamic principles and which helps in the realisation of the objective as in Islam, which is basically, on the basis of the twin principle of absolute equality among the members of

the believers and also the belief in one supreme; supreme god which is absolutely almighty or absolutely supreme.

So, it is a very easy to limit him as a thinker of particular nation, but the contribution of Iqbal is to reinterpret Islam and to enable it or to make it relevant for the modern polity, modern life and rescue it from the religious dogmas. And the conservative interpretation of Allama by enabling the individual to learn from the Islam and interpret it liberally and realise his or her true self which is which lies among the community.

And the emersion of the community among the reverse, which is unlike the western conception of self which is in isolation or isolatry or communistic self so, that is some of some of the emphasis in Iqbal, which unfortunately by the many appropriators of Iqbal. So, that is what we have to think about when we theorise or discuss Iqbal and his legacies.

(Refer Slide Time: 51:25)



References

1. 'Ideology of Muslim Nationalism' by L.R Gordon Polonskaya in *Iqbal :Poet-Philosopher of Pakistan* edited by Hafeez Malik.
2. 'The Development of political Philosophy' by Riffat Hassan in *Iqbal: Poet-Philosopher of Pakistan* edited by Hafeez Malik.
3. 'The Muslims of India' (Presidential speech) by Muhammad Iqbal, Allahabad december 1930.
4. *Incarnations: India in Fifty Lives*, by Sunil Khilnani, Allen Lane, 2016
5. '*The Political Philosophy of Muhammad Iqbal Islam and Nationalism in Late Colonial India*', by Iqbal Singh Sevea, Cambridge University Press, 2012
6. '*Sources of Indian Tradition*' edited by Rachel Fell Medermott, Leonard A . Gordon, Ainslie T. Embree, Frances W. Pritchett, & Dennis Dalton.

So, on this lecture you can refer to some of these books like ideology of Muslim nationalism by L R Gordon in Iqbal poet philosopher of Pakistan and also this text the development of political philosophy by Riffat Hassan from the same book poet philosopher of Pakistan. And also the Muslims of India this is the presidential speech of Iqbal in Allahabad in 1930's incarnation by Sunil Khilnani and this two text you can refer to understand some of the philosophy and some of the themes and thematic we have discussed on Iqbal.

So, thanks for listening and thanks for your patience.