Iqbal, Jinnah and India's Partition: An Intimate Relationship

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An Intimate Relationship

This paper brings out some dimensions of the crucial political relationship between Muhammad Iqbal and Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Though this relationship had far-reaching consequences in shaping the contours of the subcontinent's turbulent history, it has not been adequately studied in partition histories.

V N Datta

I

A spate of scholarly literature has appeared on the poetry of Muhammad Iqbal (1878-1938) and the politics of Mohammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948) in both India and Pakistan. Iqbal's political role has so far been mainly studied as a starting point, a sort of conspicuous linkage, if not as a footnote, in the creation of a separate, independent, sovereign state of Pakistan. But little effort has been made to examine the political relationship between Iqbal and Jinnah that led to significant political developments in the history of modern India.

This paper seeks to understand the role of Iqbal and Jinnah in the Pakistan movement, the nature of their relationship and commitment to a principle that ultimately became an aspiration, and a battle-cry for Muslims in shaping the destiny of a separate nation. By focusing upon the evolution of Iqbal's ideology, as reflected in his poetry, letters and speeches, it is intended to show the growth of separatist trends in his thinking and ideas. By appropriating his ideas and philosophy, in the changed historical circumstances of the 1930s, Jinnah forged an intimate intellectual and political-philosophical vision. This paper brings out some dimensions of this highly crucial political relationship, a relationship that has not been adequately studied in partition histories. Yet, this relationship had far-reaching consequences in shaping the contours of the subcontinent's turbulent history. The British imperial authority, the Congress, the Muslim League, and communal forces were the major players in the vivisection of the country. Yet, it is important to explore the origin and nature of the ideological shift towards Muslim separatism through the personalities of these two remarkable men of the 20th century.

C M Naim has edited a comprehensive volume containing six scholarly articles on the Iqbal-Jinnah association.[1] This is a valuable contribution to our understanding of communalism, nationalism, Islamic polity and Indian politics. But this work, a product of intellectual premeditations, concentrating exclusively on the system of ideas, does not analyse the concrete social and political reality relating to India's partition.

In Pakistani historiography, Iqbal is often represented as the founding and spiritual father of Pakistan. In many Indian writings, on the other hand, he is projected as a firm and convinced Muslim nationalist, while in other works he emerges as a champion of Hindu-Muslim solidarity and freedom of India and a unique symbol of India's composite culture, fostered and sustained throughout the centuries. Rafiq Zakaria, S M H Burney and Khawaja Ahmed Faruqi, in their studies, hesitate in saddling Iqbal with the parentage of Pakistan.[2] For Mohammad Mujeeb, Ali Sardar Jafri, Jagan Nath Azad and Khushwant Singh, the question whether Iqbal was a poet of Muslim separatism is irrelevant – their principal interest lies in his poetry, and in his outstanding creative journey. For them, he was essentially a poet par excellence, not a cultural-political ideologue of the Pakistan movement.

In understanding Iqbal's political ideology, the difficulty lies in the nature of the source-material. His presidential address delivered at the All India Muslim League session at Allahabad on December 29, 1930, and the account of his participation at the Round Table Conferences in 1931 and 1932 are well documented and well known.[3] But his correspondence with Mohammad Ali Jinnah, between May 23, 1936 and November 10, 1937, comprising eight letters, poses certain problems.[4] Iqbal's letters contain vital source-material on politics, especially on the Hindu-Muslim question, and demonstrate his political evolution as a poet-philosopher. Sheikh Mohammad Ashraf, a well known publisher from Lahore, published parts of this correspondence with a preface by Jinnah in 1943.[5] Iqbal's two letters in Urdu to Jinnah, dictated to Ghulam Rasul Mehr, a distinguished Urdu writer, have also been quoted by scholars. But, Jinnah's replies to these letters are not available. Nor did Iqbal preserve Jinnah's correspondence – poets are untidy in such matters.

Scholars like Aley-Ahmed Suroor have questioned the authenticity of some of the Iqbal-Jinnah correspondence.[6] Assuming that some of these letters have been tinkered with to justify the ideological foundations of the Pakistan movement, it will be fruitful to juxtapose them with changing trends in Iqbal's poetry and other writings. Doubtless, changes in Iqbal's political attitude can be discerned principally via his poetry, while his letters deepen our understanding of his political ideology and vision.

Indeed, Iqbal was an outstanding Persian-Urdu poet. His reading was extensive, his mind fertile and vigorous, and his style, rising at times to solemn eloquence, reflected boundless creative energy and audacity of spirit. His sense of the language was original and unparalleled. Yet, we cannot disengage Iqbal's poetry from his political ambitions and aspirations. Scholarly writings do not often engage with the politics of Iqbal's poetry. This essay is a modest attempt to fill this gap.

II

In the early part of his life, until Iqbal went to Cambridge in 1905, his poetry was imbued with a burning passion for Indian nationalism and its heterogeneous culture. Unlike his contemporaries, his

identification with Indian culture, religions and history was quite spontaneous, intense and broad. His poems expressed his eclectic outlook, his respect for Hindu gods and Sikh religious leaders and his profound feelings for the rivers, the hills and landscape of India. By drawing upon Hindu, Muslim and Sikh traditions and symbols, Iqbal, in these years, emerges as a leading Indian poet. His *Taranah-e-Hind* of 1904 (the Song of India that he recited at the Young Men's Indian Association in Lahore at the request of Hardayal) extolled the glories of his Hindustan:

Sarey-e-jahan se accha Hindustan Hamara
Ham Bulbelain hay uski woh gulstan hamara
Mazhab nahin sikhata apas main bayr rakhna
Hindi hain hum watan hey Hindustan hamara
Yunan-o-misr Roma sab mit gaya jahan sey
Baki raha hai ub tak namo nishan hamara
Kuch bat hai key hasti mitti nahin hamrai
Barsoon raha hai dushman dor-e-jahan hamara.

Our country is the greatest in the world.
We are her nightingales, and she our gardener
Religion doesn't peach rift
We are Indians, and our country is India
Greece, Rome and Egypt are no more
Yet we continue to flourish
Something within us makes our existence worthy of note
Though unsmiling Fortune has been our enemy.[7]

Iqbal described 'Rama' as *Imam-e-Hind* (a religious leader of India)

Phir hai ram key wajud per Hindustan ko naz
Ahley nazar samajtey hein usko Imam-I-Hind

India is proud of Rama
The wise revere him as a spiritual guide.

Likewise, Iqbal considered Guru Nanak as *Mard-e-Kamil* or the perfect man.[8]

Taking pride in his brahmin ancestory, he wrote:

mara binger key Hindustan digar namey bini Brahma zada ashnaye Rom-o-Tabriz ast

Look at me, you will never find another in India
who, like me, a Brahman's son, understands the secrets of the
Arabs and Persia.[9]

In 'Naya Shivala' (The New temple), a harmonious blend of Shakti (power) and bhakti (workship), he eloquently summed up the message of the *Bhagavada-Gita*:

Shakti bhi Shanti bhi Bhagton key geet main hai
Dharti key basiyan ki mukti preet main hai.

Power and peace are the songs of a devotee
Love is the ultimate for humankind.[10]

In the same poem, Iqbal declared his unstinted commitments to his homeland and its cultural symbols:

Khak-e-vatan ka mujh ko har zara devta hai

For me every particle of my country is a deity.[11]

One of his poems, *Aftab*, was a loose rendering of the Gayatri Mantra, for which a Muslim cleric prepared a *fatva* (religious edict) against him

Aftab Ham Ko Zaya-e-shawor dey
Chashm-e-Khirad apni tajjali sey noor dey

O Sun, stimulate our mental faculties with your glorious light
Give us wisdom by your divine light.[12]

After his return from Europe, in 1908, Iqbal was a changed man. He acquired a new world view. He began to reflect on religious issues in the wake of the European aggression against the Muslim countries, including Turkey and Persia. To face the western challenge, he, like his contemporaries Maulana Azad, the Ali brothers. Mohammed and Shaukat and Hasrat Mohani, advocated 'Pan-Islamism as the political goal of the Islamic world'. He began to regard himself as Islam's messenger or *Shair-I-Islam*, and his poetry became a vehicle of Islamic thought.[13]

It was in these years that Iqbal adopted the posture of a fervent preacher (*nasih*) in his poetical compositions. His poetry was to serve as a moral guide, a shaper of individual, and, by extension, a community's conduit. He warned:

Shair ra maqsoud agar adamgari ast
Shairi ham wars-I-paygambri ast

If the purpose of poetry is the fashioning of men
Poetry is likewise the heir of prophecy.[14]

Moreover:

Shair ander risht-e-millat chu dil
Millat-e-bay shair-e-anmbar-e-gil

The poet is like the heart in the breast of the community
A people without a poet is a mere heap of clay.[15]

Ghalib never pontificated. His most serious thoughts were expressed irreverently and rather spontaneously. After 1908, Iqbal's poetry gradually acquired a high moral tone, and carried a clear communitarian message. Therein, perhaps lay his originality. Iqbal did not emulate the lyrical charm of Mir Taqi Mir or Ghalib'a acute sense of exalted humanism.[16] Instead, he acknowledged his intellectual debt to Altaf Husan Hali, the poet of 'Islamic Renaissance' for inspiring him to compose poetry for the moral regeneration of the 'fallen Muslim community':

Main kishawar shair ka Nabi ho gaya
Nazil hai meyre lab pai kalam-e-Hali

I am a model for composing poetry
But I echo Hali's voice.[17]

In particular, his poems *Shikva* (the Complaint), composed in 1911, and *Javab-I-Shikva* (Answer to the Complaint) n 1912, were clearly inspired by Hali's Musaddas. Akbar Allahabadi, who had exhorted Muslims to lead a pure life and to prepare themselves to protect their cultural identity, also influenced him greatly.

Islamic principles of dynamic righteousness and social action were not mere poetic or comtemplative images for Iqbal. They became a medium of integrating and consolidating Muslims as a strong Pan-Islamic community inspired by the highest ideals of truth, love and justice. He expressed the finest values of Islam in his powerful poetic rhetoric of inspiring Muslims to consolidate themselves as a community.

Often in his poetry Iqbal anatomised his piteous spectacle of the Muslim community, its moral degeneration, its false idols, and its hypocrisy. In anguish, he cried in *Saqi Nama*,

Bhuji Ishq ki ag andher hai
Musalman nahin ag ka dher hai

The fire of life is dead
It is not a Muslim, but a heap of dust[18]

In 'Shikva' he argued with God for favouring the non-Muslims

Rehmat-en hain teri agyar key kashanon par
Burg girti hai to becharey Musulmanon par

Kindness is bestowed not on the Muslims but on non-Muslims
While the Muslims continue to suffer[19]

Iqbal waxed lyrical over Muslim conquests and domination. There is an expression of aggressive communitarian nationalism in the following lines:

Cheen o Arab hamara Hindustan hamara
Muslim hain ham watan hay sara jahan hamara
Teygon key saya main ham pal kar javan hooye hain

Khanjar halal ka hai quomi nashan hamara
Magrab ki vadyon main goonji azan hamari
Thamta na tha kisi say sail e rawan hamara
Salar-e-karwan hai Mer-I-Hijaz apna
Us nam say baqi aram-I-jahan hamara
Iqbal ka tarana Bang-I-dara hai goya
Hota hai jada paima phir karvan hamara

China and Arabia are ours, Hindustan is ours
We have grown to mankind under the shadow of sword
The dagger like Crescent is our national symbol
The valleys of the West resonated with our call to prayer
Nobody could stem the swelling tide of our conquerors
Mir-I-Hajaz (the Prophet) is our leader
His name gives us peace and tranquillity.[20]

Again, Iqbal's new sensibility is evident in the following lines:

Main tuj ko batata hun taqdir-I-umam kya hai
Shamshir o sina awwal taus o rabab akhar

Let me tell you what is the destiny of a nation
The sword and dagger take precedence over singing and dancing.[21]

He preferred to die in Mecca and Medina:

Main maut dhoondta hoon zammen-e-hijaaz mein

I seek death in the holy land of Hejaz.[22]

In '*Bang-e-Dara*' (The Call of the Caravan bell) and *mathanavis* 'Israr-e-khudi' (Secrets of the Self) and 'Ramuz-e-Baikhudi' (Mysteries of Selflessness), Iqbal expresses his commitment to Muslim sentiments and beliefs.[23] His *Masjid Qurtaba* (Cordova) in '*Bale-Jibril* (Gabriel's wing), which equals Milton's 'Paradise Lost', harps on the glory of Islam and Muslim conquests that had led to the expansion of Muslim dominion in the world. For him, Islamic idiom was a powerful medium of inspiring Muslim communities and forging a modern Muslim identity. He realised that the concept of Khudi (self-realisation), embodied in the Quran, was an essential element for the moral and spiritual uplift of the Muslim society. When Maulana Husain Ahmad Madni, Sheikh-ul-Muhaddas, president of Jamiatul Ulama-I-Hind, exhorted Hindus and Muslims, at Bara Hindu Rao, Delhi, on January 9, 1938, to sink their differences and join together in their fight against British imperialism, and emphasised that nations were formed by countries, Iqbal contested his views sarcastically, and retorted that religion was the foundation of nationality. In a satirical vein, in his poem on 'Husain Ahmad' he wrote:

Ajm Hanooz nadanad ramuz-e-din varna
Zi Deoband Husain Ahmed eh chey Bulajmi ast
Sarood bar sar-e-mamber key millat us watan ast
Chey bai khabar us makam a Mohammad Arb ast
Ba Mustaffa barasan khesh ra key din hama oost
Agar bey oo narasidi tamam buhalbi ast

Non-Arabian countries do not know what true faith is
A strange interpretation of true faith from Husain Ahmad of Deoband!
He declares that countries make nations
How ignorant he is of the message of the Prophet, who is the true
Source of Religion.[24]

Thus, according to Iqbal, Islam was a 'single unanalysable reality' and its separation from politics was unjustified. He rejected the western idea of territorial nationalism as a byproduct of the perversion of western democracy, and developed an intertwined notion of Muslim nationalism and Islamic universalism as a common basis of action.

III

Iqbal's passionate commitment to Islamic universalism, his notation of separate Muslim identity and citizenship, and his complete disregard of territorial nationalism provide sound clue to an understanding of his political conduct. His poetic energies and political leanings increasingly came under the shadow of an Islamic framework.

Iqbal himself did not take any active part in politics until 1927, though in his Asrar-I-Khudi (1915), Ramuz-I-bi-Khudi (1918) and Payam-I-Mashriq (1923) he expounded the notion of *millat*, and exhorted Muslims to follow the tenets of Islam and to consolidate themselves as a community. Essentially, he was a poet, not a politician. But, he was a poet with a difference. In these years, he turned into a poet-philosopher, inspiring a generation of people through a powerful message of community regeneration and self-confidence.

In 1920s and 1930s, the Muslim League, torn by factionalism, was an upper-class party of landed gentry, was almost at death's door, depending on the munificence of the Raja of Mahmudabad and a a few other individuals.[25] When the All India Muslim League session took place, in Lahore in 1920, Iqbal did not take care to attend it even though the meeting was held at the Gulab theatre just opposite his residence.[26]

Never before had the communal question assumed such dangerous dimensions in the country as it did in the 1920s, after Khilafat and non-cooperation movements (1919-22), an era of Hindu-Muslim fraternisation. Between 1923-26, there were as many as 72 communal riots against 16 in the course of 20 years from 1900. The Hindu-Muslim problem, Mahatma Gandhi announced in March 1925, was an 'insoluble puzzle' and he would keep out of it. He took to fast and saw no 'light' to resolve the communal question.

Despite a number of unity conferences, political parties were unable to cure the communal canker. The Nehru Report, published in 1928, accepted Dominion Status as its goal but found no favour with the Muslim League, and the All India Muslim conference. The Nehru Report had recommended the abolition of separate electorates and the reservation of seats and weightage for Muslims in provinces in which they constituted a majority. These recommendations were made on the assumption that Muslim interests were protected by the principle of provincial autonomy. Weighted heavily in favour of a strong centre, the constitution that the Nehru report recommended, could hardly be called federal. Understandably, Muslims' reactions against the Nehru Report were strong. The appointment of the Simon Commission in 1927 split the Muslim League into two factions, one led by Muhammad Shafi, and the other by M A Jinnah. In 1929, Iqbal joined the Shafi group. For four years (1926-1930), he was a member of the Punjab legislative council. In 1930, he was president of the Punjab Muslim League.

Jinnah came to an agreement with M A Ansari, president of the Congress, on March 20, 1927, which guaranteed the Muslims 33 per cent of the seats in the central legislature, a separation of Sind from Bombay and reforms in Baluchistan and North-Western Frontier Province. At this stage Jinnah was willing to give up the demand for separate electorates. Initially, the Congress working committee welcomed the Delhi proposals on May 15, 1927, but later rejected them, Mohammed Shafi, Mian Fazl-I-Husain and Iqbal also repudiated this agreement. Iqbal felt that provincial legislatures could not protect

Muslims under the existing constitutional provisions, and therefore required drastic changes.

During 1928-29 Iqbal delivered six lectures, under the auspices of Madras Muslim Association at Madras, Mysore, Hyderabad and Aligarh, which were published as *Reconstruction of Religious thought in Islam* in 1930. In these lectures, he offered a rational interpretation of Islam, explored its philosophical basis, and regarded it as consistent with modern philosophy and science. He believed that the teaching of Islam advocated a meliorism, it recognised the importance of the growing universe, and was dynamic and flexible enough to adapt itself to the current needs and thought of modern times.[27] By giving a rational interpretation of the Quran, he reinterpreted some of the essential Islamic legal principles. He urged Muslims to model their social life in the light of ultimate principles as revealed in the Islamic ideals. Almost Janus-like, Iqbal had one face towards the past in the recovery of the essence of Islam, and another towards the future that looked ahead by projecting a Faustian vision of unlimited power and the 'concept of man' bent on a ceaseless quest for apprehending reality. Condemning 'traditional' or 'obscurantist' Islam, Iqbal gave legitimacy to the political cause of Muslim nationalism. Because of his profound reverence for Islamic tradition and symbols, he upheld Shariat as the guiding principle of Muslim polity and society. He sought to revive a dynamic and radical element within Islam by restoring the freedom to use *Ijtihad*, a means of exercising independent judgement, as a necessary instrument of Muslim politics.[28]

But on specific issues, especially those relating to women whom he wanted to lead a 'pure' life in subjection to men, and the Islamic restriction of eating and drinking, he had conservative views. In the closing chapter of the Oxford edition of his book, he warned the reformers against moving too fast in introducing radical changes in the 'old institutions' and practices followed in Muslim countries.

Clearly, Iqbal was opposed to the idea of territorial nationalism. In his conception of the state, the spiritual and the temporal issues were inseparable. Islam was a theocracy that realised the spiritual in human organisation. He doubted if a non-Muslim legislative assembly could exercise the use of *Ijtihad*. These principles formed the ideological basis of his presidential address that he delivered at the Muslim League session held in Allahabad on April 29, 1930. Here he propounded his theory of a Muslim homeland, though ambiguously so. He felt that the Nehru report and the Simon Commission recommendations had denied the Muslims their legitimate political rights. He expressed his desire to free Muslims from the geographical limits hitherto imposed by the British government, and spoke in favour of a separate area (he did not use the word 'province' but 'area') for the protection of a separate Muslim cultural identity.[29] The life of Islam as a cultural force depends on its centralisation in a specified territory.[30] He realised the threat posed by Hindu majoritarianism to Muslim cultural identity. He criticised the Lucknow Pact of 1916, the crowning achievement of Jinnah, for reducing Muslims to a religious minority, a notion that Jinnah drastically modified later in his presidential address at the Muslim League session in Lahore in 1940. In his address, Iqbal also attacked the scheme of 'Punjab ruralism', the 'sheet-anchor' of the Unionist Party, for reducing the Muslim majority to a minority in Punjab.

Iqbal gave a blueprint for resolving the communal problem, which had acquired an insidious character in 1920s. He said, 'I would like to see the Punjab, north-west frontier, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within British Empire or without the British empire... The formation of a consolidated north-west Indian Muslim state appears to me be the final destiny of the Muslims at least of north-west India'.[31] This state was conceived to be exclusive of the Ambala division and other areas where non-Muslims predominated. He also opposed the inclusion of Indian native states in the nominal federation,as recommended by the Simon Commission.

Reginald Coupland, an imperial-constitutional historian, thought that Iqbal's proposals for a separate Muslim state in India, couched in an ambiguous language, were susceptible to various interpretations.[32] He did not contemplate a separate sovereign Muslim state, but only a north-west autonomous Muslim religion comprising the Muslim majority areas within a loose All India Federation, but excluding Indian states and exercising only those powers expressly vested in it by a free consent of the federal states.[33] Interestingly, Iqbal's address was completely ignored by the Indian political parties, including the Muslim League. At the Muslim League session, where Iqbal delivered his address, his audience, mostly local men not knowing English, fell short of quorum not exceeding seventy, and the next day due to its meagre attendance, the Muslim League session was terminated.

Iqbal delivered his address at a time when the first session of the Round Table Conference was being held in London. His proposal suggested that the amalgamation of four Muslim majority provinces would strike a balance between the 'Hindu and Muslim India'. His scheme for the redistribution of territory, in the north-western part of India, was in sharp contrast to the unitary form of government in a 'self-governing' India.[34] In other words, Iqbal supported the plan for a federal India with a strong emphasis on provincial autonomy. In his letter to Edward Thompson, he reiterated that he did not want a separate Muslim state.[35]

About three years later, in 1932 at the Second Round Table conference in London, Iqbal felt isolated. His speech at the conference was resented by the British, Hindu and Muslim delegates.[36] It is doubtful whether Chaudhry Rahmat Ali, who had floated a scheme for the creation of a sovereign independent Muslim state of Pakistan, derived his inspiration from Iqbal Muhammad. Jehangir, as an eye-witness, claims that Iqbal had met Rahmat Ali at Cambridge, and approved his proposal for naming the new Muslim state as Pakistan.[37] But K K Aziz maintains that Iqbal never met Rahmat Ali.[38]

When Jinnah visited Punjab, in June 1936, to seek public support for the Muslim League in the forthcoming 1937 elections, he found no response. He was welcomed by five persons at the Lahore railway station. He had no political standing. He was a consultative politician, quick only at producing ready-made formulae to settle the communal problem. He was a general without an army. Fazl-i-Husain, the secular-unionist, ignored him, and wrote in his diary 'Jinnah could not get on with anybody. He is no leader. I shall not go out of my way to be nice to him'. Jinnah was disgusted and vowed never to come back to Punjab. Jinnah met Iqbal on May 21, 1937, at his residence in Javid Manzil, Lahore, and thereon developed that a close relationship between them that lasted until Iqbal's death in April 1938.

Despite his failing health, Iqbal's deep involvement in politics from 1937 onwards arose, to some extent, due to his

distress at the poor performance of the Muslim League, and the victory of the Congress in the 1937 elections. With clear majorities in six provinces, the Congress emerged as the strongest political force in the country and formed ministries. On the other hand, the Muslim League was trounced in Punjab, Bengal and Sind; it counted little in the North-Western Frontier Province. Iqbal realised the weakness of the Muslim League in the Muslim majority provinces, the 'disunity' of Muslims, and was conscious of the vulnerability of 'Muslim interests' under the all-too powerful Congress hegemony. He thus shared several ideas with Jinnah for the protection of Muslim political interests.

Iqbal became president of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League on May 19, 1936. His correspondence with Jinnah, 1936-38, throws ample light on how he was goading Jinnah to take up some crucial issues concerning the future of the aggrieved and beleaguered Muslim community. It was at his initiative that the Nawab of Mamdot joined the Punjab Muslim League.

In his letter of March 20, 1937, Iqbal advised Jinnah to rebut Jawaharlal Nehru's 'aesthetic socialism' on the ground that the Muslim problem was not economic, but cultural.[39] In his next letter of May 28, 1937, Iqbal wrote that the 'time was ripe for the redistribution of the country to form one or more states without which enforcement of *Shariat* is impossible in this country. Iqbal warned that "if such a thing is impossible in India the only other alternative is civil war which as a matter of fact has been going on for some time in the shape of Hindu-Muslim riots.[40] In his letter to Jinnah, dated June 21, 1937, he proposed, 'Why should not Muslims of north-west India and Bengal be considered as a nation entitled to self-determination as any other nation in India and outside'.[41] He also suggested that the Muslims of north-west India and Bengal ought to ignore the political compulsions of Muslim minority provinces and their linguistic affiliations.[42] Clearly, he wanted a separate federation of the Muslim majority areas.

Iqbal criticised the Jinnah-Sikandar Pact of 1937. He feared that Sikander Hayat Khan's machinations would lead to the ruination of the Muslim League in Punjab.[43] He also pressed Jinnah to hold a large Muslim convention in Delhi, to counter the Congress propaganda carried on by Hindu leaders.[44] In his correspondence with Jinnah, Iqbal included Bengal in his scheme of a consolidated Muslim state.[45] This was a step further from his Muslim League address of 1930.

IV

We may conclude that Iqbal's poetic vision marked a distinct shift from synthetic view of India to a cry for a separate Muslim homeland. Of course, his creative journey was shaped by the changing historical circumstances and the exigencies of high politics. Consequently, he emerged as a poet-ideologue of a Muslim homeland. Both Iqbal and Jinnah began their separate journeys as Indian nationalists, but ended as advocates of a separate homeland for Muslims.

It was Iqbal who blazed a trail that Jinnah followed. Iqbal conceived an idea of Pakistan, Jinnah realised it. As an intellectual godfather, Iqbal gave a concept of the two-nation theory and offered a map of the redistribution of territory, forming a Muslim state, comprising the north-west and Bengal.[46] As an ideologue, he rejected Maulana Azad's notion of composite culture and religious pluralism.[47] Iqbal had no truck with Jawaharlal Nehru's secular-socialist nationalism. Committed to the notion of *Millat*, he repudiated the British constitutional measures, such as separate electorates and weightage for resolving the communal disease. He felt that the Congress brand of nationalism posed a threat to the protection of Muslim cultural and political aspirations. By demanding a separate identity for Muslims, he thought that communal tension would be contained and Hindu communal forces would be held at bay. He wanted the merging of Muslim nations into a universal commonwealth on the basis of Shariat – a conception that was central to his poetic vision. Of course, Jinnah, drawing upon Iqbal's legacy, launched the Direct Action movement in Punjab to topple the Khizr ministry, mobilised public opinion in the North-West Frontier Province, and realised his dream of a separate homeland for Indian Muslims.[48]

Iqbal's plan of a Muslim state approximated to Jinnah's declaration of the Lahore Resolution (1940) that specified the realignment of state boundaries before an assembly of 50,000 people in Lahore. It also provided fuel to Jinnah's two-nation theory, expounded in Iqbal's hometown about two years after his death. Indeed, Jinnah borrowed Iqbal's political language and vocabulary. The problem of India is not national, but international. Jinnah realising the gravity of the situation, especially the obduracy of the Congress leadership, and the might of Hindu communal forces, chartered his course of action for the creation of Pakistan. But Jinnah was not an ideologue. His Lahore Resolution fed itself on the juices of Iqbal's principles.

Iqbal's politics stemmed from his poetic sensibility, but Jinnah used ideology as an instrument of political action. As a visionary, Iqbal crowned the dawn of Pakistan of which Jinnah became an accessory by his tactical skills as a first-rate politician. Notwithstanding the profound role of imperial designs, political manoeuvrings and economic exigencies in the partition story, Iqbal, goes down in history as the herald of Pakistan and a political mentor of Jinnah; Jinnah of couse, acknowledged his debt to his mentor in 1947. EPW

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Notes

[This is a revised version of the Athar Ali Memorial Lecture delivered at the Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, at the invitation of Aligarh Historian's Society, on November 24, 2001. I am grateful to Irfan Habib, Gopichand Narang, P N Dhar, Saifuddin Soz, Yahspal, M Zuberi, and Nonica Datta for their valuable suggestions and critical comments.]

1 C M Naim, Iqbal , Jinnah: *The Vision and the Reality* (Chicago 1977).
2 Rafiq Zakaria, *Iqbal the Poet and the Politician* (New Delhi, 1993), p VIII, S M H Burney, *Poet and Patriot of India* (New Delhi, 1983). See A K Dasgupta,'Concept of Pakistan', *Mainstream*, October 13, 2001, 25-26.
3 See for instance, S H Vahid,'Iqbal as Architect of Pakistan' in Mohammad Iqbal, *The Political Thinkers of Modern India*, xxvi (New Delhi, 1993), p 112.
4 This correspondence has been reproduced in several standard works, but the originals are not available. Only few xerox copies typed with Iqbal's dubious signatures exist. Ashiq Husain Batalvi, *Allama Iqbal Key Akhre do sal* (Srinagar 1984), pp 578-88.
5 Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah (ed) Sheikh Mohammed Ashraf, Lahore, 1956 (second edition).
6 Aley-Ahmed Suroor's letter to S M H Burney in the private collection of S M H Burney, New Delhi. See S M H Burney, *Iqbal, Poet and Patriot of India*, p 125.
7 Ibid, *Bang-e-Dara* (Aligarh, 1975) p 83.
8 Ibid, p 177.
9 Nigar, *Iqbal Number*, January, 1963, see Jagat Nath Azad 'Iqbal ki Shairi, p 16.

10 Iqbal, *Bang-e-Dara*, p 88.
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid, p 43.
13 M Mujeeb, *The Indian Muslims* (London, 1967), p 488, see also Sarwant Sulat, *Millat-e-Islami ke Mukhstar Tarikh*, Vol III (Delhi 2001), p 41.
14 Iqbal, *Javidnamah*, Delhi 1984, p 46.
15 Ibid, p 45.
16 M Mujeeb, *Ghalib* (New Delhi, 1969), pp 35, 41-42.
17 Muhammed Sadiq, *History of Urdu Literature* (Delhi, 1984), pp 349-50. See also 'Hali and Iqbal' in *Baquiyat-e-Iqbal*; *Muritaba* Syed Abdul Wahid, Taimayd Majlis, Karachi, pp 341-55, and for Akbar Allahabadi, see Muhammad Sadiq, op cit, pp 399-40.
18 Iqal, *Bal-e-Jibril*, (Lahore 1999), p 102.
19 Ibid, p 166.
20 Iqbal, *Bang-e-Dara*, p 159.
21 Iqbal, *Bal-e-Jabril*, p 4.
22 Iqbal, *Bang-e-Dara*, p 198.
23 M Mujeeb, *India Muslims*, p 486.
24 Iqbal, *Armagham-e-Hijaz*, (ed) professor Yusuf Salim Chisti, Calcutta, 1982, p 272.
25 Ayesha Jalal, 'Nation, Reason and Religion: Punjab's Role in the Partition in India', *Economic and Political Weekly*, No XXXVIII, August 8, 1997, 2184-85.
26 Iqbl Key Siasi Rajuhat in Nigar, (ed) Niaz Fatehpuri, January-February 1962, 39-41.
27 Sir Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Delhi, 1974, p 174.
28 Ibid, p 194, see also K K Aziz, *A History of the Idea of Pakistan*, Vol I, Lahore, 1987, pp 192-93.
29 For a Perceptive Analysis of Iqbal's Political Outlook, see K K Aziz, op cit, chapters 4-6, pp 184-332.
30 *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal* (ed) by Shambloo, Al Minar, Academy, New Delhi, 1948, p 54.
31 Reginald Coupland, *The Constitutional Problem of India, The Indian Problem* (1833-1945), Part II, Oxford, 1945, p 198; see also K K Aziz, op cit, 193.
32 Reginald Coupland, op cit, p 198.
33 Ibid.
34 K K Aziz, op cit, p 194.
35 *The Times*, London, October 12, 1931.
36 Rima Hooja, *Crusader for Self-Rule, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and the Indian National Movement* (New Delhi, 1999), p 120.
37 Jan Baz Mirza, *'Karwan -e-Ahrar'*, Vol IV in *Tarikh-e-Azadi bar safar*, Lahore, 1974, p 339.
38 K K Aziz, op cit, Vol I, p 292.
39 Letters of Iqbal (compiled and edited by Bakshi Ahmad Dar) Lahore, 1987, p 249. See also, P N Chopra, *Towards Freedom* (January 1-December 30, 1937), New Delhi, 1985, Document 121.
40 Dar, op cit, pp 253-55; Chopra, *Document*, 315.
41 Dar, pp 258-59; Chopra, *Document*, 282.
42 Dar, pp 267; Chopra, *Document*, 525.
43 Ibid.
44 Ibid, p 269.
45 Ibid, p 208.
46 Some scholars maintain that Iqbal had nothing to do with the creation of a separate Muslim state or what came to be known later as Pakistan, and for this view they quote Iqbal's letter to Raghid Ehsan of Calcutta. (S M H Burney, op cit, pp 122-23) and Edward Thompson's account (C M Naim, op cit, pp 186, 190). In the early 1930s, Iqbal was of course opposed to the ceation of a separate state, and he made it clear while responding to Rahmat's Ali's scheme. But to stick to this notion is to ignore the changing views of Iqbal evident in his letters to Jinnah. Also Edward Thompson's evidence is a reconstruction in retrospect. Thompson was a close friend of Jawaharlal Nehru and a supporter of the Indian National Congress.
47 For a comparative study of Azad and Iqbal, see an illuminating article 'Azad and Iqbal' by Farzana Sheikh, in Mushirul Hasan, *Islam and Nationalism: Reflections on Abdul Kalam Azad* (New Delhi, 1992), pp 59-73.
48 Ibid, p 73.