

Allama Iqbal- The Ideological Founder of Pakistan: Two Opposing Schools of Thought

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Abstract

72 years later, it may look to be a useless debate. Pakistan is and will remain. But ‘the study of the past is essential for ‘rooting’ people in time as History is an explanation of the past for understanding of the present and preparation for the future’. Both India and Pakistan are progressing within their ambits and the people of both the countries have reconciled to their destinies. Yet it becomes a ‘duty’ of the ‘present day historians’ in both the countries to enlighten their younger generations, born after 1947, to know as to how this idea of ‘Two Nation Theory’ was initiated, sprouted, percolated and finally got ingrained in the hearts and brains of the people of the ‘British India’ which, ultimately, compelled the mighty ‘British’ to divide the ‘British India’ into two independent nations: the ‘Pakistan’ and ‘India’. Most of the historians on both the sides would name none other than Allama Sir Muhammad Iqbal- the Poet Laureate’. They believe that articulation of this theory was born out of Iqbal’s conviction, ever since he returned from the Europe, that the Hindus and Muslims are “Two Separate Nations”. He would express this thought in almost all his writings to remind Muslims of the subcontinent of the past glory of Islamic civilization and, thereby, promoting pure Islam as a *socio-political thought*. But History has always been considered to be a matter of perspective where arguments can be presented from the contrary perspective as well. That is why the researchers on both the sides of the ‘British India’ belong to the ‘Two Opposing Schools of Thought’ with respect to the role of the ‘Allama’. In the present article, we have taken an utmost care to entertain the viewpoints of almost all the ‘Politically Warring Scholars’ without any bias, prejudice and offence keeping an ‘eagle’s eye’ on the ‘Historical Perspective’ of the events which unfolded from time to time during the pre- partition period.

Key Words: Two Nation Theory, Pan- Islamic, Tarana –i- Hindi, Sir Sayed Ahmad, A.I.M.L., I.N.C., Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Spiritual Guide, Atheist socialism, Allahabad Resolution, Pakistan Resolution

1. Introduction

Sir Muhammad Iqbal (9 November 1877-21 April 1938) [1] was a poet, philosopher, politician, an academic, barrister, scholar and an Islamic preacher. [2] He went to London and qualified for the Bar (Lincoln’s Inn) after completing M.A. (Philosophy) from Government College, Lahore.[3] He was awarded the Ph.D. degree from the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich, Italy (1908) on the thesis entitled “*The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*”.

During his stay in Europe (1905- 1908), [4] there occurred a sea -change in him as he was badly shaken by the attack of the Europe on Muslim countries (Turkey and Persia) which infatuated him towards 'Pan-Islamism'. [5]

Iqbal would find his hero in Aurangzeb as he followed Shariat [6] and not in Akbar because he propagated Din-e-Ilahi. Iqbal believed in the 'Quranic Concept of Universal Millat' and 'Khudi' (self) [7] as he thought that Islam was not only a religious system, but also a political system to be followed by the 'Muslim Millat' (community). [8]. Accordingly, he dedicated his life for the renascence of Muslims. At the same time, he was a strong critic of Mullahs and would advise Muslims to follow 'Ijtihad', the 'jihad' of the mind. [9] Iqbal was strongly against nationalism and would consider it to be a 'coffin' for the 'Muslim Umma'. [10] He preferred 'Millat-e-Islamia' philosophy over nationalism.

2.0. Methodology

The research material was collected both from the official and non-official agencies. An historical and analytical approach was taken into consideration while using primary and secondary sources. The primary sources are available at National Archives of India, Delhi, Punjab State Archives, Chandigarh, Punjab State Archives, Patiala, Dwarka Das Library, Chandigarh and The Museum Library, Delhi. Among the important official documents, mention was made of some, such as, Proceedings of the Government of India (Home Dept.), (Political Dept.), Proceedings of Indian Historical Record Commission, Proceedings of Indian History Congress, Punjab History Conference Proceedings, Fortnightly reports, Punjab Government Gazetteers, The Modern Review and Asiatic Review. The secondary sources such as the relevant Journals, newspapers, magazines, articles, books, frequent use of internet for updated material published by Iqbal Academy(Pakistan) as well as unpublished theses were assessed to present an objective work as far as possible

3. Results and Discussion

Sir Muhammad Iqbal, also known as Allama (Great Scholar), the political ideologue for Pakistan movement, and a propagator of the 'Two Nation Theory' [11] by separating Muslim Nationalism from Indian Nationalism and engrained this feeling of separatism in Indian Muslim mind. He argued that European concept of nationalism cannot be applied to India as the two major communities living here neither share common language, nor common culture or common history which could be the basis of nationalism as expressed in his poem 'The Anthem of the Islamic Community'. [12]

They say that '*Historians have their own lenses to peep into the past*'. Referring to Iqbal, J. L. Nehru said, "*Iqbal was one of the early advocates of Pakistan*" (Discovery of India, 1947, p.298). We find two schools of thought among the historians on both sides (India and Pakistan). One group lends support to the belief that it was Iqbal who, first of all, applied the idea of '*Two Nation Theory*' and, thereby, emphasized in his Historic Presidential Address in the 25th Session of All India Muslim League (hereafter A.I.M.L.) held at Allahabad on 29th December 1930 that '*Muslims Want an*

Independent Nation while the other group argues that Iqbal, only, asked for a *Muslim Majority Federal System of the States Within the 'British India'*. We put forward their views with the fully authenticated historical perspectives:

(A). According to Manzoor, H.Khatana, a new idea of Islam was dawned upon Iqbal:

"Iqbal emerged from his European stay as a champion of Islam. His early Indian nationalism seemed to have given way to his newly found Islamic universalism". [13]

(B). One would encounter with an analogous observation of Iqbal in the same book as follows:

"Iqbal introduced religion in politics "As a Muslim, Iqbal could not accept separation of religion and politics. According to him the foundations of politics must be found in religion. Politics divorced from Din (Islamic faith) amounted to a Machiavellian ethical system". [14]

(C). This inversion in Sir Iqbal's view point was quite contrary to his natural intellect which he, often, exhibited during his student days through his poetic excellence and academic brilliance. The truth is that then 27-year-old Iqbal was a nationalist: an ardent of the concept of an independent and United India and viewed Hindustani society as a pluralistic and composite Hindu-Muslim culture. His earlier poems including: **Tarana -i- Hindi** {Anthem of the People of Hindustan. [15]

*'Sare Jahan Se Achha Hindostan Hamaara
Mazhab Nahin Sikhata Apas Me Bair Rakhana'
Hindi hain Ham Watan hain Hindostan Hamara*

(Our India is best in the whole world
Religion does not teach animosity towards each other
We are all Indians and India is our country)

Again, in **Taswir-i-dard**: {The Portrait of Anguish (1904)}, we wrote:

*'Na Samjho Ge To Mit Jao Ge Ae Hindustanon Walo!
Tumhari Dastan Tak Bhi Na Ho Gi Dastan Mein'*

(You will be annihilated if you do not understand,
O people of India! Even your tales will disappear from the world's chronicles)
may be quoted as examples.

Now look at the change that occurred in Iqbal after his return from Europe:

After returning from Europe, he started afresh with the '**Tarana-e- Milli**' (Song of the Community) in 1910. It was a total repudiation of the thoughts expressed in

‘Tarana-e-Hindi’. The first stanza of ‘Tarana-e-Milli’, composed in the same meter and rhyme scheme as in ‘Sare Jahan Se Achchha’, reads as:

*“Chin o Arab hamaara, Hindustan hamaara,
Muslim hain hum watan hain sara jahaan hamaara”*

(China and Arabia are ours, Hindustan is ours,
we are Muslims, the whole world is our homeland).

The change from ‘Hindhi’ to ‘Muslim’ and from ‘Hindustan Hamara’ to ‘Sara Jahaan Hamaara’ speaks volumes of the change in his thinking.

(D). Iqbal’s own words would bear testimony to the change in his ideas as:

“In my college days, I was a zealous nationalist which I am not now. The change is due to mature thinking”. [16]

(E). One would find another instance, when he gave a vent of his changed ideology as:

“I have been a keen supporter of this theory that religious differences in this country should end and even now I practice this principle. But, now I have started to believe that separate national identity for the Muslims and the Hindus is necessary for their survival”. [17]

So in the coming years, he would, vehemently, negate Congress’s unified secular nationalism and proclaim that Islam was the main factor which set the Indian Muslims apart from the rest and made them into a nation.

(F). As early as in 1909, he, visualized the parting of ways in a letter to Munshi Ghulam Qadir Farruk:

“He negated the idea of Hindu-Muslim Unity and suggested that in the better interest of the nation, Hindus and Muslims should separately maintain their national distinction and individuality”. [18]

(G). A year later, he, reiterated that:

“The vision of a common nationhood for India is beautiful idea, and has a poetic appeal, but looking to the present conditions and unconscious trends of the two communities, appears incapable of fulfillment”. [19]

(H). He, very confidently, stated that *“he uses poetry as a tool and does not say any thing which contradicts the Holy Quran”*. [20]

(I). Again, his famous quote loaded with his political ideology goes as:

"Nations are born in the hearts of poet: they prosper and die in the hands of politicians". Iqbal wrote it in his private note book in 1910. [21]

Since he was strongly influenced by Sir Sayed Ahmad (Aligarh Movement), he would, vehemently, oppose the Muslims joining the Indian National Congress (hereafter I.N.C.) as Iqbal considered it a Hindu-dominated party. He used his Islamic background, which overweighed his versatility as a poet, philosopher and jurist to oppose I.N.C. which propagated a democratic system of governance in the Hindu-majority country like India. So it was imperative for Iqbal to get inclined towards A.I.M.L., a party with Islamic leanings .He joined the British Committee of the A. I. M. L. in 1908 [22] which was, already, in existence since 1906. [23]

By 1917-18, the I.N.C. had become a strong political force with Mohandass Karmchand Gandhi(hereafter Mahatma Gandhi or Gandhi) becoming its front rung leader while Mohammad Ali Jinnah was an undisputed leader of the A.I.M.L Sir Mohammad Iqbal was, then, a novice. Despite many political differences between Mohamad Ali Jinnah and Mahatma Gandhi with respect to their political views, Jinnah, with his emancipated liberal outlook and statesman like qualities, was looked upon as *'an ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity'*. [24]

But *"Iqbal was not ready to reconcile with the fact that Indian nationalism does not mean domination of Hinduism over other religions"*. [25]

(J).In a letter to Wahid Ahmad, a friend, on 7 September 1921, Iqbal wrote:

"The truth is that Europe ethos made me a Muslim ". [26]

(K).More instances would explain as to how his ideas were churning towards his long- cherished goal of forming a separate Muslim state as cited below:

"Iqbal held that nationalism implies the Indian Muslims to leave aside their faith, their identity in the nationality of other Indian nations or Indianism". [25]He, further, declared that: *"the formation of the consolidated Muslim state is in the best interest of India"*. [25]

There came a quirk of the destiny. Jinnah went on self-political exile and remained in London all through the 1930-34 [27] He returned to politics on the persuasion of Liaquat Ali Khan, [28] his friend and a political associate who became the first Prime Minister of Pakistan. So during 1930-34, the Muslim leadership fell on Sir Mohammad Iqbal who, though, entered politics as a state leader (Member of Punjab Legislative Council: 3January 1927 to 26July 1930) and remained confined mainly to the province of Punjab but would match Jinnah's brilliance and, thus, attained a national stature in Muslim politics. But *"Unlike Jinnah, Iqbal was consistently committed to separatist tendencies and was unwilling to yield to the Congress for a greater Muslim cause"*. [29].

So on being elected to preside over A.I.M.L.'s 25th session at Allahabad on December 29-30, 1930, he wasted no time in exhibiting his Islamism and delivered his historic presidential address on December 29, 1930. [30]

(L). *"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. I therefore, demand the formation of a consolidated Muslim state in the best interest of India and Islam".*[30]

(M). Iqbal spelled out the idea of an Independent Muslim State along with its geographical boundaries.

"I would like to see the Punjab, NWFP, Sindh and Baluchistan amalgamated into single state. Self-government within the British Empire or without 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 North-West India".[30]

His address made prominent headlines and editorials were written in the 'Islamic Press' of the time but the 'Hindu Press', generally, ignored it:

'The Inquilab' (Lahore) continued writing a dozen of editorials on his speech in January 1931. Its editorials would write:

"Iqbal had suggested the partition of India into Hindu and Muslim lines".

On the 11 January 1931, the same newspaper's editorial wrote:

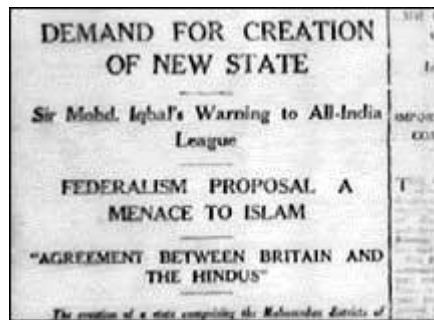
"Iqbal's threat of waging civil war if this Muslim demand is not realized"

'The Hamdard' (Lucknow) wrote an editorial stating:

"Islam's survival as a cultural force depended on the establishment of a Muslim National State in Northern India".

In its editorial of the 5 January 1931, the newspaper continued to write:

"if such an Islamic state is created, then, such a state "will cause a patriotic fervor among Muslims and they would be in an ideal position to defend India with all the might at their command against a possible attack from the Bolsheviks or the Afghans. This is the best solution of the Indian problem".



(News clip reporting the landmark Allahabad session)

Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald was highly displeased with the views expressed by Iqbal. British and Indian circles in the Round Table Conference (hereafter.T.C.) expressed resentment and termed it as an assault against the idea of an all India constitution being worked out. **'The Tribune'** (Lahore) viewed that Iqbal had torpedoed all chances for a communal settlement. [31].

(N).In the same breath:

“He went on to emphasize that if Muslim state is given, the Muslims would live in peace and make definite progress towards prosperity. They would be perfect neighbours of India, and their Hindu ‘brethren’. They will safe-guard India in the frontiers, not only from ideological invasion from the West, but also from invasions of foreign armies”.

(O).The following given some excerpts from his presidential address, very clearly, showed that he was asking for a separate state for Muslims.

“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”.

“We are 70 million, and far more homogeneous than 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”. [30]

“I have no doubt that if a Federal Government is established, Muslim federal States will willingly agree, for purposes of India's defense, to the creation of neutral Indian military and naval forces”.

“.....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 an invasion”. [30]

(P). Iqbal used the term ‘within the British Empire or without it’. [32].

(Q).In the Third R.T.C., Iqbal pleaded that there should be no central government in the subcontinent and that the provinces should be autonomous and independent dominions. [33]

“I mention this alternative only because I wish that you may keep it in mind, and give some serious thought to it in the meantime I am not hopeless of an inter-communal understanding, but I can not conceal from you that 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 focalized by a single purpose. Is it possible for you to achieve the organic wholeness of a unified will? Yes, it is. ... 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. I do not wish to 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”. ... "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 “ . [30]

The idea of a separate Muslim state remained alive in his mind even after the Allahabad address in 1930 and spoke about it explicitly on various public platforms. His verses, speeches and letters stand testimony to the fact that it was he, who first hit upon the two-nation theory, which led logically to the idea of two separate homelands for Muslims and Hindus.

(R).He would, often, bombard Quaid-i- Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah with letters and wrote to him 13 letters during May 1936 and November 1937 which were published in 1942 after Iqbal’s death. [34] Iqbal persuaded Muhammad Ali Jinnah to not only assume leadership of the Muslims of the sub-continent, [35] but also put his body and soul behind the “Two Nation Theory” [36] and voice the demand for partition of India while Jinnah was still engaged in negotiations with the I.N.C. when Iqbal first articulated this theory in 1930. One of his many letters to Jinnah beseeching him to return reads:

“You are the only Muslim in India today to whom the community looks up to for safe guidance through the storm which is coming to North West India and, perhaps, the whole of India”. [37]

(S).Excerpts from the 6 of the *politically loaded* Allama Iqbal’s letters are given below where in he impressed upon Jinnah to bargain for a separate homeland for the Muslims and “the partition of India into two states”.He convinced Quaid-i- Azam that a united Hindu-Muslim nation was not a reality”. [38]

Iqbal died in 1938 but he, successfully, converted Jinnah, from ‘an ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity’ [24] to a true Islamic leader who, following Iqbal, adopted a resolution for Pakistan movement in Lahore session of the League in 1940.

9th June 1936

I must frankly state as present position of the Indian Muslims as regards both the Government and the Hindus. It must warn the Muslims of India that unless the present scheme is adopted the Muslims will lose all that they have gained during the last 15 years and will seriously harm, and in fact, shatter their own solidarity with their own hands.

June 25, 1936

That in all matters specific to the Muslim community as an all-India minority they will be bound by the decision of the League and will never make any pact with any non-Muslims group in the Provincial Assembly - - - - - .

March 29, 1937

While we are ready to cooperate with other progressive parties in the country, we must not ignore the fact that the whole future of Islam as a moral and political force in Asia rests very largely on a complete organization of Indian Muslims. - - - - You should immediately hold an All-India Muslim Convention in Delhi to which you should invite members of the new Provincial Assemblies as well as other prominent Muslim leaders. To this convention you must restate as clearly and as strongly as possible the political objective of the Indian Muslims as a distinct political unit in the country.

April 22, 1937

I propose that we should hold immediately an All-India Muslim Convention, say at Delhi, and once more to restate the policy of Indian Muslims both to the Government and to the Hindus. As the situation is becoming grave and the Muslim feeling in the Punjab is rapidly becoming pro-Congress for reasons which it is unnecessary to detail.

May 28, 1937

Iqbal was most forthcoming in this letter and repeated the same idea of a Free Muslim State or States. He would blame Hindus for the poverty of Muslims; gave a vent of his innermost feeling about Brahmanism versus Buddhism; warned about Hindu-Muslim riots; would strongly oppose the ‘atheist socialism’ of Nehru and emphasized that Islam and democracy being an anti-thesis of each other. [39]

Ordinarily he (a Muslim) believes that his poverty is due to Hindu money-lending or capitalism. ----- The atheistic socialism of Jawaharlal is not likely to receive much response from the Muslims. ----- Happily there is a solution in the enforcement of the Law of Islam and its further development in the light of modern ideas. After a long

and careful study of Islamic Law, I have come to the conclusion that if this system of Law is properly understood and applied, at last the right to subsistence is secured to everybody. But the enforcement and development of the Shari at of Islam is impossible in this country without a free Muslim state or states. This has been my honest conviction for many years and I still believe this to be the only way to solve the problem of bread for Muslims as well as to secure a peaceful India. If such a thing is impossible in India, the only other alternative is a civil war which as a matter of fact has been going on for some time in the shape of Hindu-Muslim riots. - - -. The issue between social democracy and Brahmanism is not dissimilar to the one between Brahmanism and Buddhism. Whether the fate of socialism will be the same as the fate of Buddhism in India I cannot say. But it is clear to my mind that if Hinduism accepts social democracy, it must necessarily cease to be Hinduism. For Islam the acceptance of social democracy in some suitable form and consistent with the legal principles of Islam is not a revolution but a return to the original purity of Islam. ----- But as I have said above in order to make it possible for Muslim India to solve the problems it is necessary to redistribute the country and to provide one or more Muslim states with absolute majorities.

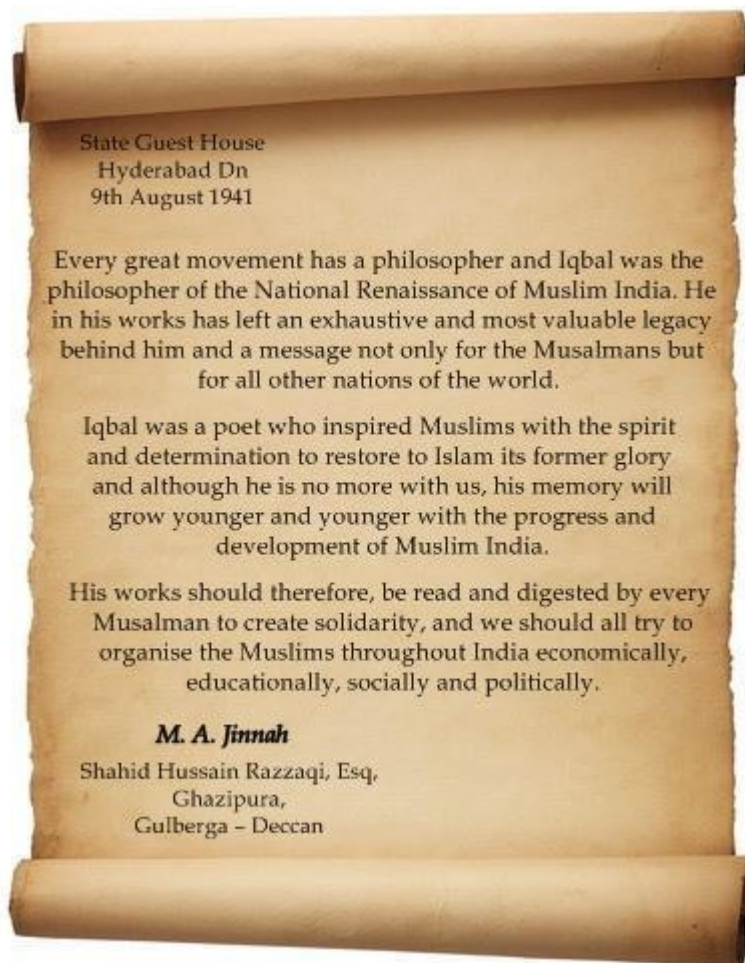
June 21, 1937

*A separate federation of Muslim provinces reformed on the lines I have suggested above, is the only course by which we can secure a peaceful India and save Muslims from the domination of non-Muslims. **Why should not the Muslims of North-West India and Bengal be considered as nations entitled to self-determination just as other nations in India and outside India are?** [40]*

There is hardly any historical evidence to show as to how Muhammad Ali Jinnah reacted to Iqbal's letters, but the Quaid-i- Azam paid his tribute the Allama with a brief foreword which read as:

"I think these letters are of very great historical importance, particularly those which explain his views in clear and unambiguous terms on the political future of Muslim India". [41]

In addition, the following given photocopy of a rare letter which Jinnah wrote after the death of Allama Iqbal shows the importance of Iqbal's poetry.[42]



He expressed similar sentiments to his contemporary Sayyid Nazir Niazi, a famous historian, biographer, journalist, and writer about three months before his death. [43]

“There is only one way out. Muslim should strengthen Jinnah's hands. They should join the Muslim League. Indian question, as is now being solved, can be countered by our united front against both the Hindus and the English. Without it our demands are not going to be accepted. People say our demands smack of communalism. This is sheer propaganda. These demands relate to the defense of our national existence”.

(T).Continuing with his philosophical justification for a Muslim State, Iqbal would not hesitate to call himself ‘communal’. He admitted:

"I entertain the highest respect for the customs, laws, religious and social institutions of other communities, yet I love the ‘communal group’, which is the source of my life and my 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. I, therefore, demand formation of a consolidated Muslim State in best interest of India and Islam".

(U). Continuing, Iqbal declared that:

"The Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India within the Indian subcontinent is perfectly justified." It was only after affirming this idea of a separate State that Iqbal referred to a federal scheme for India, basing the formation of autonomous regions on "linguistic and economic community and religious unity".[44]

(V). Iqbal took Jawaharlal Nehru head on [45] and had sour relations with Rabinder Nath Tagore as follows [46]:

(i) *"How is India's problem to be solved if the majority community will neither concede the minimum safeguards necessary for the protection of a minority of 80 million people nor accept the award of a third party: but continue to talk of a kind of nationalism which works out only to its own benefit"? "Either the Indian majority community will have to accept for itself the permanent position of an agent of British imperialism in the East or the country will have to be redistributed on a basis of religious, historical and cultural affinities so as to do away with the question of electorates and the communal problem in its present form".*

(ii). The monarchs of Persia, Iraq and Saudi Arabia extended their welcome to Tagore on his visit the countries as a royal guest. He was, also, given welcome in many cities of Iran especially in Tehran. In Baghdad, he was received by King Faisal himself. Iqbal, then, wrote to an Iranian diplomat Gulam Abbas Aram (27 June 1932) to caution him that Tagore's visit was attempt to forge Aryan affiliation between Hindus and Persians and suggested that, perhaps, this might lead Iranians to revert to Zoroastrianism.

(W). His concluding remarks of 1930 address were definite and categorical as he was emphatic on his demand for a separate state for Muslims as follows:

"Should the Muslims be not satisfied; in spite of all commissions and roundtables and discussions, Iqbal is making them ready for an ultimate and final assault; until they get what they want. How this could be, and what these assaults should be etc., are left for anyone to imagine.....Iqbal is strongly advocating Dar-ul-Islam, Islamic states. Islam cannot be separated from state, and for the Muslims, state has to be Islamic". [30]

(X). He, being an exalted laureate and best exponent of emotive reasoning, his genius lay in crafting it with beautifully chosen words to give a diplomatic warning to the makers of constitution that it is going to be dangerous if they ignore Muslim demands as given below:

"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 independent and concerted political action by the Muslims of India.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". [30]

Iqbal represented Muslims of India at the II- and III- R.T.C. held in England during 1931-32 to seek the constitutional avenues for India towards its eventual self-determination. Although Iqbal was not active in the II- R.T.C. due to his disagreements over the proceedings, i.e. delaying tactics adopted to grant constitutional right of self-determination to the Muslims, yet in the III- R.T.C., he, strongly, advocated for the establishment of Muslim state in Northwest India which was dully recorded implying that Iqbal stood steadfast to his Allahabad address with Lord Lothian [47] commenting as:

"Iqbal's solution seemed to be viable but it would take at least another 25 years to realize". [48]

This clamour grew all the more loud in the form of 'Lahore Resolution or Pakistan Resolution (23rd March 1940)' which ultimately resulted in a separate homeland for the Muslims in Indian sub-continent, i.e. the formation of a new country to be called 'Pakistan' on 14th August 1947. Thus Iqbal's efforts for the establishment of an independent Muslim State materialized when Pakistan came into being on August 14, 1947 under the dynamic leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

There is another group of historians in both the countries who believe that Allama Iqbal did not vouch for a separate Muslim state [49- 52] as he did not mention any homeland for all Muslims of the sub-continent. He, only, stated that Punjab, Frontier, Baluchistan and Sindh should be amalgamated into one state and wanted a consolidated Muslim unit within the confederation of India. The historians subscribing to this view would put forth the following arguments in their support to contradict those who find Iqbal an architect of Pakistan after his Allahabad address:

(I).Mustafa writes: How can one ask for a partition when Iqbal, himself, affirmed that

"Proper redistribution will make the question of joint and separate electorates automatically disappear from the constitutional controversy of India". [30]

He, again, would lay stress that:

"The Allahabad address (1930) was a direct rebuttal to the Nehru report (28-30 August 1928) which "rejected the crucial Muslim demand for a separate electorate and weightage for minorities". [49]

(II).In the later part o his address at the_25th session at Allahabad on December 29-30, 1930, Iqbal said:

"The idea need not alarm the Hindus or the British. India is the greatest Muslim country in the world. The life of Islam as a cultural force in this country very largely depends on its centralisation in a specified territory.....I demand the formation of a

consolidated Muslim State in the best interests of India and Islam. For India, it means security and peace resulting from an internal balance of power; for Islam an opportunity to rid itself of the stamp that Arabian imperialism was forced to give it, to mobilise its law, its education and its culture and to bring them into closer contact with its own original spirit and with the spirit of modern times". [30]

(III). This group of historians, further, argue that:

"If it had been so, he would not have mentioned within the British Empire or without it. [53]

But historian supporting Iqbal for his role in asking for an independent Muslim question that:

If it was so then why "in the III- R.T.C., Iqbal would have pleaded that there should be no central government in the subcontinent and that the provinces should be autonomous and independent dominions". [54]

(IV). Iqbal wrote to Jinnah on 28th May 1931:

"But as I have said above in order to make it possible for Muslim India to solve these problems, it is necessary to redistribute the country and to provide one or more Muslim States with absolute majorities". [55]

It may, well, be noted that he had, time and again, used the word "*state or states implying a federal system and not an independent country*" as in this concept of state(s), he did not include Bengal and Muslim minority regions, before 1937. The letter goes on to state:

"I think that this is the best course to adopt in the interests of Muslim majority and minority provinces". [56]

The historian sporting Iqbal for his pivotal role in asking for an independent Muslim state justify by the argument that it appeared logical that if the establishment of a Muslim state in the North-West was accepted, its extension to the east would be inescapable. Moreover, they emphasize that Iqbal had used the term "at least" while referring to the Muslim majority. Continuing, they would lay stress:

(a). India being a geographical entity such as "sub-continent", Muslim state meant Muslim state within geographical boundaries of India

(b). Word "State" would not mean "province" as technically speaking at that time Sindh, Punjab, NWFP and Baluchistan were already the provinces of India, so why would someone demand for something which was already in existence. So the statement "State" meant an independent state or country.

(c). The word "Muslim State" meant State that belong to Muslims. In all practical senses it was not possible to have a "Muslim State" within a "Hindu Country/Sate"

(V).The demand for Pakistan should be viewed as a bargaining position mooted by Iqbal having a spectrum of possibilities [57] or some other political arrangements, [58] i.e. a political alternative in case the leaders of the I. N. C. did not concede the demands made at the All-Parties Muslim Conference, which, still, sought a federal solution to the Hindu-Muslim conflict. [59]

(VI).Iqbal wanted to use Islam as a tool against socialism as indicated when he wrote to Jinnah as:

“As I have said above in order to make it possible for Muslim India to solve these (communal) problems, it is necessary to redistribute the country and to provide one or more Muslim states with absolute majorities.Perhaps this is the best reply you can give to atheistic socialism of Jawaharlal Nehru”. [30]

So he wanted Jinnah to raise the demand of Muslim India to fight against the socialism of Nehru and for a separate electorate for Muslims

(VII). Ayesha Jalal, a celebrated scholar, believed that:

“It was not until 1946 that Pakistan became a realistic option. The demand for Pakistan should be viewed as a bargaining position on the part of Jinnah and the Muslim League, which did not exclude other possible political arrangements”. [56]

But it was denied by none other than the Allama himself in his 1930 Allahabad address as follows:

“The Right Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri (joined ‘Servants of India Society’ in January 1907; had won for himself a great reputation as a fine speaker of faultless English, thinks that the Muslim demand for the creation of autonomous Muslim states along the 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”. [30]

(VIII).Iqbal asked, if the Congress agreed to accept the Muslim demands and regarded Mahatma Gandhi's condition that the Muslim should not support the claims of the depressed classes as “inhuman”. [60] Nehru refuted both charges. On Iqbal's question how India's problem could be solved if the majority community was

prepared neither to make concessions nor to accept the award of a third party, *meaning that he was still clinging to the idea of unity.* [61]

(IX). In his poem “Javid Nama” (1932) ,Iqbal used the word ‘India’, and talked about two traitors Mir Jafar of Bengal and Mir Sadiq of Deccan, due to whom we were colonised along with the treachery and disunity among the people implying that even in 1932, he was for unity of the country.

“People ascribing to this political school of thought would believe that, perhaps, he was influenced by the then circumstances prevailing and mass feeling among the Moslems, and he himself influenced and added intensity of these sentiments since he was very far from being a mass leader, he was a poet, an intellectual and a philosopher with affiliation to the old feudal order”. [62]

(X). Again, Iqbal’s following statement, if read inbetween the lines, would convey that there was a duality in his mind as follows:

“I wish to see Indians living in peace and I am convinced that such a thing is possible even while every community retains its culture and individuality”. [63]

(XI).Although the name "Pakistan" had been proposed by Choudhary Rahmat Ali [64] in a pamphlet entitled ‘**Now or never; are we to live or perish forever?**’ , published on 28 January1933, outlining a scheme for Pakistan, much before the Pakistan Declaration (23 March 1940) at Lahore, it was not until after the resolution that it began to be widely said that the Chaudhry was the founder of Pakistan National Movement and coined the term ‘Pakistan’. He, further, added that “Pakistan” was a brain child of four Muslim students: Muhammad Aslam Khan (Khattak) President, Khyber Union, Rahmat Ali (Choudhary), Sheikh Mohammad Sadiq (Sahibzada) and Inayatullah Khan (of Charsada) Secretary, Khyber Union. [65] Chaudhry, also, refuted that Iqbal in his Allahabad Address had used the word state not as sovereign state but as a part of proposed Indian Federation and ignored the words ‘outside British Empire’.

(XII).Continuing , the historians subscribing to this view emphasize *that even in the Pakistan Resolution, the word is ‘states’* [66] *which Iqbal also supported but within British India and not as a separate sovereign country or countries.*

(XIII). One would find below a letter published in ‘**TheTimes**’ in its issue of October 12, 1931 (p.8) which Iqbal wrote when he was in London in 1931. He flatly denied of having asked for a ‘Moslem state outside the British Empire’.

Text of Iqbal's letter to *The Times*

Sir,— Writing in your issue of October 3 last, Dr. E. Thompson has torn the following passage from its context in my presidential address to the All-India Moslem League of last December, in order to serve as evidence of “Pan-Islamic plotting”:

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 Moslem State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Moslems, at least of North-West India.

May I tell Dr. Thompson that in this passage I do not put forward a “demand” for a Moslem state outside the British Empire, but only a guess at the possible outcome in the dim future of the mighty forces now shaping the destiny of the Indian sub- continent . No Indian Moslem with any pretence to sanity contemplates a Moslem state or series of States in North-West India outside the British commonwealth of Nations as a plan of practical politics.

Although I would oppose the creation of another cockpit of communal strife in the Central Punjab, as suggested by some enthusiasts, I am all for a redistribution of India into provinces with effective majorities of one community or another on lines advocated both by the Nehru and the Simon Reports. Indeed, my suggestion regarding Moslem provinces merely carries forward this idea. A series of contented and well-organized Moslem provinces on the North-West Frontier of India would be the bulwark of India and of the British Empire against the hungry generations of the Asiatic highlands.

Yours faithfully,
Muhammed Iqbal
St. James's court, S.W.1, Oct. 10.

(XIV).A year after his Allahabad address (1931), a letter written by Iqbal to Sir Francis Young [67] reveals his attitude to the Hindu Muslim problem as:

“While realizing the seriousness and importance of the Hindu Muslim problem, with which this country is confronted today, and the practical difficulties involved in finding a satisfactory solution to it, I cannot allow myself to believe, as many people unfortunately do, both here and in England, that all human efforts directed to uniting the two communities are doomed to failure. I am not ashamed to say that in solving this problem we may need the assistance of Britain guided by the best motives”.

Iqbal, further, wrote:

“If you transfer political authority to the Hindu and keep him in power to any material benefit to Great Britain, you will drive the Indian Muslim to use the same weapon against the Swaraj or Anglo-Swaraj Government as Gandhi did against the British Government. Moreover, it may result in the whole of Muslim Asia being driven into the lap of Russian Communism which would serve as the ‘coup de grace’ to British supremacy in the East. I do not myself believe that the Russians are by nature an irreligious people Since Bolshevism plus God is almost identical with Islam, I should not be surprised if in course of time either Islam would devour Russia or Russia Islam. The result will depend, I think, to a considerable extent on the position which is given to the Indian Muslims under the new constitution I shall have no objection to be ruled by the Hindu if he has the tact and ability to govern, but I cannot worship two gods. It must be either him or British alone, but not the twotogether Somehow, I feel hopeful that some solution to the Indian communal problem will be found at the next R.T.C. which would satisfy all parties, including the British To the recognition of a common ideal and to the avoidance of friction in advancing along the path of self-rule, let us here and in the west address ourselves”.

If Iqbal, really, called for a Pakistan in his Allahabad address in 1930, he would not have written this letter in 1931. Perhaps, he never dreamt of a separate state of Pakistan, and all that he was demanding was the maximum for the Muslims and a Muslim state within Indian state.

(XV). An English educational missionary, Dr. Edward Thompson wrote a criticism of Iqbal’s Allahabad speech in ‘**The Times**’ in early October. He said:

As “Pan- Islamic plotting” and “I am not arguing against the establishment of Muslim communal provinces’ in North-West India, but what Sir Muhammad Iqbal demands is a confederation ‘within or without’ the Indian federation. Look at the map and see what sort of defensible frontier would be left to the rest of India”. [68]

Replying, Iqbal wrote:

“May I tell Dr. Thompson that in this passage (he quotes from his address the sentence starting ‘I would like to see the Punjab....’) I do not put forward a demand for a Muslim state, outside the British Empire, but only a guess, at a possible outcome in the dim future of the mighty forces now shaping the destiny of the Indian sub-continent. No Indian Muslim with any pretense to sanity contemplates a Muslim state or series of states in the North-West India outside the British Commonwealth of Nations as a plan of practical politics”.

(XVI). Iqbal, himself, interpreted his speech that he was not ‘asking’ for a Pakistan and added:

“Although I would oppose the creation of another cockpit of communal strife in the Central Punjab, as suggested by some enthusiasts, I am all for a redistribution of

India into provinces with effective majorities of one community or another on lines advocated both by the Nehru and the Simon reports. Indeed, my suggestion regarding Muslim provinces merely carries forward this idea. A series of contented and well organized Muslim provinces on the North-West frontier of India would be the bulwark of India and of the British Empire against the hungry generations of the Asiatic highlands”.[69]

(XVII).It is hard not to believe Edward Thompson and might be taken with a pinch of the salt but even if there is an iota of truth, it is worth mentioning here to stand steadfast of the statement to have ‘tried to accommodate’ all the hues when Thomson asserts that Iqbal, near the end of his life, had serious reservations about the proposed Pakistan as follows:

“In ‘The Observer’ I, once, said that he supported the Pakistan plan. Iqbal was a friend, and he set my misconception right. After speaking of his despondency at the chaos he saw coming ‘on my vast undisciplined and starving land’ he went on to say that he thought the Pakistan plan would be disastrous to British Government, disastrous to Hindu community, disastrous to Moslem community. But I am the President of Moslem League and, therefore, it is my duty to support it”. [70]

But the supporters of Iqbal’s role as an architect of Pakistan got a huge boost when the person none other than the Quaid-i-Azam, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, himself, issued the following statement in a letter to Mr Matloob Sayyed, his Secretary, after the Muslim League passed the Pakistan Resolution:

“Iqbal is no more amongst us, but had he been alive he would have been happy to know that we did everything that he wanted us to do”.

Again, a foreword to above stated Iqbal’s letters by Quaid-i-Azam in 1943 lends a credible support to Iqbal’s part in the creation of Pakistan which goes as: *His views were substantially in consonance with my own and had finally led me to the same conclusion as a result of careful examination and study of the constitutional problems facing India and found expression in due course in the united will of Muslim India as enumerated in the Lahore Resolution of the All India Muslim League, popularly known as Pakistan Resolution passed on 23rd March 1940.* [66] Quaid-i-Azam, further, wrote:

“He worked alone, with no personal staff and not even a secretary to copy his letters and keep his papers tidy. But there was one bundle of letters, in a drawer, to which he could turn for consolation: they had been written to him by Sir Muhammad Iqbal”. [71]

Quaid-i-Azam was moved by the death of Iqbal and paid homage to his ‘Spiritual Guide’ as:

“The sorrowful news of the death of Dr Sir Muhammad Iqbal had plunged the world of Islam in gloom and mourning. Sir Muhammad Iqbal was undoubtedly one of the greatest poets, philosophers and seers of humanity of all times. To me he was a personal friend, philosopher and guide and as such the main source of my inspiration and spiritual support”.

Iqbal’s political status can be judged from the following message that Quaid-i-Azam, the then President of All-India Muslim League, sent to Iqbal’s son after his death:

“To me he was a friend, guide and philosopher, and during the darkest moments through which the Muslim League had to go he stood like a rock, and never flinched one single moment”.

In another public speech, Jinnah was passionate about Iqbal’s works as:

“If I live to see the ideal of a Muslim state being achieved in India, and I was then offered to make a choice between the works of Iqbal and the ruler-ship of the Muslim state, I would prefer the former”.

Finally, Z A.Suleri, a journalist, writer and the Pakistan Movement activist (1913-99) pointed out that:

The share of Iqbal in shaping the destiny of Indian Muslims was tremendous. As a matter of fact the entire Muslim intelligentsia who demanded Pakistan was inspired by Iqbal”. [72]

Conclusion

A thought called “Two Nation Theory” which was lying deep in the heart of the poet laureate- Sir Muhammad Iqbal ever since 1905, gave birth to a new nation“ Islamic Republic of Pakistan” on 14th August,1947 under the able stewardship of a statesman Muhammad Ali Jinnah; latter to be knighted as **Quaid-i-Azam or Baba-i-Qaum**, a person gifted with a shrewd manoeuvrability,sharp intellect and extraordinary acumen. Jinnah, successfully, applied Iqbal’s “Theory” in his difficult times like when he failed to bargain for A.I.M.L. as exclusive representative body of Muslims, Congress insistence on secularism and adopting a resolution for “Pakistan Movement” in the Lahore session of the A.I.M.L. on 23 March 1940 even to the extent of being branded as a “Islamic Leader” from an “Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity .

The following paragraph taken from the book " Iqbal, Jinnah, and Pakistan: The Vision and the Reality" written by C.M. Naim summarizes the importance of both Sir Muhammad Iqbal and Muhammad Ali Jinnah in creating the Pakistan:

"No history of Pakistan Movement (and, thereby, the 'Partition') is complete without incorporating the vision of Muhammad Iqbal, the poet-philosopher, and political and legal acumen of the statesman, Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Both of them enjoy undisputed

respect and special position in the discourse of the Muslim Nationalist Historiography in South Asia, which revolves around the opinion that Iqbal conceived the idea of Pakistan and Jinnah converted the idea into a practical reality. To the overwhelming majority of the people living in the Pakistan, two of them were the real founders of Pakistan and without them creation of an independent state for the Muslims of India was not a possibility. Iqbal saw the vision; Jinnah gave it a concrete shape, so goes the popular story about the creation of Pakistan".

Pakistan, perhaps, is the only modern nation other than Israel that owes its existence to a **“Nationalism Inspired by Religion”**.

Ralph Russell, a British expert on Urdu, while writing a “Chapter on Sir Muhammad Iqbal” quoted a Pakistan friend, who believes that:

“Pakistanis have three articles of faith: Islam, the Quaid-i-Azam and Iqbal”. [73]
Sir Muhammad Iqbal is rightly knighted as the **“The Ideological Founder Pakistan”** and his “Two Nation Theory”, will continue to interest the students of the “Modern History” in the present prevailing “Political Atmosphere” of the Indian subcontinent.

References and Notes

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[65]. No creditable information is forthcoming in the History.When a question is asked in examination as to who first thought of Pakistan, the answer has to be, Muhamad Iqbal. If one dares to say that it is Rahmat Ali Chaudhry, he shall not get marks. Chaudhry died and was buried in England.

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“While approving and endorsing the action taken by the Council and the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, as indicated in their resolutions dated the 27th of August, 17th and 18th of September and 22nd of October, 1939, and 3rd of February 1940, on the constitutional issue, this session of the All-India Muslim League emphatically reiterates that the scheme of Federation embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935 is totally unsuited to, and unworkable in the peculiar conditions of this country and is altogether unacceptable to Muslim India.

It further records its emphatic view that while the declaration dated the 18th of October, 1939, made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government is reassuring in so far as it declares that the policy and plan on which the Government of India Act, 1935 is based will be reconsidered in consultation with the various parties, interests and communities in India, Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the whole constitutional plan is reconsidered de novo and that no revised plan would be acceptable to the Muslims unless it is framed with their approval and consent.

Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principle, namely, that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India, should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in these regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them; and in other parts of India where Mussalmans are in a minority, adequate, effective and mandatory safeguard shall be specially provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them

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