Isra Sarwar

University of the Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan.

Zubaida Zafar

University of the Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan.

#### ABSTRACT

Allama Muhammad Iqbal had considerable religious, social and political services with regard to the Muslims of the sub-continent especially his vision regarding the separate homeland left deep impact in minds of Indian masses. There are views that Iqbal remained detached to the politics before 1926 elections but the question is how he received massive support if he stepped politics in 1926 election, Idbal believed on Combined Indian Nationalism initially but his thought turned into the Muslim Nationalism as his point of view portrays the need that Muslims should adopt apprehensive approach for protection of their separate identity and survival. Iqbal believed that Muslims of India can retain this unique identity through political power. He always takes the best care of the Muslims interests and gives them the top priority and always speaks what he considers truth. He wanted a system in which the educationally backward Muslims may also get a reasonable representation in the administration of sub-continent India. Iqbal's determination for the cause brought him into limelight as a sagacious political entity. Allama Iqbal had a busy period in Indian politics during September 1931- February 1932 because of popular acknowledgment by the masses as Muslim thinker and leader. The Kashmir cause persisted dear to him and never missed to highlight the cause which is evident from his poetry. Iqbal worked in his last phase of politics on two ends: primarily to transform the thinking approach of Muhammad Ali Jinnah towards the idea of Pakistan and later, to make the Muslim League the sole accredited voice of Muslims. Between May 1936 and June 1937, Iqbal extended his idea of a separate state via confidential letters to Jinnah and outlined what he envisaged for the best interest of Indian Muslims.

**Key Words:** Allama Muhammad Iqbal, Politics, Sub-continent

### Introduction

### Biographical background

Allama Muhammad Iqbal, a poet, philosopher, politician and the dreamer of Pakistan born on 9 November 1877 in Sialkot. His Persian, English and Urdu poetry is considered as greatest amongst the modern era. His religious, social and

political services regarding the Muslims on Indian history of the sub-continent can never be forgotten. His vision regarding Muslim thoughts, concept of *Khudi* and the idea for the separate state left deep impact in minds of Indian masses which provide food for thought for their future concerns.

His family originally came from the Kashmir. They were Brahmins by caste, one of their ancestors embraced Islam and later on, the family migrated to the Punjab. Iqbal's father Nur Muhammad was a religious man by practice who attached with the great significance to the spiritual values. When Iqbal grew up, the question of education began to worry the family. Following the practice, Nur Muhammad put him in a mosque.

Iqbal after learning the Quran went to an elementary school. He was the bright student and soon attracted the attention of Syed Meer Hassan, who was Iqbal's teacher and an erudite scholar, great savant and an inspiring teacher (for him). He goes parallel in his teachings and covers religious as well as worldly aspects. Meer Hassan always encouraged his students in their respective aspect of their interests. He was so impressed by his student Iqbal, who shone himself as a bright student by winning scholarships and prizes, and encouraged him in every way. In Meer Hassan's influence and guidance, Iqbal got an insight, depth and perceived the Muslim Culture contextualizing the humanistic foundations.

After passing the matriculation, Iqbal joined the Scotch Mission\_for intermediate. By the time, he sent some of his poems mostly lyrics to Dagh (1831-1905), a renowned Urdu poet for correction but Dagh after correction of some poems wrote back him that his poems did not need any correction or revision. Although throughout his life, Iqbal acknowledged him as his teacher. But this period of refinement of his poetry from Dagh was very short. This duration can be estimated from 1993 to 1996 (Iqbal, 2014 p 93).

In 1885, Iqbal passed his examination from Scotch Mission College and shifted to Lahore for higher studies and passed his B.A. in 1897. Although Iqbal was a student of B.A. in Government College but along with that, he teaches the B.A. classes in Oriental College. As Iqbal has the aptitude towards the Philosophy, So he obtained his degree of M.A. in Philosophy in 1899 under the guidance of Sir Thomas Arnold. Sir Tomas had influence on Iqbal, as he discovered Iqbal's ability of intellect. He made efforts to introduce Iqbal with the modern methods of critical thinking as well with the best noblest western thoughts (Vahid, 1960).

Later on, Iqbal moved from Oriental College to Government College in 1903. This period of Iqbal was based on intensive studies and prolific production (Vahid, 1960) not confined to poetry. At that time, his position as a renowned poet of subcontinent was fully established.

Upon Sir Thomas' advice, Iqbal continue with higher studies and went to Europe in 1905. His 3 years stay there played a vital role to nourish his thoughts. He got admission in Cambridge as an advanced student of Philosophy and joined Lincoln's Inn for Bar. For his degree in Cambridge he wrote a thesis 'Development of Metaphysics in Persia'. After he had put in a short residence and acquired knowledge of the German language, Munich University conferred on him

the degree of PhD for the same thesis. In 1908, Iqbal was called to the bar and returned home back in 1908.

His association with philosophy and combination of heart with intellect brought a visible change in his outlook particularly during his stay in Europe. He was no more poet of narrow nationalistic and parochial feelings but of broad humanistic outlook of Islam and is aptly called a poet of humanity. During his stay in Europe, Iqbal also lectured on Islamic subjects who added to his popularity and fame in literary circle. He was knighted in 1923.

## Stepping into the politics (before 1926)

In view of many people, Iqbal did not step in politics before being elected as Punjab Legislative Council's member in 1926. In contesting these elections, he had a massive support and this support would have not been possible if Iqbal remained disconnected with the politics.

Iqbal in his early life believed on Composite Indian Nationalism. His poetry before the 1906 bears ample testimony to this fact. But the turning point in his thought from composite Indian nationalism to Muslim nationalism comes after his visits from Europe (1905-08). Iqbal's views on Islamic Universalism that "ultimate goal of Muslims should be establishment of Muslim Nationalism to attain Islamic Universalism" were also engraved by him. There is need that Muslims adopt apprehensive approach for protection of their separate identity and survival. Iqbal believed that Muslims of India can retain this unique identity through political power and he gets elected in Indian Muslim League London branch in 1908.

He took part in the politics after the partition of Bengal was reversed and advised to Muslims in a speech to general public on 1<sup>st</sup> February, 1912 to trust themselves rather than on British for their survival. It was the time when Iqbal was shaken by the tragic events of Tripoli and the Balkan wars and the Cawnpore Mosque incident in 1913 which further strengthened his stand.

At that time, the Ali'ts (students come out from the Aligarh University) have adopted the defensive policy rather than to be aggressive. In those days Iqbal propagates his views of Muslim Nationalism through his poetry and at different political forums and the same time. All India Muslim League also changed their objectives. He also showed his dislikes towards the Lucknow Pact but his political role openly came on surface with the Khilafat Movement and the Non-Cooperation Movement. Initially Iqbal supported the Movement for the restoration of Khilafat and elected as the secretary of the Punjab Khialfat Committee but later on, he took himself aside because he opposed to run the Movement along with the Hindus. He had a thought behind in his step backing that Hindus can never be loyal with Muslims for their interest. They are supporting the Muslims in order to organize themselves. So he resigned from the secretary ship of Punjab Khilafat Committee and showed his least interest in the Movement. He was also against the delegation, visited England for the sustainability of the Khilafat and showed his disappointment through his poetry:

He also stood against Ali Brother's, Abul Kalam Azad and Gandhi when they tried to cancel the Islamia College affiliation with the Punjab University under the Non-Cooperation Movement. At that time, He was the honorary General Secretary of the Anjum-i-Himayat-i-Islam.

British Government every year gave titles to those who showed their extraordinary performance in academic and literary services. The British Government in acknowledging his literary services announced a title for him. But he said to Governor Punjab that, He will not accept this title until you did not acknowledge my teacher, Syed Meer Hassan's literary services. So on the same occasion on 1 January, 1923, British Government gave the title of 'Shamsul Ulma' to Syed Meer Hassan and "Sir" to Iqbal (Iqbal, 2014 p: 85) But the Muslims did not like it. Many of them thought that it would cramp his style as a rebellious poet and thinker. In their views, Iqbal's position in their hearts does not need such kind of recognition. Maulana Abdul Majeed in his instant reaction said that:

On his title of 'Sir' Mir Ghulam Nairang wrote to Iqbal that "perhaps you may not further proceed with your freedom of expression". Iqbal replied and assured to him that "I swear by Allah, that there is no power on earth which can prevent me from speaking out of what I consider to be truth".

He was elected as the president of Anjum-i-Himayat-i-Islam in 1924 and supported the Tableeq and Tanzeem which were in reply of Shuddhi and Sanghaton.

### **Politics from 1926-1938**

With the decline of the Khilafat Movement, the phase of Hindu-Muslim unity was also come to an end. This unity period also called as the honeymoon period between both the nations.

The Rowlett Act, the Jallianawala Bagh Incident, Non-Cooperation Movement, Suddhi and the Sanghtons created the communal prejudices. In the third decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Hindu-Muslim riots were at its peak. In this situation, under the 1919 Act, new reforms were introduced under which diarchy system was imposed and first provincial level elections were held in 1923. Iqbal was forced to contest the elections by his fellows but he refused to do so as His friend Mian Abdul Aziz already announced to contest these elections from the same constituency (Iqbal, 2014 p:360).

In 1926, the political position of India was changed. On the ground of politics, Hindu Muhasbha and the Swaraj Party were on the surface and particularly Unionist Party in the Punjab. The religious issue was not only the issue which was not only agitating the situation but also the minds particularly of the Punjabi Muslims. Several other society based quarrels were erupted which significantly posed as of a political nature and created distinction between the urban and the rural Muslims. This distinction cuts up the Muslim community into two groups.

The elections were going to be held for the second time 1926 for the Punjab Legislative Council under the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms. The Iqbal's fellows and supporters again insisted him to contest these elections and this time Mian Abdul Aziz withdrew his candidature in favor of Iqbal and issued a statement about his withdrawal which was published in daily 'Zamindar' on 15 July, 1926. Later on, a formal announcement was published about contesting the election and for thanking Mian Abdul Aziz for vacating the seat in his favour in Daily Zamindar 20 July, 1926 by Iqbal himself (Iqbal, 2014 p.360). As the general masses wants to elect Iqbal unopposed candidate so including Mian Abdul Aziz all the candidates withdrew their names to honor him except Malik M. Din (who belongs to an Arain family).

The series of processions and rallies for the election campaign were started from October 1926 to onwards (Iqbal, 2014, p.367). Iqbal and his supporters started their election campaign with greater enthusiasm and traditional touch. In a number of processions Iqbal delivered his speeches (Shahid, 1977 p: 17, 62). In this Election Campaign, many of well-known personalities had made their speeches and recited poems. Dr. Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew, Syed Atta Ullah Shah Bukhari, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Maulana M. Bukhsh and Hafeez Jalundhri were prominent among them (Iqbal, 2014 p: 367).

In his last procession of election campaign held on 19 November, 1926 in interior Lahore (Saleem, 2001 p: 30), Iqbal delivered his speech and said that "the secret of Muslim survival is in unity.... If you want your survival then you have to unite". It was proved later, when Muslims were united under umbrella of Muslim League in 1940, they successfully achieved their desired goal.

Elections were took place on November 23-24, 1926, while the official election results were announced on 5 December 1926 (Saleem, 2001 p: 30). According to which, there were total 12,000 voters in that constituency among which 8500 people casted their votes and Iqbal secured 5,675 votes which was 67% of the total casted votes. Iqbal defeated his opponent Malik M. Din, who secured 2,698 votes.

In the whole year of 1926, Iqbal mostly spent on his debut as politician. The inaugural session of Punjab Legislative Council was held on 3 January, 1927 where he took his oath. At that time it was in the opinion, that Iqbal will lead an independent group which will protect the rights of the overall general masses of the province but it could not materialize (Shahid, 1977 p: 79).

Since Sir Fazle Hussain's influence, Unionist Party was in majority. Iqbal remained in Legislative Council under the Unionist party as he was in the view that being a member of majority party he can perform well for the betterment of the people but when he observed the Party's working in the Council, he was disappointed from it (Ashiq Hussain Batalvi) as the Unionist Party created the division between the rural and urban population of Punjab. Iqbal is said to have been extremely critical of this division and perhaps believed that Mian Fazle Hussain had used the stratagem to strengthen his own constituency.

As the member of the council, Iqbal always takes the best care of the Muslims interests and give them the top priority and always speak what he consider to be truth resulting Unionist Party start opposing him.

Azeem Hussain (son of Fazle Hussain) wrote in political biography of Fazle Hussain that Fazle Hussain always tried to help the Iqbal but it was Iqbal who always rejected to be benefited (Iqbal, 2014 p: 372) but Javed Iqbal in his book 'Zinda Rode' added it as that "The kind of the political future that Fazle Hussain suggested to Iqbal would just help him in become another Fazle Hussain". So, Iqbal remained as a sole member in rest of His tenure in the Legislative Council.

The same year, Iqbal marked his debut in Indian politics. He became the secretary of Punjab Muslim League and also appointed as the member Punjab Council Finance Committee and Education Committee. Being affiliated with Punjab Legislative Council, he always raised his voice for the wellbeing of His people. Iqbal's mostly speeches in the Legislative Council were focused on the education and finance.

Speaking on a resolution in Punjab Legislative Council (PLC) on 19 July, 1927 regarding open competitive examination and filling of its posts, he said that:

"After the Honorable Finance member's (Sir Geoffrey deMontmorency) speech, which to my mind constitutes a most crushing reply to the resolution are framed. The principle of competition, pure and simple, is absolutely inapplicable in this country, especially in this province."

As Muslims were educationally backward and in this open competition, Muslims have very few chances to come up. Iqbal feels that this system will harm Muslims. He wanted a system in which along with the open merit there must be a space for nomination. So, the backwards may also get a reasonable representation in the administration.

The political importance of Iqbal can be judged from that, despite he was the member of PLC; the British Government deputes Ch. M. Hussain (Iqbal's follower) as a spy to Iqbal to convey the secret reports to Government about the meetings and the activities of Iqbal. He came in a state of shock and decided to leave the job. As he joined the job on consistent insist of Iqbal. When it comes to Iqbal's knowledge by Ch. M. Hussain about his new duty, Iqbal stopped him to resign and insisted to continue to this duty that the Government had allotted to him. So, he delivered the spy reports of Iqbal to Government with the consultation of Iqbal himself and it continued for many years (Iqbal, 2014 p: 362).

### Standpoint on separate electorates

Like Sir Syed and Jinnah, initially Iqbal was also the supporter of the Hindu-Muslim Unity but soon he gets himself out from the illusion. The sinister designs of Hindus with the official support of Congress rings the bells and Iqbal started supporting the right of separate electorates that Muslims got in 1909 reforms and showed his dislikes towards the Lucknow Pact. Iqbal unequivocally condemned the idea of Hindu-Muslim harmony and considered such disassociation in the greatest interest of both nations to preserve their national discrepancy and sustain to their individuality.

In 1927, Srinivasa Iyangar, appointed as the President of the Congress and simultaneously Jinnah of Muslim League. Both were the members of the Central Assembly and meet each other and discuss the political situation of the country. Srinivasa Iyangar wanted to remove the Hindu-Muslim tussle in a sense that the rights of the Muslims should be protected on the other hand; Hindus reservation on the separate electorates should be considered as these are the basic reason of communal riots (Iqbal, 2014 p: 375). As he wanted the system of combined electorates rather than the joint so on pondering over these recommendations, Jinnah convened a session of important Muslim League members on 20, March 1927, in which M. Ali Johar, Sir Ali Imam, Sir M. Shafi, Raja Sahab of Mehmodabad, Nawab Ismail Khan, Mufti Kafayat Ullah and Dr. M. A. Ansari attended the session. After great discussion a proposal was came out named the 'Dehli proposal' in which Muslim League surrendered their rights of separate electorates and accepted the joint electorates. Iqbal differed on it. Iqbal and other leaders of the Punjab think that if Congress and Muslim League jointly present these proposals of joint mode of elections as demand to British Government then the Government will accept it and in result Muslims will lose their majority areas of Punjab and Bengal and then Government will ultimately goes to Hindus. Dehli proposals can be the first political issue on which Jinnah and Iqbal differed.

Jinnah advocated the joint electorates with certain reservations but Iqbal denounced it and supported separate electorates. Jinnah was satisfied by inviting the leaders of both the nations under Lucknow pact and considered this pact as a facilitator to bring harmony between both nations and got the title of ambassador of peace but Iqbal opposed it. He anticipated the disillusionment that Hindus are not the only one with whom Muslims need to confront, but the Britishers as well. After the Dehli proposals, Muslim League was split in two camps. One was the Jinnah League and the other was Shafi League.

In 1925, Liberal Party came into power in London. The British Government send a Commission consists of seven parliamentarians headed by Sir John Simon which presented the instructions to draft and prepare recommendations for future constitution of India. British used this strategy as stunt as they were prior aware of awakening of Indian Nationalism in sub-continent. This Simon commission received cold reception in India and rejected by Jinnah League as this commission has no Indian member. But surprisingly, Iqbal accepted this commission under the compelling circumstances.

He was of the view that Muslims as a minority community must vindicate their rights; the only chance under the circumstances were to approach the Simon Commission with manly composure and seek justice for it. So, the Simon Commission became the second reason of political conflict between Iqbal and Jinnah (Saeed, 2008 p: 28).

As the central issue of boycotting the Simon Commission by the Muslim League and Congress was that both the political parties wanted and demanded to draft Indian Constitution by the Indians themselves. As, due to disharmony between the Indian political parties, the British Secretary for States for Indian affairs Birkenhead dared them in response to come up and frame a constitution that would be acceptable by the British and applicable to a broad spectrum of communities. He was enough confident about the internal divisions as it was certain that Indians would fail to bring a unanimous constitution.

The first attempt in response to Birkenead challenge was made in the form of Nehru Report in 1928. It was the historic benchmark which uncovered the internal splits in Indian politics. The report refused to accept Muslims as a separate entity of India and negates the positive aspects of the separate electorates which were accepted in Lucknow Pact 1916. Jinnah and Iqbal both rejected the Nehru Report. Therefore, All Parties Muslims Conference was convened, on 29 December 1928 to 1<sup>st</sup> January 1929 at Dehli (Saleem, 2001 p: 51). Iqbal was one of the initiators of this Conference while a number of other prominent Muslim leaders also attended it. A resolution was moved which contextualized the political demands of Indian Muslims. Later on, Jinnah forwarded his point of view in fourteen points which brings the two factions of the Muslim League on same page.

Iqbal always considered the separate electorates as the national entity of the Muslims of India. For this, he was not ready on a single point to withdraw from this right of the Muslims. For this, He argued with the Congress, Jinnah and M. Ali Johar but he remained on his principle with steadfastness. Iqbal's

determination for the cause brought him into limelight as a sagacious political entity.

### Allahabad presidential address

The demand of Iqbal for the separate homeland was not sudden in his mind. He worked on it and it is evident that in 1929, a German guest arrived on Iqbal's place, who was the famous cartographer. On Iqbal's request, he draws maps of different provinces depicting the ratio of Hindu-Muslim majority areas by relying on the census of that time (Iqbal, 2014 p: 363, 402). On 23, November 1930, the Upper India Muslim Conference was established and Iqbal was elected as its President (Iqbal, 2014, p: 403).

Iqbal's stand on separate electorates, His poetry, religious and the Khudi concept coupled which made him the uncontroversial leader among the Muslim masses. It was decided in the Muslim League Council session 13 July, 1930 to invite the Iqbal to preside the Muslim League's annual session (Farooqi, 1992 p: 209). While the first Round Table Conference was still in session in London, Iqbal delivered his famous Allahabad address on 29, December, 1930. Iqbal's vocal participation not only dominated the political thoughts but also provided more vocal grounds for the political safeguard to Indian Muslims. In address, Iqbal in unequivocal words said:

"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 behavior, and which has formed me what I am by giving me its religion, its literature, it's thought, its culture, and thereby recreating its whole part as a living operative factor in my present consciousness" (Sherwani, 1979, p. 9).

He unequivocally advocated his own proposed idea of a separate autonomous state for Muslims in North-Western Muslim Majority provinces of India. The most quoted part of his address cited bellow:

"I would like to see the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Balochistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-Government within the British Empire, or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims at least of North-West India" (Sherwani, 1979, p. 10).

While presiding, Allama Iqbal clearly called for the establishment of an autonomous state but some eminent scholars, in spite of Iqbal's explicit demand for a single state, make such irresponsible statements as the following:

"It must be remembered that Iqbal did not argue for a Muslim State, but only for a Muslim Bloc in an Indian federation. Moreover, Bengal and Assam (the present East Pakistan) did not enter into the calculations. It is grossly misleading to call him the originator of the idea of Pakistan or the poet who dreamed of Pakistan. He never talked of partition and his ideal was that of a getting together of the Muslim Provinces in the north-west so as to bargain more advantage with the projected Hindu centre" (Aziz, 1986, p: 54).

If we acknowledge this interpretation, then the demand for a separate homeland is totally vague.\_"Iqbal advocated partition: he even demanded, and defined the frontiers of a proposed 'consolidated Muslim State', which, he believed, would be in the best interest of India and Islam"(Bolitho, 1966, p: 99). Factually, Iqbal did not add Bengal in his proposed scheme of Muslim State but his letter to Jinnah on 21 June, 1937 clearly indicates that Bengal to be included in "a separate federation of Muslim provinces". He extended his views by suggesting to Jinnah: "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?" (Moizuddin, 1982, p: 83) Furthermore, Javed Iqbal in his book wrote that, the maps that Iqbal draws from the German cartographer also had maps of some districts of Bengal which shows that Bengal was also in his mind while talking about the separate homeland for the Muslims.

### Round table conferences

Iqbal was the sole representative and vocal leader of the Indian Muslim after the death of Maulana Muhammad Ali in January 1931 because Jinnah was in London, although Sir Agha Khan was the leader of Muslim League then. Iqbal voiced the problems associated with Indian Muslims and reiterated his views of a separate state demand for them but failed to receive expected appreciations. He get disappointed and left for Italy. Iqbal did received invitation of Second Round Table Conference in London.

Iqbal received invitation of Third Roundtable Conference by the London National League where he got chance to address the audience comprised of foreign diplomats, members of the House of Commons and House of the Lords, Muslim members of the RTC delegation etc. In this conference he explained his views over

the idea of separate Muslim identity and why communal settlements are important before the constitutional reforms. He stressed that the situation of Indian Muslim portrayed the need of provincial autonomy for the preservation of their rights, culture and religion. As it is not possible for them to maintain their religious and cultural identity under the central government comprised of Hindu Majority.

### Igbal and the Kashmir issue

After the massacre in Kashmir 1931, in which Muslims were protested against the disrespect of Quran by a Dogra constable. Where police opened the fire and more than 20 Muslims were martyred at the spot. In result, it was decided to start a movement against Kashmiri Government. So, a session was convened of some prominent leaders of Kashmir in which Iqbal was also present. In this session, a committee was established named All India Kashmir Committee. It was headed by an Ahmadi named Mian Bashir-ud-Din Mehmood and its secretary was also belonged to Ahmadis Abdul Rahim (Saleem, 2001, p: 130). The objectives of the Committee were the welfare and the protection of the Kashmiri peoples. But there can be no contradiction that he was the 'Guiding Light'. It was Iqbal behind generating the spirit for mass mobilization and molds the public opinion in the support of the Kashmiri people and in organizing the Kashmir Day on 14 August, 1931. Muslims across India came in support for Kashmiri's and signed on appeal issued by Iqbal. The appeal read:

"After attacking repeatedly the enemy has deluded itself into believing that Muslims are a dead nation. To refute this misbelief it is your obligation to make the Kashmir Day a resounding success. By actions Muslims must demonstrate that they were not going to be willing victims of their enemies' injustice and repression" (Saleem, 2001 p: 131).

Later on in 1933, it was came under the notice of some members of All India Kashmir Committee that the President and the secretary of the committee both were just propagating the 'Ahmadit' among the Kashmiri people. When the President of the Committee saw that the situation is not under his control, he resigned from the president ship and for this post, Iqbal was elected.

Iqbal linked Khilafat Movement of 1920 with the Kashmir Movement to reflect the Islamic pulse in practical terms. He along with Malik Barkat Ali secretary of newly elected All India Kashmir Committee issued an appeal to raise funds for the help of Kashmiris on 30 June 1933.

"Kashmiris are an inseparable part of the Muslim nation; and to separate their fate from

our national destiny amounts to consign the entire nation to self-destruction."

Allama Iqbal had a busy period in Indian politics during September 1931-February 1932 because of popular acknowledgment by the masses as Muslim thinker and leader. The Kashmir cause persisted dear to him and never missed to highlight the cause which is evident from his poetry. His presidential address during the All India Muslim Conference held in Lahore on 21<sup>st</sup> March 1932 shows his love and concern about the Kashmir. He continued the Kashmiri consent and said in a statement issued on 7 June 1933:

"I appeal to Muslims of Kashmir to beware of the forces that are working against them and to unite their ranks. The time for two or three Muslim political parties in Kashmir has not yet come. The supreme need of the moment is a single party representing all Muslims in the State."

### **Politics in 1932-1937**

Iqbal worked in his last phase of politics on two ends: primarily to transform the thinking approach of Muhammad Ali Jinnah towards the idea of Pakistan and later, to make the Muslim League the sole accredited voice of Muslims. After the self-imposed exile of Jinnah, he came back to India and starts recognizing the Muslim League. Besides these the 1937 elections comes forward. So, he convened the Muslim League session in Bombay on 10 April, 1936 and asked Indian Muslims to put their differences aside and join Muslim League to strengthen the cause to achieve the target of separate Muslim state. In this session, it was decided that Muslim League will contest these elections from all the provinces and keeping in mind this objective, Jinnah formed a Parliamentary Board in which Jinnah has the authority to nominate its members with the consultation of the prominent leaders of different Muslim political parties and establish its branches in different provinces.

For this purpose, Jinnah reached Iqbal's place in Lahore on 6 May, 1936 along with Fatima Jinnah where Muhammad Ali Jinnah offered the membership of Central Parliamentary board to Iqbal which he accepted and assured him, his full cooperation (Iqbal, 2014 p: 568). On 12 May, 1936 Iqbal again appointed as the President of Punjab Muslim League. On 28 May, 1936 the session of Muslim League Parliamentary Board was convened in 'Javed Manzil' Lahore. Where Iqbal was nominated as the President of the Provincial Parliamentary Board Punjab (Iqbal, 2014 p: 568). Iqbal whole heartedly supported the Jinnah's mission and did not consider any opposition against him.

Iqbal had completed faith on Jinnah's ability and strong leadership skills to guide and channelize the Muslims of Sub continent towards the right direction and

resulted into his persuasion and perseverance to Mr. Jinnah. He definitely found in Jinnah the divine quality of a greater leader. He retorted and silenced a questioner who wanted to know the intrinsic quality of Jinnah by saying that: "He is incorruptible and un-purchasable" (Saleem, 2001 p: 161). In a confidential letter to Jinnah, Iqbal wrote:

"... you are the only Muslim in India today to whom the community has the right to look up for the safe guidance through the storm which is coming to North-West India and perhaps to the whole of India" (Ashraf, 1954, p: 16-17)

Iqbal wrote to Jinnah on 28 May 1937 that:

"I have no doubts that you fully realize the gravity of situation as far as Muslim India is concerned. The League will have to finally decide whether it will remain a body representing the upper class of Indian Muslim or Muslim masses who have so far, with good reason, taken no interest in it" (Ashraf, 1954, p: 16-17)

Between May 1936 and June 1937, Iqbal extended his idea of a separate state via confidential letters to Jinnah and outlined what he envisaged for the best interest of Indian Muslims. Jinnah paid a great tribute to Iqbal in a forward, that:

"It was a great achievement for Muslim League that its lead came to be acknowledged by both the majority and the minority provinces. Sir Muhammad Iqbal played a very conspicuous part, though at that time not revealed to public, in bringing about his consummation"

Jinnah was emotionally touched with Iqbal and it was evident from his speech on Iqbal Day in 1940 which was being observed on 21 April in Lahore. Paying high tribute to Iqbal, Jinnah said:

"Iqbal was not only a philosopher but a practical politician. He was one of the first to conceive of the feasibility of the division of India on national lines as the only solution of India's political problem. He was one of the most powerful thinkers, tacit precursors and heralders of modern political evolution of Muslim India" (Moizuddin, 1982, p. 101).

#### Conclusion

Allama Iqbal get into politics for securing a homeland of Indian Muslims based on the right of self-determination and providing them freedom to live their lives according to their religious and cultural heritage. He was not a power lusty person and fight on many grounds for Muslims such as British, Hindus and the Nationalist Muslims particularly Punjab unionist party. These groups were the biggest challenge to the idea of a separate Muslim state.

He might not be so much active politician as compared to others but he was a political thinker. Iqbal's philosophy and political thought provided two grounds for the Muslims of the sub-continent. The freedom of Indian Muslims primarily and the unity of Muslims as a nation was second major feature. His political thought approached both domains, national and international. Iqbal's political philosophy implies the establishment of an association of Muslim countries for personal development as well as advocates of justice and peace throughout the world.

#### References

Ahmad, D. A. (1993) "Tehreek-e-Pakistan mein Allama Iqbal Ka Kirdar, ed. IST. Multan: Beacon Books, Gilgust

Ashraf, M. (1954) "Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah" Lahore, Aziz, K. K. (1986) "The Making of Pakistan", Lahore: Islamic Book Service. Batalvi, A. H. (1989) "Iqbal k akhri doo saal" Lahore: Sang-e-Mil publications.

Bolitho, H. (1966) "Jinnah: the creator of Pakistan", Karachi, Oxford University

Dar, B. A. (1981) "Letters and Writings of Iqbal", ed. 2<sup>nd</sup> Lahore: Iqbal Acadmy

Farooqi, M. H. (1992), "Iqbal Ka Siyasi Safar", ed. Ist, Lahore: Bazm-e-Iqbal.

Hanif, M. S. (1976), "Iqbal or Anjuman-e-Kimayat-i-Islam", ed. Ist. Lahore: Kutab Khana, Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam.

Hanif, M. S. (1977), "Iqbal or Punjab Council", Lahore: Maktab-e-Zareen.

Iqbal, D. J. (2014) "Zinda Rode; a biography of Iqbal," Lahore: Sang-e-Mile publications, Igbal Acadmy Pakistan

Moizuddin, Dr. M. (1982), "The world of Iqbal: a collection of papers", ed. Ist. Lahore: Iqbal Acadmy Pakistan.

Saeed, A. (2008), "Iqbal or Quaid-i-Azam", ed. 3<sup>rd</sup>. Lahore: Iqbal Acadmy Pakistan.

Saleem, M. (2001), Allama Iqbal ka Siyasi zindagi, Lahore: Sang-e-Mil Publications,

Sherwani, L. A. (1979), Ed. "Speeches Writings and Statements of Iqbal", Lahore: Iqbal Acadmy, Pakistan,

Siddique, I. A. (1999) "Allama Muhammad Iqbal, Takrerain, Tehrerain our Bayanat", Lahore: Iqbal Acadmy Pakistan.

Vahid, S.A. (1960), "Introduction to Iqbal", Karachi: Pakistan Publications.

# **Biographical Note**

Isra Sarwar has done Diploma in Indian Studies at Centre for South Asian Studies, and Ph.D. Scholar at Pakistan Study Centre, University of the Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan.

Zubaida Zafar is Ph.D. Scholar at Centre for South Asian Studies, University of the Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan.