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Edited by Siraj-ud-Din



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LAHORE

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CONTRIBUTORS

1. Shaukat Ali, M.A. (Punjab), M.P.A., Dr. P.A. (Southern California), Reader, Department of Public Administration, University of the Punjab.
2. Dr. Waheed Qureshi, M.A., Ph.D., D. Litt. (Punjab), Reader in Urdu, Oriental College, University of the Punjab.
3. Amanullah Khan, M.A. (Islamic Studies), M.A. (History) (Punjab), Lecturer, Department of Islamic Studies, University of the Punjab.

BUREAUCRACY AND NATIONALISM DURING BRITISH RULE OVER INDO-PAKISTAN SUB-CONTINENT

SHAUKAT ALI

PART I

Nationalism is built on hate and nurtured by love. Hate of something you detest as alien and suffocating to your self-respect and progress, and love of an ideal of past, present or future which is considered to be a panacea for all moral, social and political ills. This interplay of hate and love has been a momentum behind all nationalist movements of modern times. On the wide stage of hate and love, many material, spiritual, emotional and psychological factors play a decisive role; and accompanied by still other intangible and mysterious forces a phenomenon is created which has become both a bane and a blessing for humanity today. Moreover, it is such a blend of fact and fiction, that scholars have always been at sea to find a workable definition of it. J.S. Mill summed up some of its salient elements that nationalism was an

...identity of political antecedents; the possession of national history, and consequent community of recollections; collective pride and humiliation, pleasure and regret connected with the same incidents in the past.¹

This self-explanatory definition carries a substantial fund of truth, but not the whole truth. When and where the common history was created, how and why "common consciousness of common history" germinated, these and several other questions will remain eternal unmeasurables of human affairs. Carlton Hayes points out that the results of historical investigations and anthropological researches show that human entities imbued with patriotic fervour have always existed in history, and in his opinion modern nationalism is an "emotional fusion and exaggeration of two very old

1. J. S. Mill, *Utilitarianism, Liberty, Representative Government*.

phenomena—nationality and patriotism.”² It is the emotionalized messianic mission of nationalism, its sublime message of salvation, and critical haste with which people are drugged by it, which form the core of every discussion that has taken place during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Nationalism with its present-day ostentatious sentiments was one of the patent products of the French Revolution. The old instinct of identity and association was changed into a mighty force of internal consolidation and external aggression. Answering a question after the French attack at Valmy, Goethe remarked, “Form today begins a new era, and you will be able to say that you were present at its birth.”³ The great German soldier Gneisenau, who bitterly detested French ideas, after the battle of Jena paid the following tribute to this creative aspect:

One cause above all other has raised France to this pinnacle of greatness, the Revolution awakened all her powers and gave to every individual a suitable field for his activity. What infinite aptitudes slumber in the bosom of a nation! In the breasts of thousands resides real genius—the Revolution has set the whole strength of the nation in motion.⁴

To create a permanent psychological climate for nationalism, so that it could thrive and flourish, it introduced forms and symbols of the national flag, the national anthem, and national holiday.⁵ Later, during the nineteenth century and in our own times, concepts of national character, national language, national games, and a host of other ideas have been added to give nationalism further firmness and malignancy.

In the later growth of nationalism, in Europe and elsewhere, the vehement impulse of the French Revolution remained, but its ideological impact dwindled considerably. “Cosmopolitan individualism”, the hallmark of French nationalism, disappeared, and each nation became a worshipper of

2. Carlton J.H. Hayes, *Essays on Nationalism* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1926), p. 6.
3. Cited in G.P. Gooch, *Studies in Diplomacy and Statecraft* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1942), p. 301.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 306.
5. Hayes, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

its own deified past. Glorification of historical heritage, obsessive fixation to the superiority of their own language and literature became the stock-in-trade of the European intellectuals during the first half of the nineteenth century, and there is ample truth in Hans Kohn's remarks that:

...out of the myths of the past and out of the dreams of the future, German and Italian writers created an ideal fatherland long before it became a political reality.⁶

They gave nations a personality, a character, a mission and a hallow of divine attributes. To German philosopher Fichte (1762—1814):

Only when each people, left to itself, develops and forms itself in accordance with the common quality, and only when in every people each individual develops himself in accordance with his own peculiar quality—then and then only, does the manifestation of divinity appear in its true mirror as it ought to be.⁷

The English philosopher, divine and reformer, F.D. Maurice (1805-1872), giving a sermon on the death of the Duke of Wellington in 1852, told his audience that nation was “the most perfect condition of society”.⁸ Even in America several decades earlier, John Quincy Adams (Sixth President of the United States, 1825-1829) wrote from St. Petersburg on August 31, 1811, to his famous father, John Adams (Second President of the United States, 1797-1801) that:

...The whole continent of North America appears to be destined by Divine Providence to be peopled by one nation, speaking one language, professing one general systems of religions and political principles, and accustomed to one general tenor of social usages and customs.⁹

6. Hans Kohn, *The Twentieth Century—The Challenge to the West and Its Response* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1957), p. 37.
7. Cited in Boyd C. Shafer, *Nationalism: Myth and Reality* (New York: Harcourt, Brance & Co.), p. 19.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
9. Cited in Samuel Flagg Bemis, *John Quincy Adams and the Foundations of American Foreign Policy* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), p. 182.

History is replete with instances, and examples can be called from the contemporary scene too, to show that triumphs of physical gain and material superiority can be reversed; but there are triumphs in the life of man which are immune from all such reverses. These are the triumphs of ideas in the domain of thought and reason. After 1815, Napoleon's dream of world empire was shattered, the French nation was lost in the maze of tattered hopes and territorially the country shrank back to its pre-revolutionary dimensions. But the ideals of liberty, equality, fraternity, spirit of patriotism, and the acute feeling of national self-determination were handed down to posterity as a permanent intellectual legacy. This is why the nineteenth century is generally called the age of "liberalism and nationalism". It was, however, nationalism, more than liberalism, which became the rage of the century. Liberalism also remained active force, but its appeal to reason and rationality, and insistence on individual rights in a world deeply enamoured to group existence and national collectivities, limited the area of its influence. Nationalism, on the other hand, finds a facile way to human emotions and "so can be experienced by practically all men of whatever social or intellectual status."¹⁰ The result was that in the name of nationalism many new nations came into existence in Europe during the nineteenth century. The Greek War of Independence against Turkey was the first successful nationalist movement and by the Treaty of Adrianople, 1829, Greece became independent.¹¹ After years of ceaseless prophetic crusade conducted by Mazzini and Garibaldi, and through tactful diplomatic moves of Cavour, Italy became a united national state in 1861.¹² And within a decade under the promotive genius of Bismark, nationalism became a living reality in the life of German people and in 1871, united German nation became one of the most decisive forces in world politics.

10. H.L. Featherstone, *A Century of Nationalism* (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1939), p. 46.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

12. Carlton J.H. Hayes *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, Vol. II (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1928), p. 175.

Thus, nationalism, from a bright little hobby of a handful of European intellectuals at the beginning of the nineteenth century, became a mass movement of highly emotive propensities. It became a strange combination of beliefs, myths, racial conditions, territorial affiliations, and linguistic affinities, with the result that it is difficult to make any clear statements about its constituents. Shafer, justifiably, without claiming any finality, has enumerated the following ten basic notions which fertilize nationalism:—

1. A certain defined (often vaguely) unit of territory (whether possessed and coveted).
2. Some common cultural characteristics such as language (or widely understood languages), customs, manners, and literature (folk tales and lore are a beginning). If an individual believes he shares these and wishes to continue sharing them, he is usually said to be a member of the nationality.
3. Some common dominant social (as Christian) and economic (as capitalistic or recently communistic) institutions.
4. A common independent or sovereign government (type does not matter) or the desire for one. The "principle" that each nationality should be separate and independent is involved here.
5. A belief in a common history (it can be invented) and in a common origin (often mistakenly conceived to be racial in nature).
6. A love or esteem for fellow nationals (not necessarily as individuals).
7. A devotion to the entity (however little comprehended) called the nation, which embodies the common territory, culture, social and economic institutions, government, and the fellow nationals, and which is at the same time (whether organism or not) more than their sum.
8. A common pride in the achievements (often the military more than cultural) of this nation and a common sorrow in its tragedies (particularly, its defeats).
9. A disregard for or hostility to other (not necessarily all) like groups, especially if these prevent or seem to threaten the separate national existence.

10. A hope that the nation will have a great and glorious future (usually in territorial expansion) and become supreme in some way.¹³

It is not essential for a nationalist movement to have all the above-mentioned elements. There are bound to be variations in numbers, degrees of intensity, and prospects of their success. I am sure, however, that most of the nationalist leaders buy their capital stock of emotions from these principles.

This brief analysis of the rise of nationalism in the West was necessitated, because nationalism as a concept, ideology and a programme of collective societal action, was not indigenous to any of the Asian countries. They had periods of spectacular civilizational progress, their empires straddled across continents, they had specific nomenclatures to signify nationalities, but nationalism, with its romantic and aggressive connotations, was alien to their minds. It was the natural outcome of the cross-fertilization of the native cultures with the influences brought by their colonial rulers from Europe. It was more so in the case of the sub-continent of India, where cultural, religious, regional and linguistic disparities have always kept it as a bewildering museum of human differences. Before the infiltration of Western education and political ideologies during the later half of the nineteenth century, the people of the subcontinent had not the foggiest idea of secular nationalism, imbued with its innate militancy. Sir Rabindranath Tagore, who played an outstanding role in the intellectual renaissance of India in general and Bengal in particular, points out :

India has never had a real sense of nationalism. Even though from childhood I had been taught that the idolatry of Nation is almost better than reverence for God and humanity, I believe I have outgrown that teachings.¹⁴

His contention is that "India is too vast in its area and too diverse in its races. It is many countries packed in one geographical receptacle,"¹⁵ and

13. Shafer, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

14. Tagore, Sir Rabindranath, *Nationalism* (New York : The Macmillan Co., 1917), p. 127.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

he believed that nationalists are ignorant of the fact that India lacked the very basis of nationalism.¹⁶ This, however, was not the faith of that Western-educated intellectual elite who led the nationalist forces for almost three-quarters of a century before Independence in 1947. They learned their lesson from the nineteenth century school of thought dominated by J.S. Mill, Jules Michelet, Mazzini, and Treitschke, whose oracular messages made nationalism a political Messiah to raise mankind from its spiritual and material bankruptcy. It is interesting to note how two vast regions of the world, Europe and Asia, so dissimilar in the whole paraphernalia of life and conduct, have so close similarities so far as movement toward nationalism is concerned. We shall concentrate on the subcontinent of India, and would be drawing our examples from there, but students of Asian affairs can easily find out that nationalism, in its theoretical implications and practical bearing, transcends regimentation of time and clime.

We have already seen that, in the West, the doctrine was sired by emotional yearning for the past, love for the land of one's birth, rosy dreams of the future, its curative value for political ills, and the only means for emancipation from alien bondage. And this is how the Harrow and Cambridge educated late Prime Minister of India, who ranks among the great freedom fighters of Asia during the first half of this century, has summed up his ideas about it :

My reaction to India, thus, was often an emotional one, though this was conditioned and limited in many ways. It was the reaction which takes the form of nationalism, though in the case of many people those conditioning and limiting factors are absent. Nationalism was and is inevitable in India of my day; it is a natural and healthy growth. For any subject country, natural freedom must be the first and dominant urge; for India, with the intense sense of individuality and past heritage, it was doubly so.¹⁷

We can notice further marks of identification between the two. In both cases, movements were led by a handful of native intellectuals and a

16. *Ibid.*, p. 146.

17. Nehru, Jawaharlal, *The Discovery of India* (New York : The John Day, 1946), pp.

small segment of rising middle class ; interest in the revival of native language and history was also the same, and the same innate yearning, that lifting up of foreign subjection will lead to the dawn of a millennium. While searching for similarities between Asia and Europe, we should keep in mind one important fact that Asian nationalism cannot be understood with adjectives as "Indian", "Chinese", "Pakistani," "Persian," "Malayan," "Indonesian," and other, because these "adjectives involve entirely different geographical, historical, social, economic, cultural and, above all, religious backgrounds."¹⁸ This is a fundamental reality and only by keeping it in mind, we will be able to disengage the tangled web of Indian nationalism, and see how far and to what extent the British members of the massive bureaucratic machine, during the British rule, were directly or indirectly involved in it, and why from the dawn of nationalist movement became a target of vehement attacks from those who claimed to be the pilots of regenerated subcontinent.

Rise of Nationalism in the Sub-continent

The rise of movements is a baffling phenomenon. They defy human ingenuity to fix date, time and personalities for their emergence. They follow the law of seeping process. It is especially so if these ramifications are vast and varied, and try to engulf many facets of human behaviour. Still, a historian, with his broader vision, narrows down the realm of probability in time, space, and person, to approximate his accuracy of major causes which could have given birth to a particular movement. It is a difficult job and requires a considerable amount of historical perspective and intellectual acumen. In the case of the nationalist movement in the subcontinent, however, the difficulties are not so great. We have seen that nationalism as it is understood today was alien to the soil, and not even a foggy trace of it was noticeable before the British. And even during the British rule, it was only at the beginning of the nineteenth century that we notice the remotest glimmer of intellectual stirring in this direction.

The move towards westernization which, along with over-all awakening

18. *Nationalism*, A Report by a Study Group of Members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs (London : Oxford University Press, 1939), p. 147.

and enlightenment, brought western ideas of nationalism, is generally attributed to three factors. Firstly, the great missionary work, which was begun at the beginning of the last century, exercised a very deep impact on mind and thought of a very limited class of native intellectuals who later became pioneers of social and educational renaissance in the subcontinent. Keep in view the circumstances leading to the rise of missionary movement, their zeal and anxiety to Anglicize and Christianize the masses, and their innate desire to wash out the civilization which, in their opinion, was a sublime chaos of superstitions and hackneyed orthodoxies. In the rush of enthusiasm, the missionaries, however, lost touch with realities. They forgot the fact that two major communities, Hindus and Muslims, were highly religious in their outlook and any danger to their spiritual susceptibilities could fan the smouldering embers into an anti-Christian conflagration of religiosity. Religious discontent has been considered to be one of the major causes of the Mutiny of 1857, which the nationalists call the first War of Independence. Surendra Nath Sen rightly points out :

The missionary was an excellent teacher, but his very efficiency as an educationist was a source of grave anxiety to the orthodox Indian, as the missionary did not confine his efforts to the improvement of the student's mind alone, but strove what was to him of far greater importance—the reclamation of the latter's soul. In his opinion, there was only one way of salvation, for Christianity claimed a monopoly of truth.¹⁹

It was also believed that the missionaries had the open support of the government. Missionary colonels and "*Padre Lieutenants*" preached Christianity to the native soldiers under their command and judges and magistrates would daily open the doors of the prisons to allow clergymen to instruct the prisoners in the gospel.²⁰ So, in 1857, when the people unfurled the flag of revolt, many of them were confident that they were fighting for the cause of religion. The Mutiny was crushed, peace restored

19. Surendra Nath Sen, *Eighteen Fifty-Seven* (New Delhi : The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1957), p. 9.

20. *Ibid.*

and defaulters punished severely. Bullets, however, could not kill the new buoyancy of religious spirit which was experienced both by the Hindus and the Muslims. The two communities accelerated the process of their spiritual regeneration and consolidation, which, near the close of the last century, resulted in the rise of two antagonistic movements of Hindu Nationalism and Muslim Nationalism. Among Hindus, Swami Dayanada Saraswati preached the infallibility of Veda, Swami Vivekananda taught in Bengal transcendentalism of Hindu spiritualism.²¹

The fortunes of the Muslims suffered greater fluctuations during the nineteenth century. In the first half, the very idea that their centuries-old political supremacy was an expiring flicker was in itself soul-searing. Under the Governor-Generalship of Lord William Bentick, Persian ceased to be the official language, and it spelt ruin of the middle and upper classes of the Muslim society who, for generations, had made service of the state an hereditary occupation.²² The Hindus had started learning western education much earlier and almost monopolized the government services. Ram Gopal has given the following statistics :

Muslims of the old generation recalled how, in a few decades, all State departments had been denuded of Muslim officials. Up to 1838, the Muslims in service were almost as numerous as the Hindus and English put together. From 1851, the scene changed. Out of 240 Indians admitted from 1851 to 1868, 239 were Hindus, and only one was a Muslim. In Government offices, there was hardly a Muslim to be seen.²³

The missionary activities aided and abetted by the government created deep apprehensions among the orthodox cricles, and working on the emotions of the depressed masses, they started a religious war which, in the history of Muslim nationalism in the subcontinent, is known as Wahabbi movement

21. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya *The History of Indian National Congress*, Vol. I (Bombay : Padma Publications, 1946), p. 14.

22. Sir Theodore Morrison, "Muhammadan Movements," *Political India*, ed. Sir John Cumming (London : Oxford University Press, 1932), p. 87.

23. Ram Gopal, *Indian Muslims : A Political History, 1858-1947* (New York : Asia Publishing House, 1959).

and was led by Sayyid Ahmad Barelawi (1786-1831). Another member of this crusade, Shah Abdul Aziz (1746-1824), had issued his famous *fatwa* (religious declaration) that since India had passed under Christian domination, the land had become *dar-ul-harb* (land of war).²⁴ The Wahabis kept on measuring swords with the British for several decades on the frontier. A network of conspiracies was spread all over the province. Between 1864 and 1871, the government held five state trials in which many Muslim leaders were awarded capital punishment, although in every case the punishment later was reduced to transportation for life. In the seventies of the last century, the bitterness of the Muslims against the government was at its peak. In 1871, John Paxton Norman was stabbed to death by a Muslim and, in the same year, Viceroy Lord Mayo was murdered in tragic circumstances on the Andaman Island by a Wahabi convict, Sher Ali.²⁵

While these intermitent skirmishes were going on at the frontier, the mainland was engulfed by the whirlpool of Mutiny of 1857. It was crushed and that was the nadir of the Muslims' fortunes. Even their nominal political suzerainty was finally quenched and in the eyes of the government, which was still involved with Wahabi uprisings, the Muslims became a nation of eternal suspects. Their anguish increased when they saw that the neighbouring majority community had not only made tremendous progress in the fields of education and economic development, but under the fanatical Vedic renaissance, they were mustering forces of religious nationalism which could be more inimical to their national life. At this juncture, there appeared on the scene Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898), the greatest Muslim reformer of the nineteenth century. He dissuaded his coreligionists from fissiparous activities against the government, and advised them to concentrate on educational uplift, economic prosperity and national consolidation. For this purpose, he founded the Muhammadan College in 1875, which later on became the famous Aligarh University.²⁶ The British historians and writers had

24. Khalid Bin Sayed, *Pakistan : The Formative Phase* (Karachi : Pakistan Publishing House, 1960), p. 12.

25. Gopal, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

26. Richard Symonds, *The Making of Pakistan* (London : Faber & Faber, 1950), p. 29.

greatly exaggerated the role of the Muslims in the Mutiny and in order to dispel the corroding doubts from the mind of the rulers against his own community, he wrote a pamphlet, "The Loyal Muhammadans of India."²⁷ This was a part of his efforts to convince the Muslims that they could not fight on the two fronts, British imperialism and Hindu religious nationalism. They should make peace with the government and, in order to compete with the Hindus, they should expend all their energies on moral and socio-cultural betterment. One of his colleagues, Syed Altaf Husain Hali, a poet of great merit, wrote his famous poem "Ebb and Flow in Islam," wherein he severely chastized the Muslims for their moral and material decadence and pointed in glowing terms the lost greatness of Islam. In 1872, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan himself started editing a journal, *Tabzib-ul-Akhlāq*²⁸ (*The Refinement of Customs*), which gave a vehement impetus to that national awakening which ultimately resulted in the establishment of Pakistan. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan waged a relentless war against the entrenched prejudices of the Muslims, who would not send their sons to government colleges because there was no provision for Islamic studies; yet the undeniable reality was that without knowledge of English, young Muslims had no chance of getting any service under the government. Sir Syed structured his college at Aligarh in a spirit of workable compromise. The college was residential on the model of Cambridge and Oxford, medium of instruction was English, curriculum basically was western, but he made the Arabic language and religious education compulsory.²⁹

These details have been provided to give a clear perspective of the wave of nationalism which struck the continent from the West during the latter half of the nineteenth century, and took a form which is unique in the history of modern nationalism. Dormant religious differences came to the surface with all the vitriolic intensity, regional and linguistic disparities became tools of claims and counter-claims, and, on top of it, westernized intellectual

27. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

28. Hans Kohn, *A History of Nationalism in the East* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1929), p. 356.

29. Symond, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

elite, especially among the Hindus, in the name of secular nationalism, were asking for immediate emancipation from foreign rule. The spirit of hostility of revived Hinduism against the Muslims is portrayed in Bankam Chander Chattujee's famous novel, *Anand Math*, where

... the essence of the story is a Hindu revival, necessitating the overthrow of the enemies of Hinduism—at the time of the events narrated, Mussulman rule—which was to be achieved by a body of men pledged by solemn vows to the service of the Motherland.³⁰

A song of the children, entitled "*Bande Matram*", written in this novel, became the battle cry of Indian National Congress under extremist Hindu leaders, to which the Muslims naturally replied in the spirit expressed by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, in his Lucknow and Meerut speeches of 1887-1888, wherein he said:

Is it possible that under these circumstances, two nations—the Mohammadans and Hindus—could sit on the same throne and remain equal in power?

Most certainly not. It is necessary that one of them should conquer the other and thrust it down. To hope that both could remain equal is to desire the impossible and the inconceivable.³¹

This was the state of communal acrimony at the earliest stage of nationalist awakening, which kept on multiplying with an accelerated tempo during the later stages of the development of parliamentary and constitutional institutions in the subcontinent. Even before Sir Syed announced the concept of two-nation from a public platform, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, in an interview at Calcutta on December 26, 1883, hinted about the division of the country into two—Hindu and Muslim kingdoms. He said:

I explained my view that it should be put on the same footing as Australia, that is to say, that each province should have its English Government supported by English troops, but that the whole civil administration,

30. Earl of Ronaldshay, *The Heart of Aryavarta* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1925), pp. 113-14.

31. Callard Keith, *Pakistan: A Political Study* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1957), p. 11.

legislation, and finance should be left to native hands; that the effect of this would be to put Northern India under Muhammadan, Southern India under Hindu Government.³²

This communal and religious aspect of nationalism is essential for our understanding, because during the whole course of the struggle for independence, from platform and pulpit, the nationalist leaders would blame the British bureaucrats for following the policy of "Divide and Rule," and that the bitterness of communal antagonism was being fanned as a deliberate act of policy to perpetuate imperialist domination. This, however, is not entirely true. The bureaucrats might have used religious differences occasionally to strengthen their policies, but they could not be held responsible for their creation.

Turning from religious revivalism to other forces, which fermented nascent urge for nationalism, one could count the spread of western education and the rise of very small but highly assertive and dynamic middle class as the most decisive factor. In 1813, the renewed Charter of the Company, for the first time, sanctioned a modest sum of \$ 10,000 for the educational betterment of the subject people.³³ For more than two decades, however, the form and contents of the proposed educational framework remained a matter of acute dispute. In 1834, Thomas Babington Macaulay, the newly appointed law member of the Governor-General's Council, arrived in Calcutta and in 1835, as president of the Committee of Public Instruction, he presented his famous minute to Lord Bentick in favour of English education. He said :

It may be that the public mind of India may so expand under our system that it may outgrow that system, and our subjects having been brought up under good government may develop a capacity for better government, that having been instructed in European learning, they may crave for European institutions. I know not whether such a day will ever

32. Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, *Indian under Ripon : A Private Diary* (London : T. Fisher Unwin, 1909), p. 107.

33. P.E. Roberts, *A Historical Geography of the British Dependencies*, Vol. II (India : Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1916), p. 279.

come, but if it does come, it would be the proudest day in the annals of England³⁴.

These words have a ring of prophecy around them. But in the same minute, Macaulay, with his hazy knowledge of oriental life and literature, based on hearsay and sketchy writings, poured venomous scorn on Asian science, art, and history, which must have left a deep scar on the minds of those natives who had cherished their cultural heritage with pride and honour. He began his needless diatribe by saying :

How stands the case ? We have to educate a people who cannot at present be educated by means of their mother tongue. We must teach them some foreign language. The claims of our own language it is hardly necessary to recapitulate. The question now before us is simply whether, when it is in our power to teach this language, we should teach languages [*i.e.*, Sanskrat, Arabic and Persian] in which by universal confession there are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own; and whether, when we can patronize sound philosophy and true history, we should countenance at the public expense, medical doctrines which would disgrace an English farrier; astronomy which would move laughter in the girls at an English boarding-school; history abounding with kings thirty feet high, and reign twenty thousand years long; geography made up of seas of treacle and seas of butter—I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia.³⁵

This remarkable piece of rhetoric was highly unfortunate. Even at a distance of more than one hundred years, it has a sting to give a current of cold shivers and annoyance to any self-respecting nationalist. The sum allocated was too meagre to educate the teeming multitudes of India, so again, in the words of Macaulay, efforts were to be made to use these limited means to create a class of persons, "Indian in blood and colour,

but English in tastes, in opinion, in morals, and in intellect."³⁶ This sentence not only breathes an air of racial superiority, it shows that the attitude of some of the utilitarian reformers, who came out to govern India, was to make all-out efforts to westernize the mind of the people. Sir John Marriott has summed up the episodal significance of Macaulay's action in the following words :

Thus did an English politician, a typical whig of the doctrinaire school, only just arrived in India, acquainted with its history only, through the medium of Burke's speeches and James Mill's erudite but distorted history, decided one of the most momentous questions which have occurred in the whole history of our Indian administration.³⁷

Macaulay's commanding power of persuasion, his influence at home and in India, pressed the Governor-General to accept his recommendations in totality. The funds were thus set free for the establishment of English schools in the important cities of India. The scheme did produce a very small but dynamic section of native social reformers, but, at the same time, it levelled the ground for the future political agitation. The newly Anglicized generation of the forties of the last century was captivated by the new world of western thought.

Writings of Paine, speeches of philosophical radicals, heroic pronouncements of Mazzini, and highly logical defense of liberty and representative institutions by John Stuart Mill opened new vistas of hope and desire for emancipation from all types of social, spiritual and political shackles.³⁸ How speedy the effect of English education was can be gauged by the fact that the official policy was promulgated in 1835 and, in 1843, the group of western educated Indians established the British India Society of Bengal for the extension of the just rights and interests of all classes of people. Shortly

34, 35, 36. Cited in Sir H. Verney Lovett, "Education and Missions to 1858," *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. VI, ed. H.H. Dodwell (New York : The Macmillan Co., 1932), p. 111.

37. Sir John A.R. Marriott, *The English in India : A Problem of Politics* (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1932), p. 136.

38. H.H. Dodwell, "Political Activities, 1832-1884," *op. cit.*, ed. Sir John Cumming, p. 32.

after the Bengal Landholder's Society was founded and, in 1851, the two were amalgamated to form the British Indian Association. One of its earliest acts was to present a petition to the Parliament saying that "they cannot but feel that they have not profited by this connection with Great Britain to the extent which they had a right to expect"³⁹ and a remedy was sought in establishing legislative council "possessing a popular character so as in some respects to represent the sentiments of the people."⁴⁰ By the middle of the nineteenth century, from the native hedge schools of the Hindus and Mosque schools of the Muslims to the universities, the whole educational structure had been brought under government inspection. Sir William Hunter, in his *Life of Dalhousi* writes :

The whole forms a complete gradation of public instruction under the direction and control of the State. It has set in motion new forces intellectual and political, whose magnitude it is impossible to gauge, but which the British Government now finds itself compelled to reckon with.⁴¹

We have seen before that the last fifty years of Company's rule were spun around the utilitarian and humanitarian ideas of the administrators whom we designated as fraternalistic in their bearing and behavior towards the natives. They not only cherished and respected the indigenous institutions and customs, but unhesitatingly confessed in public statement the temporary nature of Great Britain's guardianship of India. Even Lord Hastings, who, along with Lord Wellesley and Lord Dalhousi, accomplished the maximum territorial expansion, wrote in 1818 that :

... a time not very remote will arrive when England will, on sound principles of policy, wish to relinquish the domination which she has gradually and unintentionally assumed over this country and from which she cannot at present recede.⁴²

39. Cited in Kumar Goshal, *The People of India* (New York : Sheridan House, 1944), p. 155.

40. *Ibid.*

41. Sir William Hunter, *Life of Dalhousi*.

42. Cited in R. Coupland, *The Indian Problem* (London : Oxford University Press, 1944), p. 18.

Thomas Munro was one of the most remarkable administrators of the Honourable Company. His love for the peasantry, dedicated zeal to have only the minimum innovation in the traditional life of the subject people is proverbial in the annals of the Company's rule; but he had also the vision to see that the mantle of imperial responsibility could not be shouldered for all times to come and that at an opportune time his country would proudly quit the scene with grace and honour. He maintained that the British rule must be continued until the subject people :

... shall in some future age have abandoned most of their superstitions and prejudices, and become sufficiently enlightened to frame a regular government for themselves, and to conduct and preserve it. Whenever such a time shall arrive, it will probably be best for both countries that the British control over India should be gradually withdrawn.

Still later, in 1846, the Doyen of the Paternalist School of the Punjab Administrators, Sir Henry Lawrence, voiced his prophetic feelings in the following words :

We cannot expect to hold India for ever. Let us so conduct ourselves—as when the connexion ceases, it may do so not with convulsions but with mutual esteem and affection, and that England may then have in India a noble ally, enlightened and brought into the scale of nations under her guidance and fostering care.

Thus the establishment of schools, colleges and universities, dissimulation of Western knowledge and pronouncements, like the above, inculcated the spirit of dynamic nationalism, which within a few decades moved from docile protestations to vehement and violent struggle for independence.

In the resurgent awakening, the role of the popular press was also very decisive. The British rule, both under the Company and the Crown, was very sensitive to press criticism. Even liberal administrators like Elphinstone and Munro regarded the freedom of the press as dangerous.⁴³ In 1835, however,

43. Sir Percival Griffiths, *The British Impact on India* (London : Macdonald, 1952), p. 256.

Sir Charles Metcalfe, as Governor-General, removed the ban of pre-publication censorship. After this, several influential newspapers cropped up all over the country. With the passage of time, the press got divided into two diametrically opposed camps. The Anglo-Indian press was a great irritant to the government in the beginning, but gradually moved completely towards the administration in opposition to the Indian press which was mostly anti-government.⁴⁴ How fast was the growth of nationalist press can be imagined by the fact that by 1873 there were thirty-eight Indian-owned newspapers in Bengal alone and most of them were in Bengali.⁴⁵ Thus, another imported instrument of public awakening was launched, wherein government and administration were continuously subjected to carping criticism and whose suppression in return became one of the major grievances of the nationalists. Moreover, the dramatic changes accomplished during eight years (1848-1856) of Lord Dalhousie's Governor-generalship gave a new social and economic outlook to the people of the subcontinent.⁴⁶ Introduction of railway, electric telegraph and postal system reduced the distances in space and time and with English as an instrument to transcend linguistic barrier, they provided a momentum of unity and progress in all avenues and among all sections of the population.

Before concluding this brief survey of the various forces which galvanized towards various types of nationalisms, it is essential to discuss the rise of a middle class which not only became a broker of new ideas, but piloted many movements of national, religious, and regional regeneration. Its overwhelming significance in the creation of industrial civilization of the West is indisputable. It acted as a bridge between the old and new orders of civilization, and made the transition from monopolistic and absolutist regime of the eighteenth century mercantilism to laissez faire world, facile and gainful. The subcontinent of India and Pakistan had no historical

44. J. Ramsay Macdonald, *The Government of India* (New York : B. W. Huebsch, 1920), p. 222.

45. Griffiths, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

46. M.N. Das, *Studies in the Economic and Social Development of Modern India : 1848-1856* (Calcutta : Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1959), p. 401.

experience of the existence of such a class. It emerged out of the reforms of land and law, which were promulgated in the first half of the nineteenth century, and obtained its material sustenance from new openings in commerce and industry and intellectual succour from radical literature which came in the wake of western education. Like all middle classes, the navo-rich and navo-ideologues of Indian middle class were motivated by gain, hope and ambition. By the middle of the nineteenth century in England, the constitutional powers had already passed into the hands of the middle class, and even in Indian affairs of government and administration, there had been a tremendous increase in the share of the British middle class. Thus, it is not surprising to see that in the struggle between Indian nationalism and bureaucracy, which we will discuss soon, the chief actors were drawn from the two middle classes. Tara Chand points out :

The national movement in India was an expression of conflict between the middle classes of the two countries, one aspiring for wealth and influence, the other already in possession of them.⁴⁷

There were two means of acquiring wealth and influence. They could be had through large-scale industry, commerce and trade or through government service which traditionally provided the holder of a job, prestige, status and influence. The movement of the rising Indian middle class in the first direction was blocked by the monopoly of the British investments and lack of capital and technical know-how ; so government service with its traditional halo of prestige, influence and power, became the focal point of its concerted efforts. Later in this paper, we shall make a detailed examination of this aspect of the deep involvement of bureaucracy and nationalism.

The Mutiny of 1857 had left a deep scar on racial relations. The foreign rulers became acutely suspicious of the natives ; and the natives in turn lost all confidence in the good faith of the rulers. Formerly, they knew only one way of political emancipation and that was rebellion. They tried this in 1857, but failed miserably. From the seventies of the last century, they

47. Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. I (Delhi: The Publications Divisions, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1961), p. 352.

started experimenting with political agitation, polemics and columny, which they had seen being successfully utilized by reformists in England. The first opportunity to measure the depth of racial acrimony came when Lord Ripon made a modest effort to give the first instalment of often promised but never fulfilled equality between the English and the Indian subjects of Her Majesty. Wilfrid Scawen Blunt has summed up the controversy and his impression in the following words :

Its object was to put a stop to the impunity with which non-official Englishmen, principally of the planter class, ill-treated and even on occasion did to death their native servants. It was to give for the first time jurisdiction over Englishmen in criminal cases to native judges—instead of to judges and juries only of their own countrymen. Trifling remedy, however, though it was, it roused at once the anger of the class aimed at, and a press campaign was opened against Lord Ripon of unusual violence in the Anglo-Indian journals. The Ilbert Bill was described as a revolutionary measure which would put every English man and English woman at the mercy of native intrigues and native fanaticism. The attacks against Lord Ripon were certainly encouraged by the Anglo-Indian officials.⁴⁸

The press at home was embittered, the Cabinet lost faith in the wisdom of its supreme agent, the Queen felt doubts about the judgement of her Viceroy, and Lord Ripon, occupying the most powerful executive position in the world, was left alone to face the storm raised by official and unofficial Anglo-Indian community. The Viceroy was submitted to all sorts of indignities ; he was stigmatized as radical, and his benevolence towards the subject people became his greatest disqualification to rule the empire. How intense was the upsurge can be narrated, in Lord Curzon's words, as follows :

The Viceroy was personally insulted at Calcutta, Government House was partially boycotted by the British Community, the services were exasperated and estranged and the plot was hatched for kidnapping the Viceroy, hustling him on to a ship, and sending him off to the Cape.⁴⁹

48. Blunt, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

49. Lord Curzon, *British Government in India*.

Thus, for the first time in a tangible form, the virus of racism was injected into the body politic of the subcontinent. It had a deep impact on the outlook of both the governors and the governed. One aspect of controversy, over which we shall dilate in much more detail later in this paper, was the active involvement of the bureaucracy in an issue which was entirely political and constitutional.

The *Times*, commenting editorially on February 26, 1883, justified the participation of the officials in partisan politics by saying :

But officials are also private citizens, permitting themselves greater freedom in that capacity, and our correspondent affirms that with obvious exceptions they agree, as is, indeed, to be expected, with the general opinion of the non-official Europeans.⁵⁰

The holocaust was a clear manifestation of the deep-seated racial antipathy ; and the tragic thing about the whole affair was that the agitation succeeded. It was an eye-opener to the nationalists, and a moment's rumination would have convinced them that if a handful of agitators through intense newspaper campaign could change the decision of powerful government, then organized countrywide nationalist forces could easily prevail upon the government. Later in the century, the techniques and effects of suffrage movement in England and Irish Home Rulers had an impact, but the nationalists learned their primary lessons from the Ilbert Bill Controversy.⁵¹

It is not, therefore, surprising that within two years of Ilbert Bill episode, Indian National Congress was founded in 1884. The moving spirit behind this move was Allan O. Hume, a retired Indian Civil Servant.⁵² His main purpose was to find a platform for the educated section of the population, where they could meet periodically to organize their opinions for the enlightenment of the government. It was supposed to be only a harmless buckle to join the people and their aloof masters. Hume, in a speech delivered

50. C.H. Philips, H.L. Singh, and B.N. Pandey, *The Evolution of India and Pakistan : Selected Documents* (London : Oxford University Press), p. 122.

51. Edward J. Thompson and G.T. Garratt, *Rise and Fulfillment of British Rule in India* (London : Macmillan & Co., 1934), p. 498.

52. Allan Octavian Hume was a member of the Indian Civil Service, 1849-1882.

at Allahabad on April 30, 1888, gave the following three purposes of the Congress :

First : The fusion into one national whole of all the different and until recently discordant elements that constitute the population of India.

Second : The gradual regeneration along all lines, mental, moral, social and political, of the nation thus evolved.

Third : The consolidation of the Union between England and India by securing the modification of such of its conditions as may be unjust or injurious to the latter country.⁵³

It did not take very long for this organization to move from moderate to the militant position, and from secular liberalism to religious narrowness. This drift had an adverse effect on the Muslim participation in the activities of this organization. The two basic demands of the Congress were (1) immediate establishment of representative institutions on the Western pattern, and (2) a greater share of the Indians at the higher rungs of administration through direct recruitment of the Indians in the India Civil Service (ICS) cadre by holding simultaneous examinations in India for them. In view of the Hindu religious revival and the advanced stage of their educational standard, the Muslims had grave apprehensions about both the demands. Representative government or majority rule, which in the last analysis meant the Hindu rule, because they had overwhelming majority in the subcontinent, and recruitment through open competition, meant that the Hindus being far ahead of the Muslims in education would monopolize all the key positions in the government. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the leader of Muslim renaissance, in a speech at Lucknow, December 28, 1887, voiced his fears in the following words :

I come now to the main subject on which I wish to address you. That is the National Congress and the demands which that body makes of government. Think for a moment what would be the result if all appointments were given by competitive examination. There would

53. Philips, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

remain no part of the country in which we should see at the tables of justice and authority any faces except those of Bengalis.⁵⁴

About popular representation which was the demand of the advanced section of the Hindu nationalists, Sir Syed was even more emphatic. In a speech made in the Council of the Governor-General in 1883, he said :

For socio-political purposes, the whole of the population of England forms but one community. It is obvious that cannot be said of India. The system of representation by election means the representation of the views and interests of the majority of the population, and in countries where the population is composed of one race and one creed, it is no doubt the best system. But in a country like India, the system of election pure and simple cannot be adopted. The larger community would totally override the interests of the smaller community.⁵⁵

How half-hearted and lukewarm was the participation of the Muslims in the proceedings of the Congress can be shown by the fact that only two Muslim delegates attended the first session of the Congress, and in 1905, out of the total delegates of 756, there were only seventeen Muslims.⁵⁶ In 1906, the Muslims of the subcontinent formed the All India Muslim League which completed the trio of the sub-continent's political arena. The government, the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League became the chief actors of the trimurative tussle which raged with unabated fury for the remaining forty years of the British rule. It was a fight between the Congress and the government, between the government and the Muslim League, and between the League and the Congress. It is in the light of this complex web of political and religious nationalism that we have to judge the role of the British bureaucracy. Its involvement was confused, intense and deep.

We have already noticed that every nationalist movement has to prepare a charge sheet of hate and complaints and a manifesto of hope and adoration. We are here concerned with hopes and expectations, and relate them with

54. *Ibid.*, pp. 187-88.

55. Cited in T. Walter Wallbank, *India in the New Era* (Chicago: Scott, Foresman & Co., 1951), p. 84.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

the role and attitudes of the British bureaucrats, who, away from the remote control of the Parliament, constituted the real government both in law and letter. Parliament, of course, was the supreme law-making body, but because of the physical distance, which separated the seat of authority from the field of jurisdiction, it was constrained to hand over multifarious discretionary powers to her pro-consuls on the subcontinent. From the Governor-General to a district officer, everyone was a satrap in his own area, guiding and governing according to the law and the spirit of the circumstances. Each one was a living symbol of power and authority in every sphere of life. There are instances in history where bureaucracy had enjoyed political influence, but, except for British bureaucracy on the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, there is possibly no other illustration where bureaucrats had executive, legislative and judicial powers all to themselves. After the turn of the century, elective bodies did come into existence under limited franchise at local, provincial and central levels, but their powers and privileges were hedged around by so much bureaucratic regimentation that a nationalist in the strict sense would think them as merely constitutional window-dressing to cover the unsavoury realities of imperialism. Thus, from a unique vantage point of delicate strategy, the powerful elite corps fought many a political and constitutional battle against heavy odds.

The nationalists were in the habit of attributing all sins of omission and commission of the rulers to bureaucratic bungling. To create some clarity in the baffling medley of events and developments that are condensed in a short period of ninety years (1857-1947), we shall categorize the nationalist grievances against the services under the following headings :

1. Indianization of the services.
2. Political role of the bureaucracy.
3. Racial discrimination within bureaucracy.

Indianization of the Services

From the very inception of patriotic resurgence, the question of the Indianization of the services was kept in the limelight by the leaders of Indian nationalism. We have already seen that avenues of trade, commerce and industry had been blocked by foreign monopoly, so government service

was the only avenue left for the educated classes to maintain social status and prestige. They knew people's obsessive devotion to authority, and governmental authority sustained by the halo of lash and law commanded the maximum respect in their mind. The small educated class in the middle of the nineteenth century, however, to its great dismay, found the gates of the new bureaucratic temple closed to them. The question of the entry of the natives into the services became a symbol of hopes betrayed and promises unfulfilled. Both during the Company's rule and after the Crown's ascendancy, several pronouncements were made which proclaimed free and equal access to the educated and qualified natives to respectable administrative positions in the government. The first of such outstanding statements was incorporated in the Charter Act of 1833. The Act emphasized fitness and competence to be the touchstone for the future recruitment of the Company's servants and there, in a clear and eloquent way, laid down the principle :

... that no native of the said territories, nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty's resident therein, shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them be disabled from holding any place or employment under the said Company.⁵⁷

After the Mutiny, the Government of India Act, passed on August 2, 1858, transferred the dominion from the Company to the Crown, which was followed by Queen Victoria's famous proclamation of November 1, 1858. The Queen's special instructions to Lord Derby, the minister-in-charge for drafting, carried a clear impression of her benign personality. She asked that the speech be framed :

... bearing in mind that it is a female sovereign who speaks to more than a hundred million of Eastern people on assuming the direct government over them after a bloody war, giving them pledges which her future reign is to redeem and explaining the principles of her government. Such a document should breathe feelings of generosity, benevolence, and religious toleration, and point out the privileges which

57. Gurmukh Nihal Singh, *Landmarks in Indian Constitutional and National Development* (Delhi : Atma Ram & Sons, 1950), pp. 56-57.

the Indian will receive in being placed on an equality with the subjects of the British Crown, and the prosperity following in the train of civilization.⁵⁸

The proclamation is imbued with this spirit of unmixed kindness, and there is a passage in it which says :

And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted in our offices, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability and integrity, duly to discharge.⁵⁹

These utterances were sublime in spirit, interest and purpose, but their implementation was rendered difficult or rather almost impossible by vested interests at home and in India. The Government of India's Resolution of August 19, 1867, lamented the lingering disabilities from which native officers still suffered, how the bars set to their promotion had robbed them of all incentive.⁶⁰ These vehement promises and their sustained negation is a major theme of the Indianization of the services. How serious and clear the situation was, can be construed from the following words of Lord Lytton. He said :

Since I am writing confidentially, I do not hesitate to say that both the Government of England and of India appear to me, up to the present moment, unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear.⁶¹

We will now make a brief survey of this story of bitterness, which left a bad taste in the mouth of both the governors and the governed. From complete anarchy in the later half of the eighteenth century, the Company's Civil Service had rapidly grown into a proficient and organized

58. Cited in G.D. Oswell, *Sketches of Rulers of India*, Vol. I (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1908), p. 41.

59. Phillips, *et. al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

60. *Ibid.*, pp. 535-36.

61. Cited in J. Ramsay Macdonald, *The Government of India* (New York : B.W. Huebsch, 1920), p. 104.

structure. The directors were keen to give the newly recruited personnel two years' training at Haileybury College. This procedure continued until the last renewal of the Company's charter in 1853, when, at the behest of Sir Charles Wood, the president of the Board of Control, and fervent advocacy of Macaulay in the House of Commons, the principle of open competition was introduced. Resolution of the Parliament threw open the admission to the Covenanted Civil Service to all natural-born subjects of Her Majesty, irrespective of their European, Indian or mixed origin.⁶²

The merits of open competition have been a boon of contention among two contending schools of thought. There are those who believe that, under this system, personality and initiative are sacrificed at the altar of dry and occupationally useless academics. There are others who can enlist an impressive catalogue of the vices of patronage and its vicious impact on the smooth working of the government. Without labouring too hard over this controversy, we can say that the system initiated in 1853 worked well, because the class which offered its services had personality qualifications required for the successful conduct of the job.⁶³ Moreover, in our opinion, open competition is the only antidote against the establishment of administrative dynasties in government. The open competition opened new vistas of hope and aspiration for the educated Indians. By 1853, their accomplishments in English language and Western thought had been developed considerably, but since the competition was to be held in England, the chances of the Indian aspirants to enter the superior services were very bleak. In theory, they were placed at par with the Englishmen, but in practice, social, religious and financial difficulties created insurmountable barriers to their success. Only rich men could send their children to England and, moreover, in many cases, caste system and social taboos prevented the Hindu young men from crossing the seas.⁶⁴ Sir Surendranath Banerjee, who competed in 1896, has recorded his impressions in the following words :

62. Sir H. Verney Lovett, "The Development of the Services : 1858-1918," *op cit.*, ed. H.H. Dodwell, p. 358.

63. Griffiths, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

64. Sir Edward Blunt, *The I.C.S.* (London : Faber & Faber, Ltd., 1937), p.50.

I started for England on March 3, 1868, with Romesh Chandar Dutt and Bihari Lal Gupta. We were all young, in our teens, and a visit to England was more serious affair then than it is now. It not only meant absence from home and those near and dear to one for a number of years, but there was the grim prospect of social ostracism, which, for all practical purposes, has now happily passed away. We all three had to make our arrangements in secret, as if we were engaged in some nefarious plot of which the world should know nothing.⁶⁵

The gradual reduction of the maximum age of entry further ruined the prospects of even those Indians who had the will and the money to try their luck. In 1859, the maximum age was lowered to twenty-two and two years' probation was fixed for the selected candidates.⁶⁶ In 1866, the maximum age was reduced to twenty-one and successful candidates were to study for two years at an approved university. And the culmination of it came when the Secretary of State in a dispatch to the Government of India, dated February 24, 1876, keeping the minimum age at 17, reduced the maximum to 19. The main reason given by the Secretary of State was that a young man in England competing for the Indian Civil Service at the age of 22 was striving for a coveted prize but did it at a grave risk. In case he failed, he would be too late for his entry into many other professions in England. Since four-fifths must fail, their failure at 19 would still leave some years for them to join other occupations for settlement in life.⁶⁷

This step was taken in utter disregard to the interests and capabilities of the Indian competitors. The inclemencies of caste and custom, limitations of age and financial inabilities were already so great that, under Lord Lawrence, the Government of India, by its resolution of June 30, 1868, had to create nine annual scholarships of £200 each tenable for three years.⁶⁸ The Secretary of State, in his letter of endorsement of the above policy, wrote :

65. Cited in Sir H. Verney Lovett, "The Development of the Services : 1858-1918", *op. cit.*, ed. H.H. Dodwell, p. 359.

66. *Ibid.*, p. 358.

67. Phillips, *et al. op. cit.*, pp. 343-45.

68. *Ibid.*, p. 338.

In the fourteen years during which competitive examination in England has been the sole door of admission to the Covenanted Civil Service, no more than sixteen native candidates have appeared, and only one of these has succeeded. Hence, it is clear that the regulations which forbid the appointment to the Covenanted Civil Service of any person who shall not have passed successfully through competitive examination held in England are regulations which practically exclude the natives of India from that service.⁶⁹

Later Lord Ripon also showed his deep concern on the reduction of maximum age limit to nineteen. In his minute of September 10, 1884, he thoroughly refuted the arguments of Lord Salisbury's arbitrary action, and built an impressive case against the inconsiderate decision. He castigated it on the ground that the spirit of 1853-1854 scheme has been violated. In his opinion, the authors of that experiment wanted competition among young men and not competition among boys. The theory behind Lord Macaulay's philosophy was that the recruits for Indian Civil Service should be men of polished intellect and finished education. He referred to H.C. Tupp's Indian Civil Service list of 1880 which showed that, between 1856 and 1879, out of 903 recruits, 618, or more than two-thirds, were university men and that 324, or 36 per cent, were graduates. Since 1878, the highest percentage of graduates had been only 7 per cent. He further argued that under new arrangements not only the fresh entrants would be deprived of the education of the highest English thought, the standard of the competitive examination would also be lowered. And lastly, he took up his brief on behalf of the natives of India. He thought the Act to be grossly unjust and pointed out that between 1876 and 1883, only one native had been able to qualify in the English competition.⁷⁰

The awakened sense of national prestige made this question of Indianization of the services a yardstick to measure the sincerity of the British government. It was a galling spectacle for nationalists to see yawning difference between proclamations and practices, and even before the foundation of the

69. *Ibid.*, p. 539.

70. *Ibid.*, pp. 552-54.

Indian National Congress in 1885, the issue was discussed at the major gatherings of the leaders of the enlightened public opinion. Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, who attended the first meeting of the National Conference on December 28, 1883, as an observer, has recorded his impressions of the proceedings in the following words:

Then at twelve I went to the first meeting of the National Conference, a really important occasion, and there were delegates from most of the great towns—and as Bose, in his opening speech, remarked, it was the first stage towards a national Parliament. The discussion began with a scheme for sending boys to France for industrial education, but the real feature of the meeting was an attack on the Covenanted Civil Service by Sundra Nath Banerji. His speech was quite as good one as ever I heard in my life.⁷¹

It was for this reason that greater participation of the natives in the administrative affairs always used to loom large in every scheme of reform of the services. The Government of India Act of 1870, under Section 6, had laid down the provision that the natives to "proved merit and ability" could be appointed to civil posts without taking the normal examination. The Governor-General in Council was authorized to frame rules for the implementation of the proposal. At this stage, the hyper-sensitivity and the prejudice of the British bureaucrats started working, and through delaying tactics, which all bureaucracies practice with artistic excellence, the rules were not finalized until 1879.⁷² The rules finally adopted laid down that one-sixth of the regular ICS posts in future would be filled by statutory natives who would be nominated by the Governor-General in Council on the recommendations of the provincial governments. The maximum age was fixed at twenty-five years and the total number of nominations was not to exceed one-fifth of the total civilian appointed by the Secretary of State in that year.⁷³

71. Blunt, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

72. William Roy Smith, *Nationalism and Reform in India* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938), p. 202.

73. Philips, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 551.

The experiment, however, did not succeed. During the time these rules were in force, sixty-nine statutory native officers were appointed, but it was said that majority of them did not rise up to the service standards at all. Their efficiency, industry, grasp and vision were thought to be much lower than that of an average British ICS. This became a trump card in the hands of ICS fraternity to show as a conclusive evidence of the inherent incapacity of the Indians to handle responsible administrative posts. Therefore, in their opinion, any further racial adulteration of the administration should be stopped.⁷⁴ The nationalists, on the other hand, attributed failure to the erroneous method of selection. Family, social status and local influence were thought sufficient qualifications for a candidate. There was no competitive contrivance to judge the merit and ability of the nominees. They could refer to Lord Lytton's letter to Lord Salisbury of May 10, 1877, in which the Governor-General assessed the value of the system of selection in the following words :

Eventually, I think the system would give us a better class of native civil servants than the Bengale Baboos, if you get hold of young men of good families, you will secure along with them all the members and all the influence of their families and this will ramify far and wide.⁷⁵

It was in this beclouded atmosphere of broken promises, rising expectations and growing racial differences that the Secretary of State appointed a public service commission under Sir Charles Aitchison, with an instruction "to devise a scheme to do full justice to the claims of natives of India to higher employment in the public service."⁷⁶ The commission, which started working in 1886, consisted of fifteen members, including four Hindus and two Muslims of high status. Of the British, five belonged to the Covenanted Civil Service, one was drawn from the uncovenanted service, two were non-officials and one was a former Chief Justice of the Madras High Court of Judicature. The commission refused to alter the admission rules, the place of examination, and the distinct English character of the subjects of study. It

74. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

75. Philips, *et. al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 546.

76. Cited in Blunt, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

abolished the statutory service and instead created provincial services to which it proposed to transfer one-sixth of scheduled posts which, according to the Act of 1861, were reserved for the Covenanted Civil Service. The nomenclatures of services from covenanted and uncovenanted were changed to imperial and provincial.⁷⁷ For the lower uncovenanted posts, subordinate civil services were created in the provinces to be filled by officers like *tasildar* in the executive and *munsif* in the judicial branch.⁷⁸

The reforms simplified procedures and led to greater administrative efficiency, but so far as Indianization of the superior services was concerned, it was a retrogressive step. The one-sixth rule was interpreted to apply to the posts which were reserved for the ICS in 1892, which meant that the share of the Indians to such posts would remain fixed and would not increase with the expansion of administrative staff. Moreover, the members of the Provincial Civil Services, on promotion to posts reserved for ICS, were never allowed to enjoy the privileges of the latter.⁷⁹ In view of all these barriers and discrimination, it is not surprising to note that pace of the Indians' entry into the sacred precincts of ICS remained very slow. Sir Verney Lovett has given the following statistics of the five decades since 1870⁸⁰, which can furnish some idea of the slowness of rate of their admission :

Year	Vacancies	Candidates	Indian	Successful
			Candidates	Indian
1870	40	332	7	1
1880	27	182	2	0
1890	47	205	10	5
1900	52	213	17	2
1910	60	184	20	1
1914	53	183	26	7

77. Lovett, "The Development of the Services : 1858-1918," *op. cit.*, ed. H.H. Dodwell, p. 367.

78. Blunt, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

79. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-205.

80. Sir H. Verney Lovett, "The Development of the Services : 1858-1918," *op. cit.*, ed. H.H. Dodwell, p. 366.

How acute and galling was the disparity between the British and Indian members of the services was clearly demonstrated by Gokhale in his evidence before the Welby Commission. He mustered a lot of information and statistics to show the nature of nationalist demand. Gokhale pointed out that Parliamentary returns of May, 1892, showed that in the higher branches of civil and military departments, 2,388 officers were drawing 10,000 rupees or over per annum, out of which only sixty were Indian. Moreover, with the exception of a few judges, the rest all occupied positions of comparatively low level. He further brought to the commission's notice that 42 million rupees were being spent as salaries of the English officers annually, while annual expenditure on the Indian officers' salaries was one million only.⁸¹ In the subordinate positions, however, educated Indians were given a free access. The reason being that on very low emoluments, which these jobs carried, no Englishman would be prepared to work; and, secondly, almost all these positions were far removed from centres of decision-making; so employment of the Indians involved no risk in the formation of policy. During the last decade of the nineteenth century in the list of 28,300 subordinate employees of the Government of India, 21,500 were Indian.⁸² In resisting the Indians' entry into the higher ranks of administration, some British officials sincerely believed that racially mixed administration would never work, but majority of the English in Government service thought that the incomparable superiority of white race in talent, intellect, political aptitude and constitutional knowledge entitle them to be the sole arbitrators of the administrative destiny of the subject people. Seton Kerr, formerly Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, in a speech made in London during Ilbert Bill controversy, declared that even the modest recognition of native merit outraged

...the cherished conviction which was shared by every Englishman in India, from the highest to the lowest, by the planter's assistant in his

81. Reginold Reynolds, *The White Sahibs in India* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1937), pp. 179-80.

82. Sir George Dunbar, *A History of India: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, Vol. II (London: Nicholson & Watson Ltd., 1943), pp. 591-92.

lowly bungalow and by the editor in the full light of the Presidency town—from those to the Chief Commissioner in charge of an important province and to the Viceroy on his throne...the conviction in every man that he belongs to a race whom God has destined to govern and subdue.⁸³

Lord Roberts' often-quoted remarks also mirror the same self-installed feelings of racial superiority, which they failed to outlive and which, in the long run, proved a dynamite to the imperialist edifice and provided a fuel to the fury of nationalism. He says:

It is this consciousness of the inherent superiority of the Europeans which has won for us India. However well-educated and clever a native may be, and however brave he may have proved himself, I believe that no rank which we can bestow upon them would cause him to be considered as an equal by the British officer.⁸⁴

This racial prejudice against the Indians' entry or promotion was not confined to the British civilians in the subcontinent alone; many a time the civil service commissioners in England acted in a way which from the nationalist point of view smacked of callousness. Sir Surendranath Banerjee, who was among the pioneers of liberal nationalism, passed ICS examination in 1869. The civil service commissioners removed his name from the list of successful candidates, because two documents he had filed showed different dates of birth. The fact of the matter was that in one document the reckoning had been made according to Indian method from conception, in the other according to English method from birth. The candidate had to file a writ of mandamus to have his name restored on the list. Similarly, Arvinda Ghose was disqualified because he failed in riding. Sir Alfred Lyall, a scholar-administrator of great distinction, contended that the British, in resisting the entry of the Indians to higher posts, were only following the long established historical practice on the subcontinent. The Mughal emperors always reserved the highest civil and military posts for the men of their own race, and by sheer force of similar political realities, the British nation was

83. Cited in Thompson and Garratt, *op. cit.*, 536.

84. H.C.E. Zacharias, *Renascent India* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1933), p. 100.

also constrained to reserve upper grades of the administration exclusively for Englishmen.⁸⁵

Sir Alfred Lyall, however, ignored one fundamental reality, that under intensely awakened sense of militant nationalism among all communities of the subcontinent, the political climate had totally changed. The Mughals were dealing with docile and politically indifferent masses. They had no idea of citizens' rights and privileges, and notions of natural law, liberty and equality were simply outside the pale of their imagination. Knowing this, the rulers always relied on force, and when some recalcitrant elements emerged, they were immediately whipped into submission. During the last ninety years of the British rule, conditions were, however, totally different. A handful of western-trained intellectuals, using newly learned techniques of agitation, petitions, protestations, and even terrorism and subversion, had completely changed the pattern of political realities. So for the intellectual leadership of the nationalist movement, the traditions of the Mughals had lost all sanctity and validity. L.S.S.O'Malley, making a survey of government and administration, has summed up the general attitude of the British civilians, who resisted rapid Indianization and did not like the Indians being promoted to key positions in bureaucracy, in the following words:

The rule of India being British rule, and any other rule being in the circumstances of the case impossible, the tone and standard should be set by those who had created it and were responsible for it. By virtue of their upbringing, education and knowledge of the principles of government, Englishmen possessed the habits of mind and vigour of character essential for the task. Consequently, the highest posts of civil employment, *i.e.*, those in Indian Civil Service, though open to Indians, should as a general rule be held by Englishmen.⁸⁶

This attitude was most galling to the nationalists. They not only kept the question of services in the limelight of political struggle, but under ungovernable emotions of extremism, which emerged with vengeance in the

85. Sir Alfred Lyall, *History of India* (London: Grolier Society Publishers, 1907), p. 465.

86. L.S.S.O'Malley (ed). *Modern India and the West* (London: Oxford University Press, 1941), p. 598.

first decade of this century, started a campaign of terrorism against the British officers. In 1897, W.C. Rand of the Indian Civil Service and Lieutenant Ayerst, both on duty at plague preventive operations, were assassinated in Poona by two Chitpavan Brahmans. Some years later, on December 6, 1907, the train of Sir Andrew Frazer, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, was derailed by a bomb near Midnapur. In the same month, on the twenty-third, Allen, formerly district magistrate of Dacca, was shot at the back. On April 30, 1908, a bomb was thrown in a carriage at Muzaffarpur in Behar, which killed two ladies, Mrs. and Miss Kennedy. The bomb, in fact, was intended for Kingsford, a judge with whom the revolutionaries were displeased.⁸⁷

(To be concluded)

87. Sir H. Verney Lovett, "The Rise of an Extremist Party," *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. VI, ed. H.H. Dodwell (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1932), pp. 550-52.

اقبال اور نظریۂ وطنیت

وحید قریشی

(۵)

۱۹۲۲ء تک علامہ اقبال وطنیت کے مغربی تصور کے مقابلے میں حب الوطنی اور ملت کے تصور کو پوری طرح اپنا چکے تھے۔ اس منزل تک وہ عمرانی مسائل کے حوالے سے پہنچے تھے اور اس کے بعد انہوں نے قرآن پاک کی آیات کی بنیاد پر اس نصب العین کو واضح طور پر قبول کر لیا تھا۔ ۱۹۱۴ء میں پہلی جنگ عظیم کا آغاز اور ۱۹۱۸ء میں خاتمہ ہوا۔ سیاسیاتِ عالم میں ان حالات نے جو تبدیلیاں پیدا کیں، علامہ اقبال انہیں بغور دیکھ رہے تھے اور ان کی روشنی میں عالم اسلام میں جن امکانات کے فروغ پانے کا احساس تھا ان کی نشاندہی بھی علامہ اقبال نے اپنی نظموں میں کی۔ مسلمانوں کی سیاسی تنظیم کا آغاز ۱۹۰۶ء میں مسلم لیگ کے قیام سے ہو چکا تھا۔ جنگ عظیم کے دوران میں ۱۹۱۶ء میں کانگریس اور مسلم لیگ کے درمیان میثاق لکھنؤ ہوا جس کی بنیاد مسلمانوں کے حقوق کی نگہداشت اور ہندو اکثریت سے ایک معاہدے کی صورت سے رکھی گئی تھی؛ لیکن علامہ اقبال کی نگاہ دور رس نے دیکھ لیا تھا کہ میثاق لکھنؤ کا ہیولیٰ درحقیقت ہندوستان کی متحدہ قومیت

کے مقابلے میں مسلمانوں کی جدوجہد کا تصور نکھر چکا تھا۔ تنسیخ تقسیم بنگال کے ہنگامہ کا واقعہ جو دسمبر ۱۹۱۱ء میں پیش آیا تھا علامہ اقبال کو اپنے نظریہ قومیت کو منظم کرنے کا ایک دعوت نامہ تھا۔ لیکن ۱۹۱۰ء سے لیکر جنگ عظیم کے خاتمے تک علامہ اقبال کی مفکرانہ حیثیت تنظیم پاتی رہی۔ وہ سیاسی اور سماجی زندگی کے مسائل کو نظریاتی سطح پر دیکھتے بھالتے رہے۔ ۱۹۲۲ء کے حالات نے انہیں عملی اقدامات کی اہمیت کا احساس دلایا۔ اس احساس کو زیادہ شدید کرنے میں سول نافرمانی کے بعد کے ان واقعات کو بڑا دخل ہے جن کے نتیجے میں برصغیر کے طول و عرض میں مختلف مقامات پر ہندو مسلم فسادات ہونے شروع ہوئے۔ شدھی اور سنگٹھن کی تحریکوں نے مسلمانوں کو یہ احساس دلا دیا کہ برصغیر کی ہندو اکثریت اب کسی مفاہمت کے لیے تیار نہیں ہے اور دستوری مسائل میں وہ متحدہ قومیت کے تصور کو لے کر ہندو اکثریت کی حکومت قائم کرنے کی تمنائی ہے۔ اب تک علامہ اقبال اپنے نظریہ ملت اور حب الوطنی کو عمرانی مسائل کے حوالے سے دیکھ رہے تھے لیکن جنگ عظیم کے خاتمے نے انہیں اس مسئلے کو سیاسی حوالے سے دیکھنے پر مجبور کر دیا۔ رموز بے خودی اور بانگ درا کی آخری نظموں میں علامہ اقبال عالم اسلام کو ایک دفاعی تنظیم میں منسلک کرنے کی کوشش کرتے نظر آتے ہیں۔ پیام مشرق اور جاوید نامہ میں بھی یہی نقطہ نظر زیادہ قوی ہے لیکن ساتھ ہی ہندوستانی

کے جھوٹے نظریے پر قائم ہوا تھا اس سے مسلمانان ہند کو سیاسی تحفظ حاصل ہونے کی بجائے ان کی تنظیمی حیثیت کافی کمزور ہو گئی۔ جنگ عظیم کے خاتمے کے بعد خلافت کے مسائل بہت کچھ الجھ کر رہ گئے۔ ۶ نومبر ۱۹۱۸ء کو ترکوں نے التوائے جنگ کے معاہدے پر دستخط کیے۔ اگست ۱۹۲۵ء میں سیورے کی کانفرنس ہوئی اور اس طرح اتحادیوں نے اپنے تمام وعدے فراموش کرتے ہوئے ترکی کے حصے بخرے کر دیے۔ اس سے ہندوستان کے مسلمانوں میں ہیجان پیدا ہونا ضروری تھا چنانچہ خلافت کے حق میں تحریک شروع ہوئی۔ رولٹ ایکٹ (۱۹۱۹ء) کی منظوری کے بعد تحریک ترک موالات کا پر اشتعال واقعہ پیش آیا۔ ۱۹۲۰ء تک برصغیر پاک و ہند اس کی لپیٹ میں آچکا تھا۔ خلافتی لیڈروں کی گرفتاریوں نے مشترک قیادت کے نام پر تحریک خلافت اور تحریک ترک موالات کی باگ ڈور کانگریس کے ہاتھ میں دے دی تھی۔ جب مہاتما گاندھی نے یک لخت تحریک کے خاتمے کا اعلان کیا تو سیاسی میدان میں مسلمانوں کی شکست مکمل ہو چکی تھی۔ میثاق لکھنؤ کی دفعات پر کار بند ہونے یا اکثریت کی طرف سے کسی تحفظ کا یقین دلانے کی اب کانگریس کو ضرورت نہ تھی۔ ۱۹۲۲ء میں مسلمانوں کی سیاسی زندگی کا جہاز گرداب میں آچکا تھا اور حالات کے دھارے میں کانگریس کا متحدہ قومیت کا تصور زیادہ ابھر آیا تھا۔ علامہ اقبال پہلی جنگ عظیم کے دوران میں حالات کے خاموش ناظر تھے لیکن ان کے خیالات میں ہندوستان کی ہندو اکثریت

کے ماتحت آزاد وفاقی سلطنت کے تصور کی طرف بڑھ رہے تھے اور اس کا رشتہ مسلمانوں کی دفاعی جدوجہد کے ساتھ ملا کر عالم اسلام کی سطح پر ایک منظم دفاعی نظام میں کوشاں تھے۔ یہ صورت حال کانگریس کو بہت کھٹکتی تھی۔ وہ مسلمان لیڈر جنہوں نے تحریک ترک موالات اور خلافت میں کانگریس کا ساتھ دیا تھا، اب اس سے بدظن ہو کر مسلمانوں کی الگ سیاسی جدوجہد کے لیے آمادہ ہو رہے تھے۔ کچھ مسلمان لیڈر جو مغربی قومیت کے طرف دار تھے پوری طرح کانگریس کی صفوں میں چلے گئے۔ ان حالات میں مسلمانوں کو الگ قوم کی حیثیت سے پنپنے کا غیر شعوری احساس ہونے لگا۔ ایسی حالت میں کانگریس کو اپنی جدوجہد آزادی کی تحریک میں یہ صورت سب سے زیادہ خطرناک نظر آتی تھی کہ ہندوستان کے مسلمان کسی ایسے نظریے کی حمایت میں ہو جائیں جو مسلمان ممالک کو ایک مرکزی نقطے پر منظم کر سکے۔ عوامی سطح پر مسلمانوں کے ہاں اقبال کی ”خضر راہ“ اور بعض دوسری نظموں نے ان خیالات کے لیے راستہ ہموار کر دیا تھا جنہیں انگریز سیاست دان پین اسلام ازم کے نام سے یاد کرتے تھے اور جن کی وجہ سے جمال الدین افغانی اور بعض دوسرے لیڈروں کو بدنام کیا جا رہا تھا۔ بانگ درا کی نظموں، رموز بیخودی، پیام مشرق اور جاوید نامہ میں جمال الدین افغانی کی بلا واسطہ یا بالواسطہ توصیف کا جو پہلو نکلتا تھا اس سے ہندوستان کی ہندو اکثریت کا خوفزدہ ہونا ناگزیر تھا۔ کانگریس تو یہ چاہتی تھی کہ مسلمان قومیت

سیاسیات کے حوالے بھی ملنے لگتے ہیں۔ علامہ اقبال ۱۹۲۶ء میں پہلی بار سیاسی میدان میں آتے ہیں۔ وہ پنجاب کونسل کی رکنیت کے امیدوار بن کر ۲۳ نومبر ۱۹۲۶ء کو کونسل کے رکن منتخب ہو جاتے ہیں۔ اس زمانے میں نظریہ وطن کو انہوں نے سیاسی سیاق و سباق میں دیکھنا شروع کر دیا۔ اس سے پیشتر وہ اس نظریے کو اول جغرافیائی، پھر عالم اسلام اور اس کے ساتھ ساتھ عمرانی مسائل کے حوالے سے دیکھ رہے تھے۔ سیاسی حوالہ نہایت دھیمہ اور نظریاتی حد تک تھا۔ اب عملی سیاسیات میں علامہ اقبال کے نظریات کا سیاسی رنگ زیادہ واضح طور پر سامنے آ گیا۔ ۱۹۲۶ء کے بعد اس مسئلے کے دو بنیادی رخ تھے:

(۱) دنیائے اسلام کے حوالے سے، اس کے لیے علامہ اقبال کے سامنے پین اسلام ازم کا ایک مخصوص تصور تھا۔

(ب) ہندوستان کی سیاسیات کے حوالے سے، اول یہ کوشش کی گئی کہ مسلمان اپنے حقوق و مفادات کے لیے ہندو اکثریت سے کوئی آبرو مندانہ معاہدہ کر کے اپنی الگ حیثیت کو بھی قائم رکھیں اور ہندوؤں کے ساتھ ایک وفاقی نظام میں بھی منسلک ہوں۔

کانگریس کے لیڈر اپنی جیتی ہوئی بازی کو ہار میں تبدیل کرنے کے خواہشمند نہیں تھے۔ اس لیے علامہ اقبال کے ان دونوں نقطہ ہائے نظر کی شدت سے مخالفت کی گئی۔ علامہ اقبال ۱۹۲۲ء سے ۱۹۳۲ء تک دس برس ہندو مسلم اتحاد کے لیے کوشاں رہے۔ وہ ہندوستان کی مشترک حکومت

اقبال کے نظریاتی افکار کے لیے ۱۹۳۰ء اور ۱۹۳۱ء کے سال بڑے ہنگامہ خیز اور اہم ہیں۔ کیونکہ انہی سنیں میں اقبالی سیاست کے نمایاں خط و خال سیاسی نقشے پر نمودار ہوتے ہیں۔ عملی سیاسیات، مسلمانوں کی الگ تمہذیبی اور مذہبی شخصیت اور ہندوستان کی مختلف قوموں کے وطن ہونے کی حیثیت انہیں ایک ایسے مرحلے پر لے آئی جہاں وہ ہندو مسلم مفاہمت سے مایوس ہوئے۔ انہیں مسلمانوں کے لیے ایک الگ جغرافیائی وطن کی اہمیت کا احساس ہونے لگا تھا۔ ایک ایسے وطن کی اہمیت کا احساس جس میں مسلمانوں کی اکثریت ہو اور وہ اپنی زندگی اسلامی نظریات کے مطابق استوار کر سکیں۔ ہندوستان کے سیاسی حالات کے پس منظر میں وطن کے تصورات کی عائلی حیثیت اب ان کے لیے بہت زیادہ توجہ طلب نہیں رہی تھی، تاہم ۱۹۲۰ء کے گرد و پیش اقبال اس کی طرف متوجہ ضرور تھے۔ خان نیاز الدین احمد خاں کے نام اپنے ایک خط میں انہوں نے جن خیالات کا اظہار کیا ان سے عائلی زندگی کے حوالے سے نسلی امتیازات کی پوزیشن کھلتی ہے۔ نیاز الدین احمد خاں نے اپنی کسی عزیزہ کے رشتے کے لیے ایک شخص کے خاندانی حالات کے بارے میں استفسار کیا تھا۔ علامہ اقبال اس کے جواب میں ۱۰ جون ۱۹۲۰ء لکھتے ہیں:

”انسانوں کو خدا نے قبائل میں تقسیم کیا۔ اس واسطے کہ ان

کے مغربی تصور کے زیر اثر جذب ہو کر ہندو اکثریت کا حصہ بن جائیں اور ہندوستان کے مسلمانوں کو دوسرے اسلامی ممالک کے ساتھ رابطے کی ضرورت کا احساس باقی نہ رہے۔ ان حالات میں علامہ اقبال ایک طرف تو ۱۹۳۱ء تک مسلمانوں اور ہندوؤں میں اشتراک عمل کے فارمولے تلاش کرتے رہے اور مشترک آزاد حکومت کے زیر اثر مسلمانوں کی تمہذیبی اور مذہبی آزادی کی خود مختارانہ حیثیت کو اکثریت کے بڑے وفاق کے ساتھ ہم آہنگ کرنے کی جد و جہد میں لگے رہے۔ دوسری طرف مسلمانوں کو سن حیث القوم منظم کرنے کے لیے اور ان کی الگ مذہبی حیثیت منوانے کے لیے کوشاں رہے۔ ان حالات میں حب الوطنی کا مسئلہ کئی بار زیر بحث آیا۔ وطن کی حفاظت اور غیر ملکی تسلط کے مقابلے میں ناموس وطن کے لیے قربانی کا مسئلہ علامہ اقبال کے لیے واضح جواب کا تقاضا کرتا تھا۔ دوسری طرف عالمی سطح پر مسلمانوں کے مشترک عمل سے وطن کی جغرافیائی حدود کا جو رشتہ ہو سکتا تھا اس میں کئی فیصلہ کن مرحلے آتے تھے۔ چنانچہ ۱۹۲۲ء سے لیکر ۱۹۳۲ء تک علامہ اقبال وطنی مسائل کو ان سیاسی حالات کے واسطے سے حل کرنے میں مصروف نظر آتے ہیں۔ ان کی مفکرانہ بصیرت کو اب عملی زندگی اور عملی مسائل سے واسطہ تھا۔ اس لیے وطن کے فکری، ثقافتی اور مذہبی پہلوؤں کے ساتھ ساتھ اب سیاسی مسائل کا حل طلب ہونا بھی ناگزیر ہو چکا تھا۔ ۱۹۳۲ء میں اسی فضا کے تحت انہوں نے مطالبہ پاکستان کو مسلمانان ہند کا نصب العین قرار دے دیا تھا۔

رکھنے کی تعلیم دیتا ہے۔ اس لیے میں ایک مسلمان اور ہمدرد نوع کی حیثیت سے انہیں یہ یاد دلانا مناسب سمجھتا ہوں کہ ان کا حقیقی فرض سارے بنی آدم کی نشو و ارتقا ہے۔ نسل اور حدود ملک کی بنیاد پر قبائل اور اقوام کی تنظیم حیات اجتماعی کی ترقی اور تربیت کا ایک وقتی اور عارضی پہلو ہے۔ اگر اسے یہی حیثیت دی جائے تو مجھے کوئی اعتراض نہیں لیکن میں اس چیز کا مخالف ہوں کہ اسے انسانی قوت عمل کا مظہر اتم قرار دیا جائے۔ کیونکہ تنہا یہی جماعت میرے مقاصد کے لیے موزوں واقع ہوئی ہے۔“

(مکتوب بنام ڈاکٹر نکلسن،

اقبال نامہ، حصہ اول ص ۶۸)

۱۹۳۵ء میں بھی وہ تصور وطن کی مذہبی اساس کو اپنے افکار کی بنیاد مانتے ہیں۔ نکلسن کے نام خط میں تصور وطن کا جو ہیولی تیار ہوا تھا اس کا مادی روپ ۱۹۳۵ء کی اس تحریر میں اور بھی ”سنور“ کر سامنے آیا جس میں اسلام اور قادنیت کے معاملے کو چھیڑا گیا تھا۔

پنڈت نہرو کے اعتراضات کا جواب دیتے ہوئے انہوں نے اس حقیقت

کو کھل کر بیان کر دیا ہے :

”تاریخ کا معلّم اچھی طرح جانتا ہے کہ اسلام کا ظہور ایسے زمانے میں ہوا جب کہ وحدت انسانی کے قدیم اصول جیسے خونی رشتہ اور ملوکیت ناکام ثابت ہو رہے تھے۔ پس اسلام نے وحدت انسانی کا اصول

کی شناخت کی جا سکے۔ (وَجَعَلْنٰكُمْ شُعُوْبًا وَّ قَبَائِلَ لِتَعَارَفُوْا) نہ اس واسطے کہ یہ امتیاز سلسلہ از دواج میں ممدو معاون ہو :

خویشتن را ترک و افغان خوانندہ

وای بر تو آن چہ بودی ماندہ

(مکاتب اقبال ص ۳۳)

علامہ کے نزدیک یہ مسائل زیادہ توجہ کا مرکز نہ تھے۔ ان کے ہاں قومیت کے مغربی تصور کے خلاف جو دلائل تھے ان میں اس زمانے تک ”فکری سالمیت“ پیدا ہو چکی تھی۔ چنانچہ انہوں نے نکلسن کے نام جو خط لکھا وہ ان کے خیالات کا حاصل سمجھنا چاہیے۔ فرماتے ہیں :

”اسلام ہمیشہ رنگ و نسل کے عقیدے کا جو انسانیت کے نصب العین کی راہ میں سب سے بڑا سنگ گراں ہے، نہایت کامیاب حریف رہا ہے۔ رینان کا یہ خیال غلط ہے کہ سائنس اسلام کا سب سے بڑا دشمن ہے۔ در اصل اسلام بلکہ کائنات میں انسانیت کا سب سے بڑا دشمن رنگ و نسل کا عقیدہ ہے اور جو لوگ نوع انسان سے محبت رکھتے ہیں ان کا فرض ہے کہ ابلیس کی اس اختراع کے خلاف علم جہاد بلند کر دیں۔ میں دیکھ رہا ہوں کہ قومیت کا عقیدہ جس کی بنیاد نسل یا جغرافیائی حدود ملک پر ہے، دنیاے اسلام میں استیلا حاصل کر رہا ہے۔ اور مسلمان عالمگیر اخوت کے نصب العین کو نظر انداز کر کے اس عقیدے کے فریب میں مبتلا ہو رہے ہیں جو قومیت کو ملک و وطن کی حدود میں مقید

خود ایک نسل ساز عنصر بنے بغیر نسلی امتیازات پر فتح پانا اور معقول اور قابل عمل نظر آئے گا۔“

(حرف اقبال ص ۱۷۱-۱۷۲)

یہ افکار علامہ اقبال کے ذہنی سیاسی طرز عمل کے لیے بنیادی محرک کے طور پر کار فرما تھے اور ان کی سیاسی بصیرت کے لیے ان محرکات نے بنیاد کا کام دیا۔ علامہ کے سیاسی طرز عمل کی خارجی شکل (پاکستان) انہیں افکار کی جغرافیائی بازیافت میں مدد و معاون ہوئی۔ اور بالآخر مسلمانوں کے عقائد و افکار کی آزادانہ نشو و نما کے لیے ایک الگ سر زمین (وطن) کا مطالبہ ان کے خیالات کا محور ہو گیا۔

(۷)

۱۹۳۰ء میں علامہ اقبال کے تصور وطن سے متعلق خیالات کا سیاسی رخ سطح پر آ گیا۔ وہ اس زمانے میں ہندوستان کے مسلمانوں کی سیاسی جد و جہد میں ایک فعال عنصر کے طور پر سرگرم عمل ہوئے۔ اور مسلم لیگ کے صدر کی حیثیت سے جماعت کے تنظیمی ڈھانچے کے علاوہ اس کے نصب العین کے تعین کا فریضہ بھی ان پر عاید ہوا۔ عالم اسلام میں اس وقت جو حالات تھے اور خود برصغیر ہند و پاکستان جس شدید اقتصادی اور سیاسی بحران سے دو چار تھا، اس میں ہندوستان کی غالب اکثریت (ہندو) کے ساتھ کسی نہ کسی پہلو سے مشابہت کی ناکامی سامنے تھی۔ ان حالات میں علامہ کے لیے ہندی مسلمانوں کے

گوشت پوست میں نہیں بلکہ روح انسانی میں دریافت کیا۔ نوع انسان کو اسلام کا اجتماعی پیام یہ ہے کہ ’نسل کے قیود سے آزاد ہو جاؤ یا باہمی لڑائیوں سے ہلاک ہو جاؤ‘۔ یہ کہنا کوئی مبالغہ نہیں کہ اسلام فطرت کی نسل سازی کو ٹیڑھی نظر سے دیکھتا ہے۔ اور اپنے مخصوص اداروں کے ذریعے ایسا نقطہ نظر پیدا کر دیتا ہے جو فطرت کی نسل ساز قوتوں کی مزاحمت کرتا ہے۔ انسانی برادری قائم کرنے کے سلسلے میں اسلام نے جواہم ترین کارنامے ایک ہزار سال میں انجام دیے وہ مسیحیت اور بدھ مت نے دو ہزار سال میں بھی انجام نہیں دیے۔ یہ بات ایک معجزے سے کم نہیں کہ ایک ہندی مسلمان نسل اور زبان کے اختلاف کے باوجود مراکش پہنچ کر اجنبیت محسوس نہیں کرتا۔ تاہم یہ نہیں کہا جا سکتا کہ اسلام نسل کا سرے سے مخالف ہے۔ تاریخ سے ظاہر ہوتا ہے کہ اسلام نے معاشری اصلاح کو زیادہ تر اس امر پر مبنی رکھا کہ بتدریج نسلی عصبیت کو مٹایا جائے اور ایسا راستہ اختیار کیا جائے جہاں تصادم کا کم سے کم امکان ہو۔ قرآن کا ارشاد ہے ’ہم نے تم کو قبائل میں اس لیے پیدا کیا کہ تم پہچانے جا سکو۔ لیکن تم میں سے وہی شخص خدا کی نظر میں بہترین ہے جس کی زندگی پاک ہے۔‘ اگر اس امر کو مد نظر رکھا جائے کہ مسئلہ نسل کس قدر زبردست ہے اور نوع انسان سے نسلی امتیازات مٹانے کے لیے کس قدر وقت درکار ہے تو مسئلہ نسل کے متعلق صرف اسلام ہی کا نقطہ نظر یعنی

معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ کسی طرح کانگریسی اکابر مسلمانوں کو سیاسی سطح پر حکومت عملی، اختیاری پراپیگنڈے اور برطانوی حکومت کو برانگیختہ کر کے شکست دینے کے درپے تھے۔ خطبہ الہ آباد (۱۹۳۰) کا کسی قدر طویل اقتباس مسئلے کی نوعیت کو سمجھنے میں مدد دیتا ہے :

The conclusion to which Europe is consequently driven is that religion is a private affair of the individual and has nothing to do with what is called man's temporal life. Islam does not bifurcate the unity of man into an irreconcilable duality of spirit and matter. In Islam God and the universe, spirit and matter, Church and State, are organic to each other. Man is not the citizen of a profane world to be renounced in the interest of a world of spirit situated elsewhere. To Islam matter is spirit realising itself in space and time. Europe uncritically accepted the duality of spirit and matter probably from Manichaeic thought. Her best thinkers are realising this initial mistake to-day, but her statesmen are indirectly forcing the world to accept it as an unquestionable dogma. It is, then, this mistaken separation of spiritual and temporal which has largely influenced European religious and political thought and has resulted practically in the total exclusion of Christianity from the life of European States. The result is a set of mutually ill-adjusted States dominated by interests not human but national. And these mutually ill-adjusted States, after trampling over the morals and convictions of Christianity, are to-day feeling the need of a federated Europe, i.e., the need of a unity which Christian church organisation originally gave them, but which instead of reconstructing it in the light of Christ's vision of human brotherhood, they considered it fit to destroy under the inspiration of Luther. A Luther in the world of Islam, however, is an impossible phenomenon: for here there is no church organisation similar to that of Christianity in the Middle Ages, inviting a destroyer. In the world of Islam we have a universal polity whose fundamentals are believed to have been revealed, but whose structure, owing to our legist's want of contact with modern world, stands to-day in need of renewed power by fresh adjustments....What

سیاسی مفادات اور دوسرے مسلمان ممالک کے درمیان اشتراک عمل کی مختلف صورتیں لائق اعتنا نظر آئیں۔ کانگریس اور انگریز دونوں ”مسلمانوں کی عالمی سطح پر متحدہ تنظیم“ کے خلاف تھے۔ علامہ اقبال کی تحریروں پر اس حوالے سے بار بار اعتراض کیے گئے۔ انہوں نے دسمبر ۱۹۳۰ء کے آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کے صدارتی خطبے میں جہاں ہندو مسلم مفاہمت کے لیے مختلف تجاویز پیش کی تھیں، وہاں مذہبی اور کلچرل حیثیت سے مسلمانوں کے الگ قوم ہونے پر اصرار کرتے ہوئے یہ مطالبہ بھی کیا تھا کہ مسلمان جن صوبوں میں اکثریت میں ہیں وہاں ان کی حکومت ایسی خود مختارانہ ہو کہ وہ اپنے عقیدے کے مطابق زندگی بسر کر سکیں اور یہ صورت ہندوؤں کی اکثریت والے صوبوں کے ساتھ ایک ایسے ڈھانچے کی شکل میں منسلک ہو کہ وحدت کے اندر کثرت کا وہ انداز قائم رہے جس کے مطابق مسلمانوں کی الگ قومی حیثیت بقرار رہ سکے۔ اسی خطبے میں انہوں نے آگے چل کر مستقبل میں اس امکان کے پیدا ہونے کی طرف بھی اشارہ کیا تھا جس میں پنجاب، شمال مغربی سرحدی صوبہ، سندھ اور بلوچستان ایک واحد ریاست کی صورت اختیار کر جائیں گے۔ خطبے پر کانگریس اور انگریز دونوں نے بڑی لے دے کی۔ بعض حصوں کو سیاق و سباق سے الگ کر کے ایک الگ مسلمان ریاست کے قیام اور دیگر مسلمان ملکوں کے ساتھ مل کر ایک گہری سازش کا فرضی نقشہ تیار کیا گیا۔ بحث و تمحیص کے بعض اجزاء بہت اہم ہیں ان سے

then is the problem and its implications? Is religion a private affair? Would you like to see Islam as a moral and political ideal, meeting the fate in the world of Islam as Christianity has already met in Europe? Is it possible to retain Islam as an ethical ideal and to reject it as a polity in favour of national politics, in which religious attitude is not premitted to play any part? This question becomes of special importance in India where the Muslims happen to be a minority. The proposition that religion is a private individual experience is not surprising on the lips of a European. In Europe the conception of Christianity as a monastic order, renouncing the world of matter and fixing its gaze entirely on the world of spirit, led by a logical process of thought to the view embodied in this proposition. The nature of the Prophet's religious experience, as disclosed in the Quran, however, is wholly different. It is not mere experience in the sense of a purely biological event, happening inside the experient and necessitating no reactions on his social environment. It is individual experience creative of a social order. Its immediate outcome is the fundamentals of a polity with implicit legal concepts whose civic significance cannot be belittled merely because their origin is revelational. The religious ideal of Islam, therefore, is organically related to the social order which it has created. The rejection of the one will eventually involve the rejection of the other. Therefore the construction of a polity on national lines, displacement of the Islamic principle of solidarity, is simply unthinkable to a Muslim. This is a matter which at the present moment directly concerns the Muslims of India. "Man," says Renan, "is enslaved neither by his race, nor by the course of rivers, nor by the direction of mountain ranges. A great aggregation of men, sane of mind and warm of heart, creates a moral consciousness which is called a nation." Such a formation is quite possible, though it involves the long and arduous process of practically remaking men and furnishing them with a fresh emotional equipment. It might have been a fact in India if the teaching of Kabir and the Divine Faith of Akbar had seized the imagination of the masses of the country. Experience, however, shows that the various constituents and religious units in India have shown no inclination to sink their respective individualities in a larger whole. Each group is intensely

jealous of its collective existence. The formation of the kind of moral consciousness which constitutes the essence of a nation in Renan's sense demands price which the people of India are not prepared to pay. The unity of an Indian nation, therefore, must be sought, not in the negation, but mutual harmony and co-operation of the many. True statesmanship cannot ignore facts, however unpleasant they may be. The practical course is not to assume the existence of a state of things which does not exist, but to recognise facts as they are, and to exploit them to our greatest advantage. And it is on the discovery of Indian unity in this direction that the fate of India as well as Asia really depends. India is Asia in miniature. Part of her people have cultural affinities with nations in the eastern Asia, part with nations in the middle and west of Asia. If an effective principle of co-operation is discovered in India, it will bring peace and mutual good-will to this ancient land which has suffered so long, more because of her situation in historic space than because of any inherent incapacity of her people. And it will at the same time solve the entire political problem of Asia.

It is however painful to observe that our attempts to discover such a principle of internal harmony have so far failed. Why have they failed? Perhaps we suspect each other's intentions and inwardly aim to dominate each other. Perhaps in the higher interests of mutual co-operation, we cannot afford to part with the monopolies which circumstances have placed in our hands and conceal our egoism under the cloak of a nationalism, outwardly simulating large-hearted patriotism, but inwardly as narrow-minded as a caste or a tribe. Perhaps, we are unwilling to recognise that each group has a right to free development according to its own cultural traditions. But whatever may be the cause of our failure, I still feel hopeful. Events seem to be tending in the direction of some sort of internal harmony. And as far as I have been able to read the Muslim mind, I have no hesitation in declaring that if the principle that the Indian Muslim is entitled to full and free development on the lines of his own culture and tradition in his own Indian home-lands is recognised as the basis of a permanent communal settlement, he will be ready to stake his all for the freedom of India. The principle that each group is entitled to free development on its own lines is

not inspired by any feeling of narrow communalism. There are communalisms and communalisms. A community which is inspired by feelings of ill-will towards other communities is low and ignoble. I entertain the highest respect for the customs, laws, religious and social institutions of other communities. Nay, it is my duty, according to the teaching of the Quran, even to defend their places of worship, if need be. Yet I love the communal group which is the source of my life and behaviour, which has formed me what I am by giving me its religion, its literature, its thought, its culture and by recreating its whole past as a living operative factor in my present consciousness. Even the authors of the Nehru Report recognise the value of this higher aspect of communalism. While discussing the separation of Sind they say : "To say from the larger view-point of nationalism that no communal provinces should be created, is, in a way, equivalent to saying from the still wider international view-point that there should be no separate nations. Both these statements have a measure of truth in them. But the staunchest internationalist recognises that without the fullest national autonomy it is extraordinarily difficult to create the international State. So also without the fullest cultural autonomy, and communalism in its better aspect is culture, it will be difficult to create a harmonious nation."

Communalism in its higher aspect, then, is indispensable to the formation of a harmonious whole in a country like India. The units of Indian society are not territorial as in European countries. India is a continent of human groups belonging to different races, speaking different languages and professing different religions. Their behaviour is not at all determined by a common race consciousness. Even the Hindus do not form a homogeneous group. The principle of European democracy cannot be applied to India without recognising the facts of communal groups. The Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India within India is, therefore, perfectly justified. The resolution of the All Parties Muslim Conference at Delhi is, to my mind, wholly inspired by his noble ideal of a harmonious whole which, instead of stifling the respective individualities of its component wholes, affords them chances of fully working out the possibilities that may be latent in them. And I have no doubt that this House will emphatically

endorse the Muslim demands embodied in this resolution. *Personally I would go further than the demands embodied in it.* I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within the British Empire or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India....

The Hindu thinks that separate electorates are contrary to the spirit of nationalism, because he understands the word 'Nation' to mean a kind of universal amalgamation in which no communal entity ought to retain its private individuality. Such a state of things, however, does not exist. India is a land of racial and religious variety. Add to this the general economic inferiority of the Muslims, their enormous debt, especially in the Punjab, and their insufficient majorities in some of the provinces as at present constituted, and you will begin to see clearly the meaning of our anxiety to retain separate electorates. In such a country and in such circumstances territorial electorate cannot secure adequate representation of all interests and must inevitably lead to the creation of an oligarchy. The Muslims of India can have no objection to purely territorial electorates if provinces are demarcated so as to secure comparatively homogeneous communities possessing linguistic, racial, cultural and religious unity.

(Speeches and Statements of Iqbal,
pp. 5, 6, 8-12, 16.)

کانگریس نے خلافت کی تحریک اور تحریک ترک موالات کو ختم کر کے مسلمانوں کے کچھ حصے کو کانگریس کے قوم پرستانہ مفادات میں جذب کر لیا تھا اور باقیوں کے لیے ہجرت کی حوصلہ افزائی کر کے اپنا میدان صاف کرنے کی کوشش کی تھی۔ لیکن افغانستان کی حکومت کے رویے اور دیگر مسائل نے بہت سے ہجرت کرنے والوں کو نقصان اٹھا کر واپس

man happens to be temporarily associated. In view of the visible and invisible points of contact between the various communities of India, I do believe in the possibility of constructing a harmonious whole whose unity cannot be distributed by the rich diversity which it must carry within its bosom. The problem of ancient Indian thought was how the one became many without sacrificing its oneness. To-day this problem has come down from its ethical heights to the grosser plane of our political life, and we have to solve it in its reversed form, i.e., how the many can become one without sacrificing its plural character.

(Speeches and Statements of Iqbal, pp. 38, 39)

علامہ اقبال نے ۱۹۳۰ء کے خطبے میں ہندوستان میں مسلمانوں کے سیاسی مستقبل کا جو حل دریافت کیا تھا وہ ایک الگ مملکت کے قیام کا تصور ہے۔ ایک ایسے وطن کا تصور جس میں حب الوطنی کی بنیاد ارضی رشتوں کے استحکام پر نہیں بلکہ ان کی وسعت پذیری یا لامکانیت پر ہے۔ وہ وطن کو مکان سے نکال کر زمان میں پھیلانے کے قائل تھے۔ وہ مسلمانوں کے لیے الگ وطن کی تمنا تو کرتے ہیں لیکن ان معنوں میں کہ اس دھرتی پر مسلمانوں کا مذہب، تاریخی روایات اور کلچر محفوظ ہو سکیں۔ تاریخی روایات سے مراد مسلمانوں کی من حیث الملت عہد بعد نشو و نما اور اس سے پیدا شدہ نفوذ و اثر ہے اور کلچر سے علامہ کی مراد مسلمانوں کی فکری کاوشوں سے وقوع پذیر ہونے والے افکار ہیں۔ یاد رہے کہ دونوں کی تہ میں مذہبی اقدار کا دور تک پھیلا ہوا سلسلہ ہے۔ اس کی روشنی میں علامہ کثرت اور وحدت کے توازن میں ہندو مسلم مفاہمت کے لیے موزوں فارمولہ تلاش کرتے رہے۔ جب ہندو اکثریت کے رویے کی وجہ سے ناکامی ہوئی تو وہ

آنے پر مجبور کر دیا تھا۔ اس چال کی ناکامی کے بعد مسلمان ایک بار پھر اپنے حقوق کی حفاظت کے لیے جداگانہ انتخاب کا پروگرام لے کر آئے۔ بعض علاقوں میں مسلمانوں کے لیے یہ تحفظات کانگریس کے لیے ناقابل برداشت تھے۔ کانگریس کی ہندو اکثریت قومیت کے لبادے میں ہندوؤں کی برتری کا خواب دیکھ رہی تھی۔ چنانچہ ۱۹۳۰ء کے اجلاس میں مسلم لیگ نے صوبوں کو مذہبی اور دیگر متعلقہ مسائل کی روشنی میں از سر نو تقسیم کرنے اور مسلم اکثریت کے بعض علاقوں کو ہندو اکثریت کے صوبوں سے جدا کرنے کی تجاویز منظور کیں۔ علامہ اقبال کا خطبہ جو اس موقع پر دیا گیا سیاسی سطح پر اس بات کا پہلا اقرار ہے کہ ہندوستان ایک ملک نہیں بلکہ بر صغیر ہے۔ اس نتیجے کا شعور بہت دور رس نتائج کا حامل تھا۔ مسلمانوں کے وطنی تصور کی بنیاد قومیت یا نسلی و علاقائی تعصبات پر نہیں مذہب پر ہے۔ اس لحاظ سے مسلمانوں کی حب الوطنی ارضی اور مادی نہیں بلکہ دینی احکامات اور معتقدات کی بجا آوری کے لیے وطنی تشخص پر منحصر ہے۔ بصورت دیگر خود وطن پرستی مسلمانوں کے نزدیک بت پرستی ہی کا دوسرا نام ہے۔ ۲۱ مارچ ۱۹۳۲ء کے خطبہ صدارت میں علامہ اقبال نے وطن سے محبت کے جذبے کی ملی اساس کو بیان کیا ہے اور حب الوطنی کے جائز حدود کا تعین کیا ہے :

Patriotism is a perfectly natural virtue and has a place in the moral life of man. Yet that which really matters is a man's faith, his culture, his historical tradition. These are the things which in my eyes are worth living for and worth dying for; and not the piece of earth with which the spirit of

کے خلاف اور ہندی مسلمانوں کی حمایت میں افغانستان کے ہندوستان پر حملہ آور ہونے کے شبہات کا اظہار ۱۹۳۰ء کے گرد و پیش اکٹو کیا کرتے تھے۔ ان حالات میں پنجاب، سرحد، بلوچستان اور سندھ کی وحدت کے قیام کا ہلکا سا اشارہ (اور خطبہ الہ آباد میں مستقبل کی اس امکانی صورت پر بھی اظہار رائے کیا گیا تھا) ہندوؤں کے لیے بڑی تشویش کا باعث ہو گیا۔

ہندوؤں کو ڈر تھا کہ اگر یہ علاقہ ایک آزاد یا نیم آزاد شکل اختیار کرتا ہے تو ہندوستان کی سرحد کمزور ہو جائے گی۔ اگر ان علاقوں کے مسلمان کسی وقت کسی دوسرے اسلامی ملک سے اتحاد کر لیتے ہیں تو ہندوستان کے لیے یہ بہت بڑا خطرہ ہوگا۔ یہ اندیشے ہندو لیڈروں نے پھیلائے اور اقبال کے خطبے کو نشانہ بنایا گیا۔ ہندو سیاست دانوں نے بڑی چالاکی سے خطبے کے بعض حصوں کو سیاق سے جدا کر کے صرف دو نتیجے اخذ کر لیے:

(الف) یہ خطبہ پین اسلام ازم کی بنیاد ہے۔

(ب) اس خطبے سے ہندوؤں کی پوزیشن غیر محفوظ ہوتی ہے۔

اقبال گوں میز کانفرنس (۱۹۳۱ء) پر گئے تو بمبے کرانیکل کے نامہ نگار نے ان کا انٹرویو لیا۔ اس میں ایک سوال پین اسلام ازم کے بارے میں ہے۔ سوال اور اس کا جواب ذیل میں درج ہے:

Q. What is your conception of Pan-Islamism ?

A. The term Pan-Islamism has been used in two senses. As far as I know, it was coined by a French Journalist and in the sense in which he used that term, Pan-Islamism existed nowhere except in his own

جداگانہ ملک کے لیے جدوجہد کو مسلمانوں کے مسائل کا آخری حل قرار دینے لگے۔ مسلمانوں کو تو یہ وطن اس لیے درکار تھا کہ وہ وہاں اپنے معتقدات کے لیے حفاظت کا سامان فراہم کر سکیں۔

خطبہ الہ آباد (۱۹۳۰ء) کو ہدف تنقید بنایا گیا۔ الگ مملکت کے تصور کو برطانیہ اور ہندو اکثریت کے خلاف سازش کہا گیا۔ اس کے لیے ملامت کی اصطلاح ”پین اسلام ازم“ تھی۔ مخالفین کے پاس اس کا جواز یہ تھا کہ اقبال فکری سطح پر جمال الدین افغانی کے افکار کی توصیف اشعار میں کر چکے تھے۔ خطبہ الہ آباد میں الگ ملک کے تصور کی طرف اشارہ موجود تھا۔ اگر پنجاب، سرحد، بلوچستان اور سندھ کو ملا کر ایک سلطنت وفاق کے اندر یا باہر وجود میں آتی ہے تو ہندوؤں کی زبان میں یہ تو یورپ سے لے کر ہند تک مسلمان ممالک کا ایک مربوط سلسلہ بن جاتا ہے اور اس کو ہندو کبھی پسند نہیں کر سکتے تھے۔ اقبال پہلی جنگ عظیم کے بعد مسلمان ممالک کی دفاعی پوزیشن کے بارے میں ”مشترک سیاسی اتحاد“ کے امکان پر بھی توجہ کر چکے تھے۔

”خضرراہ“ (۱۹۳۱ء) میں فرماتے ہیں:

ایک ہوں مسلم حرم کی پاسبانی کے لیے

نیل کے ساحل سے لے کر تابخاک کا شجر

(بانگ درا ص ۳۰۱)

ہندو سیاست دان (اور ان میں بعض کانگریسی اکابر بھی شامل ہیں) ہندوستان

imagination. I think the French Journalist meant to give shape to a danger which he fancied was existing in the world of Islam. The phrase was invented after the fashion of the expression "Yellow Peril", in order to justify European aggression in Islamic countries.

Later on, I think the expression Pan-Islamism was taken to mean a kind of intrigue, the centre of which was Constantinople. The Muslims of the world were understood to be planning a kind of union of all the Muslim States against the European States. The late Professor Browne of the Cambridge University has, I think, conclusively proved that Pan-Islamism in that sense never existed in Constantinople or any where else.

There is, however, a sense in which Jamal-ud-Din Afghani used it. I do not know if he used the same expression, but he actually advised Afghanistan, Persia and Turkey to unite against the aggression of Europe. This was purely a defensive measure, and I personally think that Jamal-ud-Din was perfectly right in his view.

But there is another sense in which the word should be used and it does contain the teaching of the Quran. In that sense it is not a political project but a social experiment. Islam does not recognise caste or race or colour. In fact Islam is the one outlook on life which has really solved the colour question, at least in the Muslim world, a question which modern European civilization with all its achievements in Science and Philosophy has not been able to solve. Pan-Islamism, thus interpreted, was taught by the Prophet and will live for ever. In this sense Pan-Islamism is only Pan-Humanism. In this sense every Muslim is a Pan-Islamist and ought to be so. Indeed the word Pan ought to be dropped from the phrase, Pan-Islamism, for Islamism is an expression which completely covers the meaning I have mentioned above.

(Iqbal's interview to the Bombay Chronicle, Sept. Dec. 1931—Letters and Writings of Iqbal, pp. 55—57)

ہندوؤں کی طرف سے غیر محفوظ سرحد کا تصور بھی خوب خوب اچھلا

گیا۔ پنڈت جواہر لال نہرو نے ایڈورڈ ٹامسن کے بیانات کو اپنی کتاب Discovery of India میں بڑی اہمیت دی ہے۔ یہی بزرگ ہندوؤں کو یہ خوف دلاتے ہیں کہ اگر ہندوستان کے شمالی حصے الگ وحدت بن گئے تو ہندوستان کی سرحد کا کیا ہوگا؟ اس مقصد کے لیے ڈاکٹر ٹامسن نے خطبہ الہ آباد کے متذکرہ حصے کو سیاق و سباق سے الگ کر کے ٹائمز لندن کو خط لکھا۔ اس کے جواب میں علامہ اقبال نے دس اکتوبر ۱۹۳۱ء کو ٹائمز ہی میں تحریر کیا:

May I tell Dr. Thompson, 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 Indian sub-continent. No Indian Muslim 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-organised Muslim provinces on the North-West Frontier of India would be the bulwork of India and of the British Empire against the hungry generations of the Asiatic high lands.

(Oct. 10, 1931—Letter to Times London, Letters and Writings of Iqbal, pp. 119-120)

کانگریس کا یہ واویلا ایک طرف اور گول میز کانفرنس دوسری طرف ہندو مسلم اتحاد کو ضعیف کر رہا تھا۔ اس فضا میں مسلمان رہنماؤں کی

راولہ ٹیبل کانفرنس میں شرکت ہندو مسلم مسئلے کے حل کی آخری کوشش تھی جو ناکام ہو گئی۔ مسلمانوں کا مطالبہ تھا کہ مسلم اکثریت والے صوبوں کی مناسب حد بندی، مسلمانوں میں اقلیتی صوبوں میں مناسب تحفظات اور مرکز میں ہندو اکثریت کی چند سری حکومت (Oligarchy) سے بچاؤ کے لیے ۳۳ فیصد نمائندگی کا حق دیا جائے۔ یہ تھے مسلم مطالبات۔ کانفرنس ناکام ہو گئی؛ ایک تو اس لیے کہ خود مسلمان نمائندوں میں باہمی اتحاد کی کمی اور ایک دوسرے سے بدگمانی تھی، دوسرے کانگریس نے مسلمانوں کا ڈٹ کر مقابلہ کیا تھا۔ کانفرنس ناکام ہو گئی۔ علامہ اقبال کی نظر میں ہندو مسلم مصالحت کی یہ ناکام کوشش اس بات کا اعتراف ہے کہ آئندہ ہندو اور مسلمان کسی فارمولے پر راضی نہیں ہو سکتے۔ اب اس کے سوا کوئی چارہ کار نہ تھا کہ مسلمان اپنے لیے جداگانہ ملک کا مطالبہ کریں۔ وحدت میں کثرت کی بقا کے فلسفیانہ امکانات ہندو اکثریت کے رویے نے ختم کر دیے تھے۔ علامہ نے اپنے اس موقف کو کھلے الفاظ میں ۱۵ دسمبر ۱۹۳۲ء کو نیشنل لیگ لندن کے ایک جلسے میں بیان کر دیا۔ متذکرہ اقتباس یہ ہے :

The Principle that underlies the demands made by the Muslims of India is very simple and cannot fail to appeal to the British people. As you know the population of the Mussalmans of India is over 70,000,000. Half of this population is scattered all over the country. The major portion, however, of this population is comparatively compact, especially in the Provinces which constitute the large West Indian quarter. In Bengal the population of the Mussalmans is about 50%, in Sind it is about 73%, in the Frontier Provinces it is about 95%.

Now, the point of Muslims of India is that, as a people representing a distinct historical tradition and homogeneity, which is not possessed by any other community in India, as such people they want to live their own lives, and develop on their own cultural lines. This is the principle that underlies the demands made by them....

Now these concrete demands are, in the first place, separate electorates, in the second place, majority in those provinces at least in which we happen to be in majority, and we claim as a demand, that is to say, a national demand, for immediate Provincial Autonomy. Again we demand the separation of Sind (from the province of Bombay). We demand equal status for the Frontier Province and, further, we demand introduction of reforms in Baluchistan. We further demand 33% in both Houses, Upper and Lower, in order to safeguard our interests in the Centre.... Now, these are a few of the important demands which I have placed before the Round Table Conference. On account of these demands our countrymen say we are Pan-Islamic and not patriotic enough and they also say that we are communalistic. Now with regard to Communalism and Pan-Islamism I want to say a few words to you. Now if a man belongs to a cultural community, he feels that it is his duty to protect that culture. In that case I appeal to you whether you will look upon such a man as unpatriotic. I think it is the duty of every Briton to protect his country if his country is in danger. In the same way it is the duty of every Mussalman to protect his Culture, his Faith, if he finds that things due to him as not safeguarded. After all, it is a man's faith, his culture, his tradition, which are worth living for and dying for.

Four or five years ago (?) as President of the All-India Muslim League, I suggested as a possible solution the formation of a large West Indian Muslim State. While this suggestion of mine was not embodied in the demand of the Muslims of India, my personal opinion still is that this is the only possible solution. I wait until experience reveals the wisdom or unwisdom of this suggestion.

Islam does not recognise the differences of race, of caste or even

سوشلسٹ خیالات کی وجہ سے بہت نام پیدا کر رہے تھے۔ ان کے زیر اثر خود کانگریس کے اندر ایک سوشلسٹ طبقہ وجود میں آچکا تھا۔ کانگریس کی یہ تنظیم نو مسلمانوں کی سیاسی زندگی کے لیے نئے چیلنج کی حیثیت رکھتی تھی۔ اسی زمانے میں علامہ اقبال اور نہرو کے درمیان وہ تحریری مذاکرہ ہوا جو Islam and Ahmadiism کے نام سے کتابچے کی صورت میں بھی شائع ہوا۔ یہ کتابچہ اپنے بنیادی موضوع سے قطع نظر، اقبال کے وطنی تصور کو سمجھنے میں بڑی مدد دیتا ہے۔ پنڈت نہرو نے جو مسائل اٹھائے تھے ان میں ہندی مسلمانوں کا دوسرے مسلمان ممالک سے تعلق، مسلمان ملکوں کے باہمی تعلقات اور اسلامی ممالک میں مغربی قومیت کے فروغ سے پیدا ہونے والی صورت حال زیر بحث آئی تھی۔ علامہ اقبال نے ان مسائل کا جو جواب دیا اس کا خلاصہ یہ ہے :

(۱) اگر قومیت کے معنی حب الوطنی یا ناموس وطن کے لیے جان قربان کرنے کے ہیں، تو یہ اسلام کے خلاف نہیں ہے۔ قومیت کا اسلام سے اس وقت تصادم ہوتا ہے جب وہ ایک سیاسی تصور بن جاتی ہے اور اتحاد انسانی کا بنیادی اصول ہونے کا دعویٰ کرتی ہے اور یہ مطالبہ کرتی ہے کہ اسلام شخصی عقیدے کے پس منظر میں چلا جائے اور قومی زندگی میں ایک حیات بخش عنصر کی حیثیت سے باقی نہ رہے۔

(حرف اقبال ص ۱۷۳)

(۲) ترکی میں اتاترک اتحاد تورانیت سے متاثر ہے، لیکن وہ روح اسلام

of sex. It is above time and above space, and it is in this sense that mankind are accepted as brothers.

We are 80,000,000 in India and we want to protect our own culture, our own historical tradition.

(Iqbal's speech delivered on Dec. 15, 1932 before the National League, London, Letters and Writings of Iqbal, pp. 70, 71, 72, 74, 75, 76.)

دسمبر ۱۹۳۲ء تک علامہ اقبال اس نتیجے پر پہنچ چکے تھے کہ اب الگ مطالبہ ملک کے سوا کوئی حل نہیں رہا۔ یہ نیا ملک کس انداز کا ہونا چاہیے؟ اس کا نقشہ علامہ اقبال کی نظر میں کیا تھا؟ ۱۹۳۲ء سے وفات تک وہ اسی نقشے میں رنگ بھرتے رہے۔

(۸)

۱۹۳۴ء میں علامہ اقبال عملی سیاسیات سے کنارہ کش ہو گئے۔ جنوری میں علیل ہوئے اور آواز بیٹھ گئی، مئی ۱۹۳۵ء میں اہلیہ کا انتقال ہوا، ۱۹۳۶ء میں صحت زیادہ خراب ہونے لگی۔ وفات تک وہ گونا گوں امراض کا شکار رہے۔ اس کے باوجود ان کی علمی سرگرمیاں جاری رہیں۔ اس زمانے میں اسلامی فقہ کی تدوین جدید کا خیال انہیں بہت دامن گیر تھا اور وہ فقہی مسائل کی چھان بین میں لگے رہے۔ اس عمیق مطالعے کا نتیجہ یہ تھا کہ وطن کے اسلامی تصور اور اسلامی مملکت کے قیام سے متعلق مسائل ان کے خصوصی مطالعے کا محور بنتے چلے گئے۔ عملی سیاست سے کنارہ کشی نے انہیں ان مسائل کے فکری پہلوؤں کی طرف زیادہ متوجہ کر دیا۔ یہی وہ زمانہ ہے جب کانگریس کے افق پر پنڈت جواہر لال نہرو

خود معناری حاصل کی جائے حق بجانب ہوگی۔ دونوں صورتیں اسلام کے بالکل مطابق ہیں۔

(حرف اقبال ص ۱۷۳)

دور جدید کے اسلامی ممالک کی تاریخ پر غور کرتے ہوئے علامہ اقبال نے قومیت کے مسئلے کا اسلامی جواب دریافت کیا۔ ان مسائل کے پیچھے ایک قوی محرک یہ عنصر ہے کہ مذہب اور سیاست، مذہب اور معاشرت، مذہب اور زندگی کے دوسرے مظاہر ایک ہیں۔ سماجی اور سیاسی زندگی کے جملہ عناصر، مذہب کی لولہ کی حیثیت رکھتے ہیں اور اکثریت والے مسلمان ملک میں اس کا امکان نہیں کہ سیاست اور مذہب کو مغرب کی پیروی میں جدا کر دیا جائے گا۔ اقبال کے نزدیک وہ حب الوطنی پسندیدہ ہے، جو مادی سطح سے ابھر کر اصول و عقائد کی سطح تک چلی جائے۔

وطن کے بارے میں علامہ اقبال کے نظریات فقہ اسلامی کے مطالعے کے ساتھ ساتھ گہرے ہوتے چلے گئے اور انہوں نے ایک بار پھر وطن کے تصور کو سیاسی سیاق و سباق سے الگ مذہبی اور تہذیبی زاویے سے دیکھنا شروع کر دیا۔ ۱۹۳۵ء میں پنڈت جواہر لال نہرو کو جواب دیتے ہوئے ان کے حوالے بیشتر سیاسی تھے، لیکن ۱۹۳۸ء میں مولانا حسین احمد مدنی کو جواب دیتے ہوئے وہ اس مسئلے کے دینی اور فقہی پہلو کی طرف زیادہ مائل ہیں۔ وہ آخر عمر میں بڑے اعتماد کے ساتھ اس خیال کے حامی ہو چکے تھے کہ مسلمانوں کے اپنے اعتقادات کی حفاظت، اپنے کلیچر

کے خلاف اس قدر نہیں جا رہا جس قدر کہ روح عصر کے خلاف۔ اگر وہ نسلوں کے وجود کو ضروری سمجھتا ہے تو اس کو عصر جدید کی روح شکست دے دے گی؛ کیونکہ عصر جدید کی روح اسلام کے مطابق ہے۔ میرا ذاتی خیال یہ ہے کہ اتاترک اتحاد تورانیت سے متاثر نہیں، میرا یقین ہے کہ اس کا اتحاد تورانیت ایک سیاسی جواب ہے، اتحاد اسلاف یا المانوی اتحاد یا اینگلو سیکسن اتحاد کے خلاف۔

(حرف اقبال ص ۱۷۲)

(۳) ترکی، ایران، مصر اور دوسرے اسلامی ممالک میں قومیت کا مسئلہ پیدا ہی نہیں ہو سکتا، ان ممالک میں مسلمانوں کی زبردست اکثریت ہے۔ اور یہاں کی اقلیتیں، یہودی، عیسائی، زرتشتی، اسلامی قانون کی رو سے یا تو اہل کتاب ہیں یا اہل کتاب سے مشابہ ہیں، جن سے معاشی اور ازدواجی تعلقات قائم کرنا جائز ہے۔

(حرف اقبال ص ۱۷۳)

(۴) قومیت کا مسئلہ مسلمانوں کے لیے ان ممالک میں پیدا ہوتا ہے جہاں وہ اقلیت میں ہیں اور جہاں قومیت کے مغربی تصور کا یہ تقاضا ہے کہ مسلمان اپنی ہستی کو مٹا دیں۔ جن ممالک میں مسلمان اکثریت میں ہیں، اسلام قومیت سے ہم آہنگی پیدا کر لیتا ہے۔ کیونکہ یہاں اسلام اور قومیت عملاً ایک ہی چیز ہیں۔ جن ممالک میں مسلمان اقلیت میں ہیں، مسلمانوں کی یہ کوشش کہ ایک تہذیبی وحدت کی حیثیت سے

اور تاریخی روایت کی حفاظت کے لیے الگ ملک کا مطالبہ اشد ضروری ہے ۔ اسی مقصد کے حصول کے لیے انہوں نے ۱۹۳۶ء میں علالت اور پریشانیوں کے باوجود دوبارہ سیاسی زندگی میں قدم رکھا اور پنجاب مسلم لیگ کو منظم کرنے کی ٹھانی ۔ ۱۹۳۵ء کے ایکٹ کو جب ۱۹۳۷ء میں سیاسی طور پر آزمانے کا موقع آیا تو علامہ اقبال نے قائد اعظم محمد علی جناح کی قیادت کو مسلمانوں کی رہنمائی کا قطعی وسیلہ قرار دیتے ہوئے ان کی عظمت کو تسلیم کر لیا ۔ اقبال نے ان کے نام کئی خط لکھے جن میں مطالبہ پاکستان اور اس کی اسلامی صورت کو متعین کرنے کی کوشش کی ۔ ان خطوط میں ۲۰ مارچ ۱۹۳۷ء اور ۲۶ مئی ۱۹۳۷ء کے خطوط بہت اہم ہیں ، کیونکہ اس سے مطالبہ پاکستان کی دینی، مذہبی، تہذیبی اور کلچرل بنیاد کا تعین ہوتا ہے ۔ پنڈت جواہر لال نہرو کے بیانات اور سوشلزم کی تبلیغ کے مقابلے میں علامہ اقبال نے حصول پاکستان کے لیے ایک مثبت پروگرام کی تشکیل کی ۔ جس میں اقتصادی مسائل کی حیثیت مذہبی مسائل کے مقابلے میں ثانوی تھی ۔ انہوں نے تمام سماجی، اقتصادی اور دیگر مسائل کا حل فقہ اسلام کی تدوین جدید میں دریافت کیا ۔ علامہ اقبال کے شرعی قوانین میں غور و فکر کے نتیجے میں پاکستان کا یہ خاکہ مرتب ہوا اور وطن کے بارے میں ان کے نظریات کی جامع شکل کا نقطہ عروج بھی یہی ہے ۔ متعلقہ خطوط کے ضروری اقتباس یہ ہیں :

To this convention (in Delhi) you must re-state as clearly and as strongly as possible the political objective of the Indian Muslims as a distinct political

unit in the country. It is absolutely necessary to tell the world both inside and outside India that the economic problem is not the only problem in the country (as pointed out by Mr. Nehru). From the Muslim point of view the cultural problem is of much greater consequence to most Indian Muslims. At any rate it is not less important than the economic problem.

(20th March, 1937, Iqbal's Letters to Jinnah, p. 12)

The League will have to finally decide whether it will remain a body representing the upper classes of Indian Muslims or Muslim masses who have so far, with good reason, taken no interest in it. Personally I believe that a political organization which gives no promise of improving the lot of the average Muslim cannot attract our masses.

Under the new constitution (of 1935) the higher posts go to the upper classes; the smaller ones to the friends or relatives of the ministers. In other matters too our political institutions have never thought of improving the lot of Muslims generally. The problem of bread is becoming more and more active. The Muslim has begun to feel that he has been going down and down during the last 200 years. Ordinarily he believes that his poverty is due to Hindu money-lending or capitalism. The preception that it is equally due to foreign rule has not yet fully come to him. But it is bound to come. The atheistic socialism of Jawaharlal is not likely to receive much response from the Muslims. The question therefore is : how is it possible to solve the problem of Muslim poverty? And the whole future of the League depends on the League's activity to solve this question. If the League can give no such promises I am sure the Muslim masses will remain indifferent to it as before. Happily there is a solution in the enforcement of the Law of Islam and its future 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 least the right to subsistence is secured to every body. But the enforcement and development of the Shariat 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 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 sometime in the shape of Hindu-Muslim riots. I fear that in certain parts of the country, e.g. N.W. India, Palestine may be repeated. Also the insertion of Jawaharlal's socialism into the body-politic of Hinduism is likely to cause much bloodshed among the Hindus themselves. 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. The modern problems therefore are far more easy to solve for the Muslims than for the Hindus. 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. Don't you think that the time for such a demand has already arrived? Perhaps, this is the best reply you can give to the atheistic socialism of Jawaharlal Nehru.

(26th May, 1937, Iqbal's Letters to Jinnah, pp. 15-18)

(۹)

مارچ ۱۹۳۸ء میں علامہ اقبال کے وطنی تصورات کا مذہبی رخ ایک بار پھر سامنے آتا ہے۔ مولانا حسین احمد مدنی نے اپنی ایک تقریر میں یہ کہا کہ قومیں اوطان سے بنتی ہیں اور مسلمانوں کو کانگریس کے ساتھ مشترکہ جد و جہد کا پیغام دیا۔ اس پر علامہ اقبال نے یہ شعر کہے :

عجم هنوز نداند رموز دین ورنہ !
زدیوبند حسین احمدؑ این چہ بوالعجبی است

سردو برسر منبر کہ ملت از وطن است
چہ بے خبر ز مقام محمد عربی است
بمبطنے بوساں خویش را کہ دین همه اوست
اگر باو نرسیابی تمام بولمہبی است

(ارمغان حجاز ص ۲۷۸)

اس پر بحث چل نکلی اور دونوں بزرگوں کے درمیان تحریری تبادلہ خیال بھی ہوا جسے نظریہ قومیت کے نام سے مولانا طالوت نے کتب خانہ صدیقیہ ڈیرہ غازی خان سے شائع کر دیا۔ اس میں علامہ کی ایک تحریر درج نہیں ہے لیکن وہ حرف اقبال میں ۹ مارچ ۱۹۳۸ء کے بیان کے طور پر محفوظ ہے۔ ۲۸ مارچ کو اس بحث کا خاتمہ ہوا۔ علامہ اقبال کے آخری بیان کا خلاصہ یہ ہے کہ مولانا حسین احمد مدنی نے فرمایا کہ میں نے مسلمانوں کو وطنی قومیت قبول کرنے کا مشورہ نہیں دیا، علامہ اقبال نے لکھا کہ مجھے اس اعتراف کے بعد ان پر اعتراض کا کوئی حق نہیں رہتا۔ یہ بحث اس لحاظ سے بڑی اہمیت رکھتی ہے کہ علامہ اقبال نے اس کے سیاسی مضمرات کے علاوہ قرآن پاک کے مطالعے سے بعض ایسے نئے نتائج اخذ کیے جو ان کی تحریروں میں اس سے پہلے نہیں پائے جاتے۔ قومیت کے مغربی تصور کے بارے میں انہوں نے ۹ مارچ ۱۹۳۸ء کو روزنامہ احسان میں جو بیان دیا اس کا ضروری حصہ پیش کیا جاتا ہے :

”مولانا کا یہ ارشاد کہ ’اقوام اوطان سے بنتی ہیں، قابل اعتراض

مولانا حسین احمد صاحب سے بہتر اس بات کو کون جانتا ہے کہ کہ سلامِ ہئیت اجتماعیہ انسانیہ کے اصول کی حیثیت میں کوئی لچک اپنے اندر نہیں رکھتا اور ہئیت اجتماعیہ انسانیہ کے کسی اور آئین سے کسی قسم کا راضی نامہ یا سمجھوتا کرنے کو تیار نہیں، بلکہ اس امر کا اعلان کرتا ہے کہ ہر دستور العمل جو غیر اسلام ہو، نامعقول اور مردود ہے۔ اس کلیہ سے بعض سیاسی مباحث پیدا ہوتے ہیں، جن کا ہندوستان سے خاص تعلق ہے؛ مثلاً یہ کہ کیا مسلمان اور قوموں کے ساتھ مل کر نہیں رہ سکتے یا ہندوستان کی مختلف قومیں یا اقلیتیں ملکی اغراض کے لیے متحد نہیں ہو سکتیں وغیرہ؛ لیکن چونکہ میرا مقصد اس وقت صرف مولانا حسین احمد صاحب کے قول کے ذہنی پہلو کی تنقید ہے؛ اس لیے ان مباحث کو نظر انداز کرنے پر مجبور ہوں۔“

(حرف اقبال ص ۲۴۹)

وطن کے بارے میں ان حقائق کی قرآنی بنیاد اقبال نے اس سے پہلے رموزِ بیخودی اور پیامِ مشرق وغیرہ میں بھی دی تھی اور نثر میں بھی اس کا اظہار کیا ہے، لیکن اس بحث کے دوران میں اب ایک نیا زاویہ ان کے سامنے آیا۔ وہ یہ ہے کہ ہدایت یافتہ گروہ کے لیے قرآن میں ہر جگہ 'ملت' کا لفظ استعمال ہوا ہے اور غیر ہدایت یافتہ گروہ کے لیے قوم کا لفظ آیا ہے۔ قرآن پاک کی روشنی میں قوم اور ملت کا جو فرق علامہ اقبال نے بیان کیا ہے وہ انہیں کے الفاظ میں درج کیا جاتا ہے :

نہیں اس لیے کہ قدیم الایام سے 'اقوام'، 'اوطان' کی طرف اور 'اوطان'، 'اقوام' کی طرف منسوب ہوتے چلے آئے ہیں۔ ہم سب ہندی ہیں اور ہندی کہلاتے ہیں۔ ہم سب کرۂ ارض کے اس حصے میں بود و باش رکھتے ہیں، جو ہند کے نام سے موسوم ہے۔ علیٰ هذا القیاس، چینی، عربی، جاپانی، ایرانی وغیرہ۔ وطن کا لفظ جو اس قول میں مستعمل ہوا ہے محض ایک جغرافیائی اصطلاح ہے، اور اس حیثیت سے اسلام سے متصادم نہیں ہوتا۔ اس کے حدود آج کچھ اور ہیں اور کل کچھ اور۔ کل تک اہل برما ہندوستانی تھے اور آج برمی ہیں۔ ان معنوں میں ہر انسان فطری طور پر اپنے جنم بھوم سے محبت رکھتا ہے اور بقدر اپنی بساط کے اس کے لیے قربانی کرنے کو تیار رہتا ہے۔ بعض نادان لوگ اس کی تائید میں حب الوطن فی الایمان کا مقولہ حدیث سمجھ کر پیش کرتے ہیں، حالانکہ اس کی کوئی ضرورت نہیں؛ کیونکہ وطن کی محبت انسان کا ایک فطری جذبہ ہے، جس کی پرورش کے لیے اثرات کی کچھ ضرورت نہیں۔ مگر زمانہ حال کے سیاسی لٹریچر میں 'وطن' کا مفہوم محض جغرافیائی نہیں بلکہ وطن ایک اصول ہے۔ ہئیت اجتماعیہ انسانیہ کا اور اس اعتبار سے ایک سیاسی تصور ہے۔ چونکہ اسلام بھی ہئیت اجتماعیہ انسانیہ کا ایک قانون ہے اس لیے جب لفظ 'وطن' کو ایک سیاسی تصور کے طور پر استعمال کیا جائے تو وہ اسلام سے متصادم ہو رہا ہے۔

دونوں سے منسوب ہو سکتے ہیں: مثلاً جہاں قوم موسیٰ تھی وہاں قوم فرعون بھی تھی۔ وَقَالَ الْمَلَأُ مِنْ قَوْمِ فِرْعَوْنَ اتَذَرُ مُوسَى وَقَوْمَهُ لِيَكُنْ هَرِّمَقَامٍ پَر جہاں قوم کہا گیا وہاں وہ گروہ عبارت تھا جو ابھی ہدایت یافتہ اور غیر ہدایت یافتہ سب افراد پر مشتمل تھا۔ جو افراد پیغمبر کی متابعت میں آتے گئے توحید تسلیم کرتے گئے وہ اس پیغمبر کی ملت میں آ گئے اس کے دین میں آ گئے؛ یا واضح تر معنوں میں مسلم ہو گئے۔ یاد رہے کہ دین اور ملت کفار کی بھی ہو سکتی ہے اِنِّیْ تَرَكْتُ مِلَّةَ قَوْمٍ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللّٰهِ ایک قوم کی ایک ملت یا اس کا منہاج تو ہو سکتا ہے لیکن ملت کی قوم کہیں نہیں آیا۔ اس کا مفہوم یہ ہے کہ خدا نے قرآن میں ایسے افراد کو جو مختلف اقوام و ملل سے نکل کر ملت ابراہیمی میں داخل ہو گئے ان کو داخل ہونے کے بعد لفظ قوم سے تعبیر نہیں کیا، بلکہ امت کے لفظ سے۔ ان گزارشات سے میرا مقصد یہ ہے کہ جہاں تک میں دیکھ سکا ہوں قرآن کریم میں مسلمانوں کے لیے امت کے علاوہ اور کوئی لفظ نہیں آیا۔ اگر کہیں آیا ہو تو ارشاد فرمائیے۔ قوم رجال کی جماعت کا نام ہے اور یہ جماعت بہ اعتبار قبیلہ، نسل، رنگ، زبان، وطن اور اخلاق ہزار جگہ اور ہزار رنگ میں پیدا ہو سکتی ہے؛ لیکن ملت سب جماعتوں کو تراش کر ایک نیا اور مشترک

”جہاں تک میں سمجھ سکا ہوں قرآن حکیم میں جہاں جہاں ’اتباع‘ و شرکت کی دعوت ہے وہاں صرف لفظ ملت یا امت وارد ہوتا ہے۔ کسی خاص قوم کے اتباع یا اس میں شرکت کی دعوت نہیں؛ مثلاً ارشاد ہوتا ہے وَمَنْ أَحْسَنُ دِينًا مِّمَّنْ أَسْلَمَ وَجْهَهُ لِلّٰهِ وَهُوَ مُحْسِنٌ وَاتَّبَعَ مِلَّةَ اِبْرٰهِيْمَ حَنِيفًا... وَاتَّبَعْتُ مِلَّةَ اَبٰئِيْ اِبْرٰهِيْمَ... فَاتَّبِعُوا مِلَّةَ اِبْرٰهِيْمَ حَنِيفًا اور یہ اتباع و اطاعت کی دعوت اس لیے ہے کہ ملت نام ہے ایک دین کا ایک شرع و منہاج کا۔ قوم چونکہ کوئی شرع و دین نہیں، اس لیے اس کی طرف دعوت اور اس سے تمسک کی ترغیب عبث تھی۔ کوئی گروہ ہو، خواہ وہ قبیلہ کا ہو، نسل کا ہو، ڈاکوؤں کا ہو، تاجروں کا ہو، ایک شہر والوں کا ہو، جغرافیائی اعتبار سے ایک ملک یا وطن والوں کا ہو۔ وہ محض گروہ ہے رجال کا یا انسانوں کا۔ وحی الہی یا نبی کے نقطہ خیال سے ابھی وہ گروہ ہدایت یافتہ نہیں ہوتا۔ اگر وحی یا نبی اس گروہ میں آئے تو وہ اس کا پہلا مخاطب ہوتا ہے، اس لیے اس کی طرف منسوب بھی ہوتا ہے؛ مثلاً قوم نوح، قوم موسیٰ، قوم لوط؛ لیکن اگر اسی گروہ کا مقتدا کوئی بادشاہ یا سردار ہو تو وہ اس کی طرف بھی منسوب ہوگا، مثلاً قوم عاد، قوم فرعون؛ اگر ایک ملک میں دو گروہ اکٹھے ہو جاویں اور اگر وہ متضاد قسم کے رہنماؤں کے گروہ ہوں تو وہ

امتِ مسلمہ جس دین کی حامل ہے اس کا نام دینِ قیم ہے۔ دینِ قیم کے الفاظ میں عجیب و غریب لطیفہ قرآنی مخفی ہے اور وہ یہ کہ صرف دین ہی مقوم ہے اس گروہ کے امور معاشی اور معادی کا، جو اپنی انفرادی اور اجتماعی زندگی اس کے نظام کے سپرد کر دے۔ بالفاظ دیگر یہ کہ قرآن کی رو سے حقیقی تمدنی یا سیاسی معنوں میں قوم، دینِ اسلام ہی سے تقویم پاتی ہے۔ یہی وجہ ہے کہ قرآن صاف صاف اس حقیقت کا اعلان کرتا ہے کہ کوئی دستور العمل جو غیر اسلامی ہو نامقبول و مردود ہے۔“

(حرفِ اقبال ص ۲۵۷ تا ۲۶۰)۔

یہاں یہ عرض کرنا بے موقع نہ ہوگا کہ علامہ اقبال نے شاعری میں قوم اور ملت کے الفاظ متبادل طور پر استعمال کیے ہیں اور اس امتیاز کو پیش نظر نہیں رکھا جو آخر عمر میں ان پر منکشف ہوا۔ اس لحاظ سے علامہ اقبال کے تصورِ وطن کو سمجھنے کے لیے کسی قدر غلطی کا امکان ہے۔ اگر تلاش کرنے والا ان کے نظریات کو صرف اشعار کی روشنی میں تلاش کرے تو وہ ٹھوکر کھائے گا۔ نظریہ وطن کے سلسلے میں اقبال کے تصورات کو ان کے اردو کلام، فارسی کلام، خطوط، تقاریر اور بیانات کی روشنی میں دیکھنا چاہیے جب یہ تصور ایک کل کے طور پر سامنے آئے گا۔ صرف شاعری سے ایک ادھورا نقشہ بنتا ہے حالانکہ علامہ اقبال نے

گروہ بنائے گی۔ گویا ملت یا امت جاذب ہے اقوام کی، خود ان میں جذب نہیں ہو سکتی۔ عہد حاضر کے ہندوستان کے علماء کو حالاتِ زمانہ نے وہ باتیں کرنے اور دین کی ایسی تاویلیں کرنے پر مجبور کر دیا ہے جو قرآن یا نبی امی کا منشا ہرگز نہ ہو سکتی تھیں۔ کون نہیں جانتا کہ حضرت ابراہیم سب سے پہلے پیغمبر تھے جن کی وحی میں قوموں، نسلوں اور وطنوں کو بالائے طاق رکھا گیا۔ بنی نوع آدم کی صرف ایک تقسیم کی گئی؛ موحد و مشرک۔ اس وقت سے لے کر دو ہی ملتیں دنیا میں ہیں تیسری کوئی ملت نہیں۔ کعبۃ اللہ کے محافظ آج دعوتِ ابراہیمی اور دعوتِ اسمعیلی سے غافل ہو گئے۔ قوم اور قومیت کی ردا اوڑھنے والوں کو اس ملت کے بانیوں کی وہ دعا یاد نہ آئی جو اللہ کے گھر کی بنیاد رکھتے وقت ان دونوں پیغمبروں نے کی: **وَإِذْ يَرْفَعُ إِبْرَاهِيمُ الْقَوَاعِدَ مِنَ الْبَيْتِ وَإِسْمَاعِيلُ رَبَّنَا تَقَبَّلْ مِنَّا إِنَّكَ أَنْتَ السَّمِيعُ الْعَلِيمُ رَبَّنَا وَاجْعَلْنَا مُسْلِمِينَ لَكَ وَمِنْ ذُرِّيَّتِنَا أُمَّةٌ مُسْلِمَةٌ لَكَ** کیا خدا کی بارگاہ سے امتِ مسلمہ کا نام رکھوانے کے بعد یہ گنجائش باقی تھی کہ آپ کی ہیت اجتماعی کا کوئی حصہ کسی عربی، ایرانی، افغانی، انگریزی، مصری یا ہندی قومیت میں جذب ہو سکتا ہے۔ امتِ مسلمہ کے مقابل میں تو صرف ایک ہی ملت ہے اور وہ الکفرہ ملتہ واحدہ کی ہے۔

ہے۔ ہماری قومیت کا اصل اصول نہ اشتراکِ زبان ہے نہ اشتراکِ وطن، نہ اشتراکِ اغراضِ اقتصادی، بلکہ لوگ اس برادری میں، جو جنابِ رسالت مآب صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم نے قائم فرمائی ہے، اس لیے شریک ہیں کہ مظاہرہ کائنات کے متعلق ہم سب کے معتقدات کا سرچشمہ ایک ہے اور جو تاریخی روایات ہم سب کو ترکے میں پہنچی ہیں وہ بھی ہم سب کے لیے یکساں ہیں۔ اسلام تمام مادی قیود سے بیزارِ ظاہر کرتا ہے اور اس کی قومیت کا دار و مدار ایک خاص تنزیہی تصور پر ہے جس کی تجسیمی شکل وہ جماعتِ اشخاص ہے جس میں بڑھنے اور پھیلنے رہنے کی قابلیت طبعاً موجود ہے۔ اسلام زمان و مکان کے قیود سے مبرا ہے۔“

(ملتِ بیضا پر ایک عمرانی نظر ص ۹)

اقبال کا یہ موقف گراف میں آخر تک جاری و ساری ہے۔

نظریہ وطن کے جملہ پہلوؤں کو ۱۹۰۵ء سے لے کر ۱۹۳۸ء تک جا بجا بڑی تفصیل سے بیان کیا ہے۔ ان کے زمانہ طالب علمی سے لے کر وفات تک تصورِ وطن کے مختلف مد و جذر آتے ہیں جن کا مفصل جائزہ گذشتہ صفحات میں لیا گیا ہے۔ اب آخر میں علامہ اقبال کے ذہنی ارتقاء کا ایک گراف (ص ۸۰) پیش کیا جاتا ہے جس سے ان کے وطنی تصورات مختصر طور پر سامنے آسکتے ہیں۔ گراف کو سمجھنے کے لیے دو باتوں کو پیش نظر رکھنا ضروری ہے۔ اول یہ کہ اقبال کے فکر میں تضاد نہیں ارتقا ہے۔ قومیت کے مغربی تصور کو ایک بار ٹھکرانے کے بعد عمر بھر انہوں نے نیشنلسٹ خیالات کا پرچار نہیں کیا۔ یہ علامہ اقبال کی بد نصیبی ہے کہ ان کے بعض نقاد مختلف ادوار کے اشعار کو زمانی ترتیب سے الگ کر کے اقبال کے فکری تضاد کا ڈھنڈورہ پیٹنے کے عادی ہیں۔ یہ طریق کار بد نیتی پر مبنی ہے۔ دوم یہ کہ اقبال کے تصورِ وطنیت کا بنیادی خاکہ ان کی ڈائری Stray Reflections اور ”ملتِ بیضا پر ایک عمرانی نظر“ میں تیار ہو چکا تھا۔ بعد میں سیاسی، سماجی، تہذیبی اور فقہی افکار میں اس کی تفصیلات دریافت کی جاتی رہیں۔ ورنہ تصورِ وطنیت کا مرکزی نقطہ فکری انقلاب کے آغاز ہی میں نمودار ہو چکا تھا۔ ”ملتِ بیضا پر ایک عمرانی نظر“ میں اقبال نے لکھا تھا:

”مسلمانوں اور دنیا کی دوسری قوموں میں اصولی فرق یہ ہے کہ قومیت کا اسلامی تصور دوسری اقوام کے تصور سے بالکل مختلف

آزادی ہند	ہندومت	اسلام کا ضابطہ حیات				نظریہ پاکستان	۱۸۷۹-۱۹۰۵
		تہذیبی اساس	سیاسی اساس	معاشرتی اساس	جغرافیائی اساس		
							۱۹۰۵-۹
							۱۹۱۰
							۱۹۱۱-۱۹۲۱
							۱۹۲۲-۱۹۲۹
							۱۹۳۰
							۱۹۳۱
							۱۹۳۲
							۱۹۳۳-۱۹۳۸

وطن کی نفسیاتی اساس

اقبال کا تصور و طبیعت

AL-WAQIDI—AN ASSESSMENT OF HIS POSITION AS AN HISTORIAN

AMANULLAH KHAN

Abu Abd Allah Muhammad b. Umar b. Waqid al-Waqidi, a renowned scholar of the second Century of Muslim Era, was a native of Madina. Information about his life, activities and works, and about his position as a Traditionist and an Historian, can be collected from such sources as:—

Tabaqat¹, al-Ma'arif², Fihrist³, Tarikh Baghdad⁴, Mu'jam al-Udaba⁵, Wafyat al-A'yan⁶, Mizan-al-I'tidal⁷, Tahdhib al-Tahdhib⁸, Tarikh adab al-Lughat al-Arabiyya⁹, Lectures on Arabic Historians¹⁰, Encyclopaedia of Islam¹¹, the monthly Ma'arif¹², and G.A.L.¹³, etc.

Al-Waqidi was born in the year 130 A.H. He was so called after his grand father al-Waqid; and he was called al-Aslami as he was a mawla of Abd Allah b. Buraida who belonged to the Medinite family of Aslam—a descendant of Salim. Al-Waqidi was a very industrious student and was interested in different branches of learning. In order to quench his thirst for knowledge he would go to the renowned and erudite scholars of his time. The list of his teachers includes such important persons as Imam Malik b. Anas, Sufyan al-Thauri, Abu Ma'shar, Ibn Abi Z'ib,

1. Ib Sa'd (Leiden, 1918), VII, Pt. II, p. 77.

2. Ibn Qutaiba (Egypt, 1934), p. 226.

3. Ibn Al-Nadim, pp. 144-45.

4. Khatib, III, pp. 3-20.

5. Yaqut, XVII, pp. 227-282.

6. Ibn Khallikan, II, pp. 83-85.

7. Dhahabi (Lucknow, N.S.), II, pp. 425-426.

8. Ibn Hajar, IX, pp. 363-368.

9. Zaydan, II, pp. 146-147.

10. Margoliouth, pp. 92-95.

11. IV, pp. 1104-1105.

12. Sayyid Sulaiman Nadvi, *Muhammad b. Umar al-Waqidi*, January 1967, pp. 8-26.

13. Brockelmann, Supplement (Leiden, 1943), pp. 141-142.

Umar b. Rashid, Rabiah b. Uthman and Muhammad b. 'Ijlan, etc. Ibn Juraij, who is associated with the commencement of the study of Tradition, was also among his teachers.

Likewise, the list of his pupils, who delivered traditional information on his authority, includes a number of distinguished luminaries of his time, like his secretary Muhammad b. Sa'd, Abu Hasan al-Ziyadi, Muhammad b. Ishaq-al-Sughani, Abd Allah b. al-Hassan al-Hashmi and Harith b. Osama, etc. Imam Shafi'i, Abu Ubaid al Qasim b. Sallam and Muhammad b. Yahya al-Azdi have also conveyed information on his authority.

The range of al-Waqidi's studies covered Tafsir, Hadith, Jurisprudence, Genealogy and History. A special attention was paid by him to History in which he acquired the greatest skill and fame. By the year 170 A.H. he had become a prominent figure among the Medinese scholars of repute. It was mostly due to his erudition and skill in History that he, on the occasion of Harun al-Rashid's pilgrimage in the above year, was recommended to him as the best authority on the holy places of his native town. So he acted as a guide to the Caliph and his most benevolent vizier Yahya b. Khalid, when they visited the sacred places.

Khatib Baghdadi tells us how al-Waqidi, in 180 A.H. when he met with the financial difficulties, paid his first visit to Baghdad. There at first he went to the residence of Yahya b. Khalid and called on him. He was kindly received by that great vizier who gave him rich gifts and provided him with abundant money to repay his debts. He also provided him with a furnished house to live in; and when al-Waqidi requested him to allow him to go back for a time to Madina for paying off his debts, he made arrangements for his journey. On al-Waqidi's return to Baghdad, he was once again warmly received by Yahya and this time was presented to Harun al-Rashid at Rakka where he was holding his court. The Caliph recalled with pleasure his visit to Madina and gave him rich gifts.¹⁴

Yaqut al-Hamavi conveys us the information of al-Waqidi's being appointed by Harun, judge of the Eastern quarter of Baghdad.¹⁵ But

14. Cf. Tarikh Baghdad, III, p. 4-5.

15. Mu'jam, XVII, p. 279.

J. Horovitz criticises the statement of Yaqut by saying, "The older sources make no reference to his receiving from Harun the office of Qadi of the eastern quarter of Baghdad, the story first appears in Yaqut, Udaba, VII, 56 without a source being given".¹⁶ We may solve this puzzle by referring to Khatib Baghdadi and Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalani. Khatib says in this connection:—

”قدم الواقدي بغداد وولى القضاء الجانب الشرقى فيها“¹⁷

(al-Waqidi entered Baghdad and he was appointed Qadi of the eastern quarters of the City).

Ibn Hajar makes it more clear by giving a statement on the authority of Ahmad b. Mansur al-Rimadi. He says:—

”وقال احمد ابن منصور الرمادي قدم علينا على بن المديني بغداد سنة سبع او ثمان وثمانين قال والواقدي قاض علينا“¹⁸

[Says Ahmad b. Mansur al Rimadi: Ali b. al Madini came to us in Baghdad in the year 87 or 88 (i.e., 187 or 188 A.H., when Harun al-Rashid was still in the seat of Caliphate); and he said further that at the time al-Waqidi was working as our Qadi].

From the above statement it is quite evident that al-Waqidi worked as a Qadi of Baghdad in the Caliphate of Harun al-Rashid. And it is quite clear that he was appointed Qadi by no other person than Harun himself.

Afterwards in the Caliphate of Mamun-al-Rashid he was appointed Qadi of Askar-al-Mahdi (Al-Mahdi's camp) in Rusafa which position he held till his death.

Both the Abbasid Caliphs, Harun and Mamun, and the Bermicide vizier Yahya held Waqidi in very high esteem. They met his demands, bestowed their favours upon him and provided him with facilities. Khatib tells us an anecdote of considerable interest which depicts the very good nature of al-Waqidi and at the same time shows his close relations with Mamun. He says, "Al-Waqidi wrote to the Caliph complaining of some difficulty which had compelled him to run into debt, mentioning the amount. Mamun replied

16. Encyclopaedia of Islam, IV, p. 1104.

17. Tarikh Baghdad, III, p. 3.

18. Tahdhib, IX, p. 364.

on the reverse of the letter received by him. You have, I see, two qualities, munificence and modesty: the former has caused you to deal lavishly with your possessions, the latter has induced you to mention to us only part of the debt which you have incurred. And we have ordered such and such amount for you. If we have fulfilled your request, then practise even greater liberality than before, for the treasuries of God are open, and His hand is stretched out in munificence. You yourself reported to me when you were al-Rashid's judge that the Prophet said to al-Zubair: The keys of wealth are in front of the Throne, and God Al-Mighty sends down to mankind their provision according to their expenditure, whoso spends much will receive much, and whoso spends little receives little. Waqidi stated that he had forgotten that tradition, and was more rejoiced at Mamun's reminding him of it than by his gift."¹⁹

HIS FAITH:

Al-Waqidi is described by Ibn al-Nadim a Shi'ite of the moderate school. He says:

”وكان يتشيع حسن المذهب -“²⁰

We are further told by him that he considered the practice of Taqiyya to be lawful.

”يلزم التقية -“²¹

And it is also to be found in the Fihrist:

”وهو الذي روى ان عليا عليه السلام كان من معجزات النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم كالعصا لموسى عليه السلام واحياء الموتى لعيسى بن مريم عليه السلام -“²²

[That he transmitted the statement that Ali (Peace be upon him) was one of the Miraculous signs of the Prophet (Peace be upon him) like the rod of Musa (Peace be upon him) and the revival of the dead by Isa Ibn Maryam (Peace be upon him)].

19. Cf. *Tarikh Baghdad*, III, p. 19.

20. *Fihrist*, p. 144.

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Ibid.*

J. Horovitz also holds the same opinion as is professed by Ibn-al-Nadim, and according to his view al-Waqidi had a great inclination for Shi'ite tendencies and he practised takiya even in his kitab al-Maghazi. He says: "When we are further told in the Fihrist that Wakidi also studied takiya²³ (Yalzamu'l takiya) this is in keeping with his point of view in the Kitab al-Maghazi; for there Ali's name is not mentioned in several accounts of events in which Ibn Ishak expressly mentions his participation and Wakidi did not suppress traditions hostile to Ali.... On the other hand, the very title of the monograph *Mawlid al-Hasan wa'l Hussain* (see above) reveals a Shi'i attitude—a non-Shi'i would hardly have dealt with this subject—and the zeal for Ali is also seen in the fact that Wakidi collects a great deal of evidence of Muhammad's having died in Ali's bosom...."²⁴

But it is remarkable to note that the same biographer of Waqidi, after arriving at the above conclusion, says: "The story in the Fihrist seems, however, to be isolated and the Shi'i *ridjal* books do not quote Wakidi."²⁵

HIS DEATH:

Al-Waqidi died at Baghdad in the year 207 AH, while he had reached the 78th year of his age. He was buried in the Khaizuran cemetery and the funeral service was conducted by Muhammad b. Sammaa al-Tamimi.²⁶ Such a munificent person was he that when he died, even shroud cloth could not be found in his house to cover his body. Al-Mamun became aware of the fact, and he made arrangements for his funeral.²⁷

HIS WORKS:

The list of Waqidi's works is lengthy and varied, and is to be found in the Fihrist²⁸ and *Mu'jam-al-Udaba*,²⁹ etc. Mostly his works are of historical nature and they cover the early history of Makka and Madina as well as the

23. It does not seem to [be a correct translation of the word *يلزم التقية* which means he always strictly observed taqiyya.

24. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, IV, p. 1105.

25. *Ibid.*

26. Cf. *Fihrist*, p. 144; Ibn Khallikan, II, p. 84.

27. Cf. *Khatib*, III, p. 20.

28. pp. 144-145.

29. Cf. XVIII, pp. 281-282.

Muslim period. From the titles of the works—several of which are monograph types—it is gathered that Waqidi favoured that style which was favoured by al-Mada'ini. Like al-Mada'ini he has composed monographs on special incidents in the history of Islam such as "Wafat al-Nabi," "al Saqifa wa-Ba'iat Abu Bakr," "Siffin," "al-Jammal," "Makatal al-Hussain" and "al-Ridda wal Dar," etc. But he is considered to be a more serious personage than either Mada'ini or Hisham al-Kalbi.³⁰ Three of al-Waqidi's compositions seem to be very comprehensive books on the early history of Islam. One is his "al-Tarikh al-Kabir" (the Great History), the other is "al-Tabaqat" which is the foundation of the *Tabaqat* of Ibn Sa'd, and the third is his "al-Tarikh wa'l Maghazi wa'l Mab'ath," *i.e.*, an account of the Prophet's mission and his campaigns. Some of the titles of his other works are :

"Akhbar Makka," "Futuh-al-Sham," "Futuh al-Iraq," "Harb al-Aus wa'l khazraj," "Amr al-Habsha wa'l-Fil," "al-Sira," "Azwaj al-Nabi," "Sirat Abu Bakar wa Wafatuhu," "Mawlid al-Hassan wa'l Hussain," "Darb al-Dananir W'al-Darahim" and "Tarikh al-Fuquha," etc.

According to Margoliouth the only work of al-Waqidi which has seen the light of the day is a part of his *Maghazi*, published in Calcutta, and a translation in German of a fuller Ms. preserved in the British Museum.³¹ A photostat copy of the above manuscript is also to be found in the library of the Punjab University, Lahore. Jurji Zaydan gives the following titles of his published works :

1. Kitab al-Maghazi.
2. Futuh al-Sham
3. Fath Ifriqiyah
4. Fath al-Ajam
5. Fath Misr wa'l Iskandriya

and a number of books on conquest like *Fath Minaf wa'l Jazirah*, etc. A manuscript copy of his "Tafsir al-Qur'an" is also to be found.³²

30. Cf. Margoliouth, *Lectures*, p. 92.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

32. Cf. Jurji Zaydan, II, pp. 146-147.

But according to Margoliouth and Horovitz, the *Futuh al-Sham* and *Futuh al-Iraq* have not been preserved; the books which go under these names belong to a later date and have been credited to Wakidi.³³

HIS EVALUATION :

Al-Waqidi has been a very controversial figure with the Muslim scholars of repute. While some recognize him as an authority in the field of Hadith and History, others reject him for Hadith proper. Khatib Baghdadi, Ibn Hajar Asqalani and Allama Dhahabi have collected the verdicts of different luminaries, both favourable and unfavourable to him. Among his admirers and supporters are persons like Drawardi, Yaqub b. Shaiba, Mus'ab Zubairi, Ibn Numair, Yazid b. Harun and al-Baladhuri's teacher Abu Ubaid al-Qasim b. Sallam, etc. And those who do not accept him as an authority in the matters of Hadith and who doubt his reliability are : Imam Bukhari, Imam Nisai, Imam Shafi'i, Ibn al-Madini, Imam Ahmad b. Hanbal, Yahya b. Muin, Imam Abu Daud, Abu Hatim and Imam Darqutni, etc. Imam Dhahabi says in "Mizan al-I'tidal" :

”استقرّ الاجماع على وهن الواقدي“³⁴

(There is consensus of opinion on the weakness of al-Waqidi.)

This side of the critics of Waqidi is very strong and it includes the Imams of the Science of Tradition. So we are constrained to say that in the matters of Hadith, al-Waqidi is not to be relied upon. But in the field of history he is to be recognized as an authority. In history he has been quoted and relied upon by such important historians as Tabari, Ibn Sa'd and al-Baladhuri. Even certain Imams, as we will see in the course of our discussion, have collected historical information from him and have considered him to be the most authentic source on history. After giving an account of the favourable remarks passed about him by the different scholars, Yaqut says :

”وهو مع ذلك ضَعْفٌ طَائِفَةٌ مِنَ الْمُحَدِّثِينَ... اما في اخبار الناس والسير والفتى و سائر الفنون فهو ثقة باجماع“³⁵

33. Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p. 1104; *Lectures*, p. 95.

34. II, p. 426.

35. *Mu'jam*, XVIII, p. 279.

(With all this (praise) he has also been criticized and termed as Za'if (reporter) by a section of traditionists....But in the matters concerning History, Biography, Fiqh and all other branches of learning, he is reliable unanimously.)

Khatib Baghdadi pays him a tribute in the following glowing words:

”قدم الواقدي بغداد وولى القضاء الجانِب الشرقي، وهوم من طبق شرق الارض وغربها ذكره، ولم يخف على احد عرف اخبار الناس امره، وسارت الركبان بكتبه فى فنون العلم من المغازى والسير، والطبقات واخبار النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم والاحداث التى كانت فى وقته وبعد وفاته صلى الله عليه وسلم وكتب الفقه، واختلاف الناس فى الحديث، وغير ذلك، وكان جواداً كريماً مشهوراً بالسخا -“³⁶

(Al-Waqidi entered Baghdad, and he was appointed Qaḍī of the Eastern quarters of the city. He is one of those persons whose reputation has reached the four corners of the world. His personality is known to all, those persons who know about the history of people. The riders have spread (in the world) with his books on Maghazi, Biography, Tabaqat, Akhbar al-Nabi, on the events which occurred in the Prophet's life and after his death; and with his works on Fiqh and the differences of people in Hadith etc. And he was a munificent and noble person and was famous for his generosity.)

From the study of Tarikh Baghdad we come to know that al-Waqidi was very careful in collecting information for his historical works. He would go and personally inspect the places of the battles of the Prophet, and would have information only from the most reliable persons.³⁷ God, the most Merciful Lord, had given him a very sharp memory. Yaqut gives an account of the size of Waqidi's library. When he moved from the Western to the Eastern side of Baghdad, his books formed 120 camel loads: for all that he boasted that whereas other people possessed more books than was stored in their memories, in his case the contents of his memory were the more copious. He says thus:

36. Tarikh Baghdad, III, p. 3.

37. Cf. III, pp. 4-7.

”وروى ابن سعد عن الواقدي انه قال - ما من احد الا وكتبه اكثر من حفظه وحفظى اكثر من كتبى وقال يعقوب بن شيبة لما تحول الواقدي من الجانِب الغربى يقال - انه حمل كتبه على عشرين ومائة وقر وقيل كان له ستمائة قُمطر كُتِب -“³⁸

It was perhaps due to his erudition, sharp memory and carefulness that he was held in very high esteem by the great Imam Malik, and he was consulted by the Imam in the matters concerning history. Khatib records an anecdote wherein the said Imam is shown collecting information from al-Waqidi and he is depicted using praiseworthy words for him. Khatib proceeds thus:

سئل مالك بن انس عن المرأة التى سمّت النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم بخير ما فعل بها، فقال ليس عندي بها علم، وسأل اهل العلم، فقال فلقى الواقدي فقال - يا ابا عبد الله ما فعل النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم بالمرأة التى سمته بخير - فقال الذى عندنا انه قتلها، فقال مالك قد سالت اهل العلم فاخبروني انه قتلها -“³⁹

(Imam Malik b. Anas was asked as to what treatment was extended to that woman who poisoned the holy Prophet (Peace be upon him) in Khyber. He expressed his ignorance about the matter and told that he would collect information about it from the learned men. Afterwards, he met Waqidi and said 'O! Abu Abd Allah! What the holy Prophet did with that woman who poisoned him in Khyber. The reply was that she was got killed. Now Malik said (to the enquirers): I have collected information from the learned men and the information is that she was killed.)

European scholars hold him very high and consider him an authority of first order on early Muslim history. His special attention to chronology has won him praise from them, and has made his work much valuable. J. Horowitz says, "Wakidi's merit lies mainly in his transmission of a very large amount of material and in fixing its chronology."⁴⁰ His particular style,

38. Mu'jam, XVIII, p. 281.

39. Tarikh Baghdad, III, p. 8.

40. Encyclopaedia of Islam, IV, p. 405.

as is seen in his *Kitab al Maghazi*, that is, assimilating the different stories together so as to reproduce them as a comprehensive whole and prefixing the list of his authorities in the beginning of the book and sometimes in the beginning of each chapter, has also made him favourable in the eyes of modern scholars of history. Though this was a style already adopted by Imam Zuhri and Ibn Ishaq, yet it was a cause of criticism of the traditionists who pay the highest attention to the chain of authorities for each event and each saying. This very style, though in an improved form, was afterwards adopted by al-Baladhuri in his *Futuh al-Buldan*. Even then J. Horovitz complains that Wakidi's work is of a style adopted in the works on Hadith. He says, "In Wakidi also the traditions either separately or digested into one record follow one another without being linked up together just as in works on Hadith, but quite contrary to the method of Ibn Ishaq who gives them great cohesion by adding a connecting text."⁴¹

KITAB AL-MAGHAZI :

The manuscript contained in the British Museum, a photostat copy of which is also to be found in the Punjab University Library, comprises 252 folios, *i.e.*, 504 pages. In the very beginning of the work we find a list of al-Waqidi's authorities from whom he collected traditional as well as historical information. Many of the authorities, quoted by Waqidi, like Imam Zuhri, Musa b. Uqba and Abu Ma'shar, etc., had themselves composed works on *Maghazi*. The list comprises entirely the names of well-known and well-informed scholars. Sometimes in the beginning of the new chapters of his book Waqidi also gives the names of his other reporters. And sometimes he prefixes a chain of reporters to the most important information.

The book, as appears from its title, deals with the campaigns of the Prophet (Peace be upon him) and it throws no light on the Prophet's life at Makka and his Hijra. After giving the names of different battles of the Prophet and the expeditions despatched by him, and fixing their dates, Al-Waqidi goes on giving a detailed account of those battles and expeditions.

41. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, IV, p. 1105.

He discusses in fullest details the battles of Badr, Uhud and Khandaq, the pact of Hudaibiya, the battles of Khaiber and Mu'ta, the grand Victory of Makka, the battles of Hunain, Ta'if and Tabuk, etc. and throws light on almost all other battles and expeditions. He has also discussed the affairs of Banu Nadir, Banu Quraiza and Fadak, etc. He also sheds light on the acceptance of Islam by Amr Ibn-al-As and on the Haj of Abu Bakr, known as Hajj-Akbar in the history of Islam. A very detailed description of the *Hijjat al Wada'*, the last sermon of the Prophet—a gist of his teachings and his last words—are also to be found in the book. The book ends with a mention of the preparations which were being made for the despatch of the Muslim army under Usama b. Zaid in the year 11 A.H. Throughout his work it is seen that he is very careful in fixing the dates of each event and each battle. Before giving an account of each battle he would definitely fix its date and year. It is remarkable to note that he has furnished us with the minutest details of the important battles of the Prophet. He would give the names of the participants, would throw light on the preparations made, and would draw a scene of the battle field before our eyes. He would also discuss the treatment extended to the prisoners and would mention about the division of the bounties. Moreover, he would bring to light the difference of opinions of the companions of the Prophet on certain matters and the verdicts of the holy Prophet in that connection.

His interest in the holy Qur'an, Hadith and Fiqh is seen throughout his work. He quotes verses of the Qur'an revealed in connection with different battles, thus he discusses Sura-Anfal in connection with the battle of Badr and tells us what was revealed in the Holy Qur'an about Uhud, Banu Nadir, the battle of Khandaq and the battle of Tabuk, etc. It is remarkable to note that he closes his book even with a Qur'anic verse by which Hadrat Abu Bakr argued that the despatch of Usama b. Zaid's army was essential.

He also uses poetry, as was a general practice in those days, as a vehicle of history and quotes poetical couplets in making the narrative more comprehensive. But unlike Ibn Ishaq, he does not make a very extensive use of it.

It is strange to note that Waqidi neither includes Ibn Ishaq among authorities, nor quotes in his work, his remarkable work on Maghazi. Harovitz has tried to solve this problem by saying: "...Wakidi never mentions by name his most celebrated predecessor in the field of biography of the Prophet, Muhammad b. Ishaq. This is all the more remarkable as he not only (in Tabari, III, 2512) passes a very favourable verdict on him but undoubtedly made very great use of his book and obviously follows him in the arrangement of the material ...; he possibly wished to conceal his indebtedness by not mentioning the name of Ibn Ishaq."⁴²

We may conclude with the words that the importance of this work as a valuable source of the Prophet's campaigns and his life at Madina and the Muslim History during the Prophet's time is very great.

42. Encyclopaedia of Islam, IV, p. 1105.

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All correspondence should be addressed to Mr. Iqbal Husain, Secretary, Editorial Board, *Journal of Research (Humanities)*/*Journal of Scientific Research*, University of the Punjab, Lahore (West Pakistan).

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