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[HUMANITIES]

Edited by
SIRAJ-UD-DIN



UNIVERSITY OF THE PUNJAB
LAHORE

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CONTENTS

	Page
I. THE ARCH OF MADAEN FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE FAMOUS ARABIC AND PERSIAN POETS KHA- GHANY AND BOHTORY <i>Dr. Amir Mahmood Anvar</i>	1
II. THE ECONOMIC GENESIS OF THE PAKISTAN MOVEMENT AND ALLAMA IQBAL <i>Khawaja Amjad Saeed</i>	33
III. ALDOUS HUXLEY ON LANGUAGE, REALITY AND AWARENESS <i>Muhammad Ismail Bhatti</i>	47
IV. O'NEILL AND THE EXPRESSIONISTIC TECHNIQUES OF DRAMA <i>Moin-ul-Islam</i>	59
V. YOUTH EMPLOYMENT IN PAKISTAN <i>Zafar Iqbal & Abdul Mateen Khan</i>	71

settlements which, all of them together, were called "Shahrha" (the Towns), or in the Seriani language Mahozeh. Sometimes the settlements were called Mahoze Maleka (the city of the King or Madineh). It was this word that the Arabs adopted as al Madaen. It can be guessed that these names are the translations of a Pahlavi name, Shahrestan, which has not been preserved in our sources."

The Arch of Kasra is the most famous architectural monument built by the Sassanian Kings and tourists still wonder at its ruins in Spanbr. The legends attribute it to the reign of Khosro the First. According to Hertsfeld, the Arch of Kasra is one of the buildings still remaining from the time of Shapour the First, but the writer has accepted the common belief and maintains that Khosro the First has built it. The ruins of this palace cover a space of 300 by 400 meters, on which are to be seen the remains of several buildings. There is also a building one hundred meters to the east of Kasra Tagh. It is situated on a hill imminent to the Arch. South and North of Tagh-e Kasra there are ruins, which are hidden under the new cemetery. The Arch of Kasra is part of the whole architectural complex from which notable traces have remained. This structure, which is 28/29 meters of height and facing the east is a wall without any windows but with a multitude of niches, some half columns. We can observe similar examples of architecture in the eastern cities that have been under the influence of the Greeks, and also in Palmyra. The facade of this building might have been covered with Sarogh or marble, or with copper sheets plated with gold and silver, as some of the writers claim.

The facade and the big central hall were standing until 1888, but that year the northern side was destroyed and now the southern side also is crumbling. This hall, which is 25/63 meters wide and 43/72 meters long, has been the reception hall of the Kings. Behind each of the wings of this building's facade are to be seen five smaller halls with arched ceilings and enclosed by high walls. Behind the wall that limits the building from the west, there has existed a square hall, which served as an extension of the Reception hall. There has been two smaller arches at its sides. The walls

and the ceilings have been built entirely of bricks and are of tremendous thickness. During the excavations conducted by German scientists pieces of moulded plaster decorations have been uncovered.

The Arch of Kasra which was the traditional habitat of the king was, to a certain extent, a simple construction, but the amazement and the admiration of the spectators depended upon the building's magnitude and the thickness of its walls rather than on the beauty of its decoration. Ibn Khordad beh says: "The Kasra Palace in Madaen is better and more beautiful than any another construction, but of brick and plaster, and he quotes several verses from Bohtorys' Elegy, describing this Arch. Think of this Arch as of a gap, opened in the side of a high mountain." A high mountain, whose Pinnacle's tower over Razva and Ghods. No one knows whether people have built it as a resting place for the geniis or the geniis have built it for human beings.

Before I turn to the description and comparison of Bohtorys' Sinieh Elegy, I consider it necessary for the better understanding of the readers to include some information about the lives of these two famous poets.

BIOGRAPHY OF BUHTURY

In the year 206 in the town of Manbegh, which was one of the functions of Sham, was born a boy whose name was Valid.

In the beginning, he was known as Valid, but when he established himself as a good poet in the world of literature, he became famous as Bohtory. The poet got this name from one of his ancestors who was called Buhtury.

Validebn Abidebn Yahya, known as Bohtory, was from the Ghahtani tribe on his father's, and from the Shaibani tribe on his mother's side. The historians mention that his consanguineous dynasty ends in the Tai tribe. Bohtory has mentioned this fact in many of his poems, as is the case in the following verses, which he recites in a moment of pride.

ان قوسى قوم الشريف قديما
وحديثا : ابوة و جدودا
ذهبت طىء بسابقة المجد
على العالمين بأسا وجودا

History gives us no evidence of his mother's origin, but the poet himself throws light on this matter.

أعمرو بن شيبان و شيبانكم ابي
إذا نسبت اسي وعمركم عمرى⁵

Bohtory proceeded to acquire knowledge of science and literature in Manbegh and endeavoured to memorize the Koran and the eloquent prose and poetry of the Arabs. He learned the religious law and the life and deeds of the prophet as well as history. It was at this time that his poems acquired a specific charm and it became clear that his poetic talent was a divine gift. He also undertook memorizing poetry and repeating it aloud in order to give more power to his instinctive sense of rhythm.

Bohtory took abode in Hems and presented his poems to Abo Tammam. Abo Tammam saw the gentleness of the poetical art in his face and found him a talented poet. Thus Abo Tammam's attention was drawn to Bohtory and he was happy to have such a student.

From then on Bohtory always accompanied Abo Tammam. Abo Tammam also did not neglect instructing and explaining difficult problems of language to Bohtory and the history has preserved some of the lessons of these two people. Bohtory travelled to Baghdad and Samera during the rule of Vasegh, who was the Abbasi Caliph at the time, and like his predecessors the poet proceeded to dedicate poems to the distinguished men and the courtiers.

Bohtory fostered the thought of establishing a connection with Mohamadebn Abdolmalek Zaiat, so he composed an elegy in the latter's honour and praised his eloquence, saying that he excels Abdolhamid in his style of writing.

At that time Vasegh died and when Motavakel succeeded to the throne of the Caliphate, he dismissed Ibn Zaiat and thus the relationship between Bohtory and Ibn Zaiat did not last long.

The association with Caliph Motavakel, however, became possible for Bohtory and he attained the highest position that a poet could dream of at that time.

Bohtory embarrassed on a religious propaganda for Motavakel and in his elegies he didn't neglect describing the Caliphs' piety, high position and popularity among the people.

So our poet became the tongue of the Caliph and gave himself to the task of writing down the latter's deeds and wishes. Motavakel also took Bohtory on a journey to Damascus and back and at nightfall used to sit in his company.

In spite of an allusion to the guilt of Montaser, that the poet made in a lamentation of Motavakel, he could not keep away from the Caliph's palace, because at that time poetry existed under the protection of the Chaliph. So Bohtory determined to join Montaser's camp and read an elegy about the Caliph, praising in it his great justice and forgiveness.

After Montaser he became a member of Montaser's court and a friend of the Caliph. But this friendship was not a strong one, because during the four years of Montaser's Caliphate, Bohtory did not compose more than four elegies in his praise, whereas by that time Montaser had begun to admire Bohtory's poetry very much.

When Moataz, the son of Motavakel succeeded to the throne of the Caliphate, Bohtory became happy. After the murder of Moataz's father Bohtory's affection turned to the son and he always wished that Moataz would occupy the throne of the Caliphate. So when Moataz came to power, Bohtory got the wealth he wanted.

He had connections not only with the Caliphs and the ministers, but with a large group of governor-generals, army commanders, civil servants, estate managers and tax collectors as well.

At the time when he was one of the associates of Motavakel and Fathebn Khaghan, Bohtory lived at Sorra Man Raz, and sometimes travelled to Manbegh and back.

When he became old and weak, Bohtory took abode in Manbegh and lived there for the rest of his life. He died in 284 A.H. at the age of 78 and was buried in Manbegh.⁶

Bohtory's Sinieh Elegy, a description of Madaen Portico and the Praise of the Iranians :

- ١- صنت نفسي عما بدنس نفسي
وترفعت عن جدا كل جبسي
- ٢- وتماسكت حين زعزعتي الدهر
التماسا منه لتعسي ونكسي
- ٣- بلغ من صباية العيش عندى
ظففتها الايام تطفيف بغس
- ٤- وبعيد ما بين وارد رفسه
علل شربه ، و وارد خمس
- ٥- وكان الزمان اصبح محمو
لا هواه مع الاخس الاخس
- ٦- واشترائي "العراق" خطة غبن
بعد بيعي "الشام" بيعة وكس
- ٧- لا ترزني مزاولا لاختباري
بعد هذى البلوى فتنكر مسي
- ٨- وقديما عهدتني ذا هنات
آبيسات على الدنينات شمس

- ٩- ولقد رابني نيو ابن عمي
بعد لين من جانبيه وانس
- ١٠- و اذا ما جفيت كنت جديرا
ان اري غير مصبح حيث امسي
- ١١- حضرت رحلي السهموم فوجهت
الى "ابيض المدائن" عنسي
- ١٢- اتسلى عن الحظوظ ، وآسى
لمحل من "آل ساسان" درس
- ١٣- اذكر تشنهم الخطوب التوالى
ولقد تذكر الخطوب وتنسي
- ١٤- وهم خافضون فى ظل عال
مشرف يحسر العيون ويخسى
- ١٥- مغلق بابيه على "جبل القيق"
الى دارتي "خلاط" و "مكس"
- ١٦- حلل لم تكن كاطلال "سعدى"
فى قفار من البساسس ملس
- ١٧- ومساع ، لولا المحابة منى
لم تطلقها مسعاة "عنس" و "عبس"
- ١٨- نقل الدهر عهدهن عن
الجدة حتى رجعن انضاء لبس
- ١٩- فكان "الجرماز" من عدم
الانس واخلاله بنية رمس
- ٢٠- لو تراه علمت ان الليالى
جعلت فيه ساتما بعد عرس

- ٣٣- وتوهمت ان "كسرى ابرويز" معاطى، و "البلهبذ" انسى
 ٣٤- حلم مطبق على الشك عينى
 ام امان غيرن ظننى وحدى؟!
 ٣٥- وكان "الاىوان" من عجب الصنعة
 جوب فى جنب ارعن جلس
 ٣٦- يتظننى من الكابة اذ يبدو
 لعينى مصبح او ممسى
 ٣٧- مزعجا بالفراق عن انس الف
 عز، او مرهقا بتطليق غرس
 ٣٨- عكست حظه الليالى، وبات
 المشتري فيه وهو كوكب نحس
 ٣٩- فهو يبدى تجلدا وعليه
 كلكل من كلاكل الدهر مرسى
 ٤٠- لم يعبه ان يز من بسط الديقاج،
 واستل من ستور الدمقس
 ٤١- مشمخر، تعلقو له شرفات
 رفعت فى رؤوس "رضوى" و "قدس"
 ٤٢- لابسات من البياض فما تبصر
 منها الا غلائل برس
 ٤٣- ليس يدرى اصنع انس لجن
 سكنوه، ام صنع جن لانس
 ٤٤- غير انى اراه يشهد ان لم
 يك بانبيه فى الملووك بنكس

- ٢١- وهو ينبىك عن عجائب قوم
 لا يشاب البيان فيهم بلبس
 ٢٢- واذا ما رايت صورة "انطهاكية"
 ارتعت بين "روم" و "فرس"
 ٢٣- والمنايا موائل، و "انوشروان"
 يزجى الصفوف تحت الدرفس
 ٢٤- فى اخضرار من اللباس على اصفر
 يخال فى صبيغة درس
 ٢٥- وعراك الرجال بين يديه
 فى خفوت منهم واغماض جرس
 ٢٦- من مشيح يهوى بعامل ربح
 ومليح من السنان بترس
 ٢٧- تصف العين انهم جد احياء
 لهم بينهم اشارة خرس
 ٢٨- يغتلى فيهم ارتيابى حتى
 تتقراهم يداى بلمس
 ٢٩- قد سقانى ولم بصرد "ابوالغوث"
 على العسكرين شربة خلس
 ٣٠- من مدام تظنها وهى نجم
 ضوا الليل او سحابة شمس
 ٣١- وتراها اذا اجدت سرورا
 وارتياحا للشارب المتحسى
 ٣٢- افرغت فى الزجاج من كل قلب
 فهى محبوبة الى كل نفس

- فكانني ارى المراتب والقوم -٣٥
 اذا ما بلغت آخر حسبي
 وكان الوفود ضاحيين حسري -٣٦
 من وقوف خلف الزحام وخنس
 وكان القيان وسط المقاصير -٣٧
 يرجعون بين حو ولعس
 وكان اللقاء اول من امس -٣٨
 و وشك الفراق اول امس
 وكان الذي يريد اتباعا -٣٩
 طامع في لحوقهم صبح خمس
 عمرت ليلسور دهره ، فصارت -٥٠
 ليلتعزى رباعهم والتاسي
 قلها ان اعينها بدموع -٥١
 موقوفات على الصبابة حبس
 ذاك عندي ، وليست الدار داري -٥٢
 باقتراب منها ، ولا الجنس جنسي
 غير نعمي لاهلها عند اهلي -٥٣
 غرسوا من زكائها خير غرس
 ايدوا ملكنا ، وشدوا قواه -٥٤
 بكماة تحت السنور حمس
 واعانوا على كتائب "ارياط" -٥٥
 بطعن على النحور ودعس
 واراني من بعد اكلف بالاشراف -٥٦
 طرا من كل سنخ واتس

Bohtory's Sinieh Elegy :

One of the most impressive and strong elegies of Bohtory is the one in which he describes the Arch of Madaen, the greatness of the Sassanian state and the generosity of the Persians towards the Arabs.

This elegy consists of 56 verses and is considered rare in Arabic poetry. It begins thus :

صنيت نفسي عما يدنس نفسي
 وترفعت عن جدا كل جيسي⁷

The Sinieh Elegy was translated by Dr. Ahmad Mahdavi Damghani into Persian Prose, and later on due to the efforts of Dr. Ali Asghar Hariri it was translated into Persian Poetry and was printed in the Yaghma Magazine.⁸

The honorable man of letters, Dr. Mohamad Javed Shariat, in his description of Khaghany's Elegy of the Madaen Arch in the book Aineh Ebrat, has brought out two translations, in verse and in prose, of the above mentioned elegy.

Here I must note that Dr. Ahmad Torjani Zadeh has spoken about Khaghany and Bohtory in his book, "The History of Arabic literature from Pagan Times to the present" and in an essay called "The Passions of Khaghany from Tazi's poets" which was printed in the publication of the Faculty of literature in Tabriz.⁹

At this point we must observe that some of the Arabic poets before Bohtory have written about the Sassanian and the Arch of Madaen, or they have mentioned for example the names of some Sassanian Kings or their capital in their poems. For example, the following verses are the beginning of a poem by Antaratebne Shadad Absyi, the famous poet, in praise of Khosro Anushiravan.

يا ايها الملك الذي راحانه

قامت مقام الغيث في ازمائه¹⁰

And here is the beginning of Aasha Maimonebne Ghais Elegy.

اثوى و قصر ليلة ليزودا

ومضى واخلف من قتيلة موعدا¹¹

Some of the elders and Poets have come to this Arch and have seen it. For example, Hazrat Aliabn Abi Taleb Alaihesalam passed by this Arch and read these verses of Asvadebne Yafar :

جرت الرياح على مكان ديارهم

فكانما كانوا على ميعاد¹²

Ebne Moghafa passed along the Sassanian Palace and mentioned it in the Ahvas verses, saying :

يا بيت عاتكة الذي اتعزل

حذر العدى وبه الفؤاد موكل¹³

اصبحت امسحك الصدود واننى

قسما اليك مع الصدود لا ميل

Also Abo Novas took abode in Madaen for several days and composed an elegy which begins this :

و دار ندامى عطلوها و ادلجوا

بها اثر منهم و دارس¹⁴

The poets after Bohtory have spoken about the Madaen Arch too. For example a poem of Abne Hagheb begins with the following verses :

يا من بناء بشارق البنيان

انسيت صنع الدهر بالايوان

Albosairi says in the famous Elegy of Bordeh :

يوم تفرس فيه الفرس انهم

قد اندروا بحلول البوس و النقم¹⁵

و بات ايوان كسرى وهو منصدع

كشميل اصحاب كسرى غير ملتئم

And Jamil Sadghi Alzahavie has composed a poem in Persian.

شكافى كه بينى تو در طاق كسرى

دهانى است گويد بفا نيست كس را

A short Biography of Khaghany :

In the first half of the sixth century (according to the Moslem Calendar) a baby was born in the town Shervan which was one of the towns of the country Arran. This baby was named Badil and later on, when he became famous in the world of literature, and the sun of his learning was shining bright, he was famous as Afzaleddin.

Khaghany was one of the most important poets of Shervanshah's court and he went several times for pilgrimage to Mecca. When he returned from his second journey, he passed through Madaen and became sad seeing its ruins and remembered the past glories of Iran. So, in description of this palace he wrote a verse good elegy.

Khaghany's Elegy in description of Madaen Portico and the past glories of Iran.

هان اى دل عبرت بين از ديده نظر كن هان

ايوان سدائن را آئينه عبرت دان

يك ره ز لب دجله منزل بمداين كن

و ز ديده دوم دجله بر خاك سدائن ران

خود دجله چنان كرديد صد دجله خون گويى

كز گرمى خونابش آتش حكمد از مژگان

دانی چه مدائن را با کوفه برابر نه
از سینه تنوری کن و از دیده طالب طوفان
این هست همان ایوان کز نقش رخ مردم
خاک در او بودی دیوار نگارستان
این هست همان در که کو راز شمعان بودی
دیلیم ملک بابل، هندو شه ترکستان
این هست همان صدف کن هیبت او بردی
بر شیر فلک حمله شیر تن شاد روان
پندار همان عهد است از دیده فکرت بین
در سلسله در که، در کوکبه میدان
از اسب پیاده شو، بر نطع زمین نه رخ
زیر پی پیلش بین شهمات شده نعمان
نی نی که چو نعمان بین پیل افکن شاهانرا
پیلان شب و روزش گشته به پی دوران
ای بس شه پیل افکن کافکنده بشه پیلی
شطرنجی تقدیرش در ماتکه حرمان
هست است زمین زیرا خورده است بجای می
در کاس سر هرمز خون دل نوشروان
بس پند که بود آنکه در تاج سرش پیدا
صد پند نوست اکنون در مغز سرش بنهان
کسری و ترنج زر، پرویز و به زرین
بر ماد شده یکسر، با خاک شده یکسان
پرویز بهر بومی زرین تره آوردی
کردی ز بساط زر زرین تره را بستان
پرویز کنون کم شد ز آن کم شده کمتر کوی
زرین تره کو برخوان رو کم تر کو ابرخوان

بینی که لب دجله چون کف بدهان آرد
گویی ز تف آهش لب آبله زد چمدان
از آتش حسرت بین بریان جگر دجله
خود آب شنیدستی کاتش کندهش بریان
بر دجله، گری نونو و ز دیده ز کاتش ده
گرچه لب دریا هست از دجله ز کاة استان
گر دجله در آموزد باد لب و سوز دل
نیمی شود افسرده و نیمی شود آتشدان
تا سلسله ایوان بگست مدائن را
در سلسله شد دجله، چون سلسله شد پیچان
گه گه بزبان اشک آواز ده ایوانرا
تا بو که بگوش دل پاسخ شنوی ز ایوان
دندانۀ هر قصری پندی دهدت نونو
پند سر دندانۀ بشنو ز بن دندان
گوید که تواز خاکی و ما خاک توایم اکنون
گاسی دوسه برمانه و اشکی دوسه هم بفشان
از نوحه جغد الحق مایم بدرد سر
از دیده گلابی کن، درد سر ما بنشان
آری چه عجب داری کاندرا چمن گیتی
جغد است پی بلبل، نوحه است پی الحان
ما بارگه دادیم، این رفت ستم بر ما
بر قصر ستمکاران گویی چه رسد خذلان
گفت که نگون که ده است ایوان فلک وش را
حکم فلک کردان یا حکم فلک گردان
فی زال مداین کم از پیرزن کوفه
فی حجره تنگ این کمتر ز تنور آن

گفتی که کجا رفتند آن تاجوران اینک
 ز ایشان شکم خاکست آبستن جاویدان
 بس دیر همی زاید آبستن خاک آری
 دشوار بود زادن، نطفه ستن آسان
 خون دل شیرین است آن می که دهدرز بن
 ز آب و گل پرویز است آن خم که نهد دهقان
 چندین تن جباران کاین خاک فروخورده است
 این گر سینه چشم آخر هم سیر نشد ز ایشان
 از خون دل طفلان سر خاب رخ آمیزد
 این زال سپید ابر و دین مام سیه پستان
 خاقانی از این در که در بوزه عبرت کن
 تا از درتوز آن بس در بوزه کند خاقان
 امروز گر از سلطان رندی طلبد توشه
 فردا ز در رندی توشه طلبد سلطان
 گر زاد ره مکه توشه است بهر شهری
 تو زاد مدائن بر تحفه ز پی شروان
 هر کس برداز مکه سبجه ز گل حمزه
 بس تو ز مداین بر تسبیح گل سلمان
 این بخر بصیرت بین بی شربت از او مگذر
 کز شط چنین بخری لب تشنه شدن نتوان
 اخوان که ز راه آیند آرند ره آوردی
 این قطعه ره آورد است از بهر دل اخوان
 بنگر که در این قطعه چه سحر همی راند
 مهتوک مسیح دل، دیوانه عاقل جان

Explication and Criticism of the Sinieh Elegy :

For Bohtory poetry was a means of gaining wealth. For the same reason he praised people lower than himself, thus deceiving both them and himself.

When Bohtory was overcome by old age, he felt that the end of his life was near. Then he thought about the days past and his wasted dreams, about the things he used to think of as happiness, but which were not real happiness; so sadness came upon him.

Apparently the poet composed this elegy in spite of the differences existing between himself and his cousin. If we investigate the matter more closely we will find that these differences were not an important cause in composing this elegy.

From the contents of the Sinieh Elegy we can see that at the time of the composing of this elegy. Bohtory was a prey of despair under the influence of which he spoke of death, man's fate and the material world.

Bohtory went to Madaen to seek deliverance from his grief and pain, and as Ilia Alhavi in his book, *Namazej Fnnaghdel Adabi*¹⁶ said, Bohtory endeavoured to describe ruins of Madaen in order to comfort his own spirit, and not to please a Caliph or a king.

But it seems to me that the truth may lie elsewhere, because, having in mind the way of thinking and the moral specification of Bohtory, it is difficult to be contented with the idea that "Because Bohtory did not mention the name of the Caliph or a ruler from among the people he used to praise, it was only for the sake of healing his pain and the mentioning of the memorable deeds of Iranians and Sassanians that he wrote this poem. The mercantile poets often told things close to the truth, but at heart they knew this matter to be a way for reaching their goals, and, having written in hypocrisy, they didn't value the things that they have told. So we must look with a doubt at the words of Ilia Alhavi, of course, this argument is true about the mercantile poets like Bohtory,

Motanaby, Manuchehri and Anvari, while poets like Abn Farez. A bolla-lae Maari, Hafez and Saadi are free from this Fault.

Thus, in order to make the subject more clear, I am obliged to give some examples of that matter. For example we look at what Motanaby says:

وليفخر الفخر اذ غدوت به
مرتديا خيره و منتعله¹⁷
فخرا لعضب اروح مشتمله
وسمهرى اروح معتقله

or where he says:

الخيل والليل والبيداء تعرفني
والسيف والرمح والقرطاس والقلم¹⁸

And when the blood thirsty group of Fatek Asadi surround him in the neighbourhood of Nomanieh in the region of Safieh, he decides to escape. But then suddenly Mofieh, one of his slaves, reads one of the epic poems by Motanaby and says: "Didn't you write this poem?"

Actually Motanaby goes to the battlefield out of shame not courage—and finally he is killed there.¹⁹

Another example. It is Hasan Ebn Sabet Ansari who is famous among the Arabs for his cowardice. The story goes that when there was a war between the Moslems and the infidels, a jew from the infidel forces passed through the village where Hasan and his friends were hiding.

Safieh, the daughter of Abdo Motaleb said to Hasan; "Come down and kill him, lest he finds out our place and leads the enemies here." Hasan answered: "Daughter of Abdol Motaleb, the blessing of God be upon you! I am not the one who could challenge this person." So Safieh took a club in her hand, came down from the castle and killed the jew. Then she returned and said to Hasan: "He is a man, so I can't take off his clothes. Come

down and undress him. Hasan answered: "Daughter of Abdol Motaleb, I don't need his clothes", and in his elegy he says:

لنا السجفنات الغري لمعن بالضحي
واسيافنا يقطرن من نجدة دما²⁰

He sings thus about the prophet:

لقد غدوت امام القوم منتطقا
بصارم مثل لون الملح قطاع
يحفز عني نجاد السيف سابغة
فضفاضة مثل لون النهى بالقاع

and because the apostle of God knows him as a coward, these words make him laugh.²¹ Hearing in mind the above stanzas, the promise of the Al-mighty God:

الم تر انهم فى كل واديهيمون .
وانهم يقولون ما لا يفعلون²²

and the boundless greed of Bohtory, we may surmise that this elegy was written as a hint to some wealthy Iranian in the administrative organization of the Caliphate. Some of the scholars who are acquainted with the life of Bohtory also support this idea. For example, Dr. Ahmad Mahdavi Damghani has expressed such a view in the preface to the Sinieh Elegy (It is possible that Bohtory has written this elegy after the death of Motavakel and after he himself left Baghdad. This idea must not be considered very seriously and I myself have doubts about it, especially because in an elegy praising abn Savabeh he says:

قد مدحنا ايوان كسرى وجئنا
نستشيب النعمى من ابن ثوابه

(Bohtory's poetical works, 1819).

Abn Savabeh was an Iranian, who had a good position in the administration of the Abassids. There is no doubt that this matter does not decrease the importance of the good elegy.²³

Bohtory wrote this elegy on the basis of his thought on the freedom from the needs of a material world and his reflections on the meanness of the human beings.

The poet begins his elegy with the expression of his high aspiration and reflection on his incorruptibility and strength in these difficult times that break the spirit of man and draw him towards the whirlpool of non-existence. He also expresses his strife with time and his grief and pessimism.

He portrays time as a fraudulent tradesman who has no mercy on his poor customer and constantly decreases from his worthless life, leading him to his death. The treacherous time acts contrary to the laws of logic and reason. It looks after the mean and low and makes them the leaders but the great and the generous are forgotten by it and left behind.

Bohtory introduces himself as a headstrong fighter who contests with the treacherous time. The hatred of time lives in his heart, but in this struggle he perceives himself weak and helpless, and pain and grief overcome him. He leaves Sham for Aragh, but there it is not better for him either and it seems that he has lost this bargain with time. He is a strong man, with high moral values and generous character and he never surrendered to meanness and lowliness.

Some differences arise between him and his cousin, and Bohtory suffers a lot of injustice. He decides to travel and goes to the white palace of Madaen to find some respite for the difficulties of life. But when he reaches Madaen and stands face to face with the ruins of this once famous centre of government, he remembers the past glories of the palace, and sadness comes over him.

He sees the dwellers of this proud palace calmly sleeping in its shade, the palace, whose height and greatness the human eyes could not take in and if they, persisted on looking, they would get weary. The decree of its dwellers was obeyed from Khalat to Maks, and its gate closed on the Caucaz mountains.

In any case, after Bohtory finished describing the palace, he remembered the greatness and glory of the Sassanians who built it and say: "Oh, sorrow, that nothing remains from this palace but ruins. But if we say ruins, let the Arabs not think that its ruins are like the ruins of So'da—in the barren desert, where no water or grass exists. These great ruins were once the centre of an ancient and flourishing civilization, was built in the best possible way. On the other hand, the efforts of the master of this ruins in establishing peace and performing great deeds are such that the efforts and deeds of the Arabs can not be compared to them.

Then he describes Germaz (one of the Sassanian buildings) and because it is destroyed and empty of its dwellers, he sees it as a quiet, ruined cemetery.

Then the poet attacks time as the one, guilty of the destruction of the palace. He says: Once this place was a palace of happiness and today the time has turned it into a place of grief. After the glory and honour time has granted it poverty. Now why have these ruins remained and what do they tell us? They are here to remind you wonderful past of a nation, and to testify that everything that is being told of its greatness, power and glory is true.

At this point the poet's eyes settle on a picture of the battle of Antakia, pointed on one of the Germaz palace walls. The picture attracts his attention and he leaves the description of the palace to concentrate on the battle of Antakia.

It is here that the poet displays his powers of description, and points before the eyes of the reader a picture, vivid with movement and beautiful colours. He looks at the picture of the battle at Antakia and all of a sudden

he finds himself in the midst of the Iranian and the Roman armies. Fear and terror get hold of him and his description is so vivid that he succeeds in making the reader a part of the battlefield scene.

Staring at the battlefield the poet sees death, standing and swallowing the bold riders. Here Bohtory shows the courage and ingenuity of the Sassanian King, and says: "with death standing and preparing an ambush to reap the riders with its scythe, the battle is continuing and I see Anushiravan, who is guiding his ranks of riders under the Banner of Kavian."

The poet describes Anushiravan in a green dress, riding an orange coloured horse.

The poet has before this used in the description his powers of imagination, but in this poem, where he mentions the colours of Anushiravan's dress and horse, he has not used them any more—probably he describes what he really sees on the curtain.²⁴ Then his attention is attracted once again to the scene of battle, and he sees it in the picture, progressing silently.

He looks at the heroes, who strike their spears with force and swiftness in the enemies' bodies. He observes the brave men who stand firm against their enemies and repel the thrust of the enemies' spears with their shields.

He says in his heart: "How alive is this picture! one would say that the fighters are alive and moving, able to tell their thoughts.

But if there isn't any sound, it is because these people tell the thoughts hidden in their hearts through the language of gestures.

In the world of imagination, the poet sees himself at the scene of the battle. He is so deep in thought that he sees the real world in a maze." So, in order to find a relief from this confusion, he stretches his hand and touches the picture, thus proving to himself that he has been caught in an imaginary world.

"Its pinnacles are so high, that they surpass the peaks of the two mountains Razva and Ghods". This portico is so beautiful and its structure so strange, that Bohtory has doubts about the identity of its true builders. "Did people build this portico for the Fairies, or did the Fairies built it so that people can rest in its shade." But after reflecting on the matter he decides, that it was built by Kings, and without a doubt the one who has built it was not unknown among them.

Again in his fantasy world, Bohtory looks at the Sassanian palace and sees a lot of people crowding on the entrances. He listens to the musicians, who were signing in the royal halls and the singers seem so familiar to him, as if he has seen them the day before yesterday, and it is only since yesterday that they have been thrown apart.

"Then, out of the dream world again the poet says to himself." Once this palace was built for happiness and celebrations, but now one must grieve and weep over its ruins. So it is right for me to cry for its sake and help it with my tears, because this is the only thing I can do for these ruined vestiges:

I cry for it although its builders are not from my race or family, and this palace is not my home. I love it only because its builders have bestowed grace upon my race and have planted among my people the flower of goodness, and watered it. With their armoured riders they gave strength to our kingdom and rose against Aryat Habashy for the conquest of Yaman. Yes they were nobles and aristocratic and I love the noble people, no matter from which classes they are.

The comparison of Bohtory's "Sinich" Elegy and the "Noniah" Elegy of Khaghany:

If we compare the "Sinich" Elegy and the elegy of the Madaen portico by Khaghany, we will see that Bohtory came to the palace of Madaen seeking relief for his sorrows, and the wonderful building compelled him to compose an elegy, describing it and its builder. Bohtory composed the elegy in order

to praise the beauty of the Sassanian palace and the glory and power of its builders, as well as to remind of the good deeds they have done for the Arabs. While Khaghany has in mind giving advice, and this is obvious from the opening verse of his elegy.

هان ای دل عبرت بین از دیده نظر کن هان
ایوان مدائن را آئینه عبرت دان

Although some of Bohtory's verses are not entirely free of advice either, we can say that his basic motive in writing the elegy was praise of the great palace and its builders, not counsel and advice.

Also in his elegy Bohtory expresses the Arabic spirit and its strength in the face of the tide of events. Just as Arabic poets like Shanfara (in *lamiat ol Arab*), Tarafat abn Abd, Antaratbn Shadad and Motanaby have done it.

Since Bohtory's desire for riches was stronger than Khaghany's, and time has not helped him and has not made him wealthy, he is sad and always complaining about the state of things. On the other hand he, perceives the days passed in the pursuit of wealth as lost thus introducing time as his worst enemy.

بلغ من صباة العیش عندی
طففتها الايام تطفیف بخس
و بعید ما بین وارد رفه
علل شربه و وارد خمس
و کان الزمان اصبح محمو
لا هواه مع الاخس الاخس

Bohtory goes to Madaen only when Sadness and pain overcome him.

حضرت رحلی الهموم فوجعت
الی ابیض المدائن عنسی

While Khaghany is not in such condition when he travels through Madaen :

یک ره ز ره دجله منزل بمدائن کن
وز دیده دوم دجله بر خاک مدائن ران

Both Khaghany and Bohtory become sad and cried of the sight of the ruined Sassanian palace and its deplorable condition.

اتسلی عن الخطوب و اسی
لمحل من آل ساسان درس
فلها ان اعینها بدسوع
سوقفات علی الصبابة حبس
بر دجله گری نو نو وز دیده زکاتش ده
گرچه لب دریا هست از دجله ز کاتستان
که گه بزبان اشک آواز ده ایوان را
تا بو که بگوش دل پاسخ شنوی ز ایوان

It is not only Khaghany that cries, he perceives Daghla as crying too : In his poetic world Daghla is like a human being who cries in grief for the lost glory and greatness of the Iranians. The ruins of the Sassanian palace bring tears in his eyes, while his heart is burning in pain.

خود دجله چنان گریه صد دجله خون گوئی
کز گرمی خونابش آتش چکد از مژگان
بینی که لب دجله چون کف بدهن آرد
گوئی ز تف آتش لب آبله زد چندان
از آتش حسرت بین بریان جگر دجله
خود آب شنیدستی کاتش کندش بریان
گر دجله در آمیزد باد لب و سوز دل
نیمی شود افسرده نیمی شود آتشدان

Bohtory does not include anyone else in his grief, but he sees the portico itself as a grieving human being.

يتظننى من الكأبة اذ يبد
ولعيني مصبح او ممسي
مزعجا بالفراق عن انس الف
عز او مرهقا بتطليق عرس

Both Bohtory and Khaghany consider the destruction of the portico.

از نوحه جغد الحق مأثيم بدرد سر
از دیده گلابی کن درد سر ما بنشان
آری چه عجب داری کاندن چمن گیتی
جغد است پی بلبل نوحه است پی الحان
نقل الدهر عهد من عن الجدة
حتى غدون انضاء لبس
فكان الجرماز من عدم الانس
و اخلاسه بنسبة رسم

Khaghany remembers the justice and goodness of the palace residents, while Bohtory describes only their pomp and greatness.

ما بار گه دادیم این رفت ستم برما
بر قصر ستمکاران تا خود چه رسد خذلان

Bohtory blames the destruction of the palace on time, while Khaghany considers the destruction as the will of God.

نقل الدهر عهد من عن الجدة
حتى غدون انضاء لبس
لو تراء علمت ان الليالي
جعلت فيه ماتما بعد عرس

عكست حظه السليالي
وبات المشتري فيه وهو كوكب نحس
كوبى كه نگون كردست ايوان فلک وش را
حكم فلک گردان يا حكم فلک گردان

In order to support my argument, I will cite a verse by Shaikh Ali Bolvardy (Abivardi).

گفتی كه فلک فرمان فرماست در این گیتی
نی نی به فلک فرمان دادست فك فرما

And here, where Khaghany says :

دندان هر قصری پندی دهدت نو نو
پند سر دندان بشنو ز بن دندان

This is the allusion to the coming of Hazrat Mohammad to the world and this point that at that night brake Tagh Kasra and to the will of God come injury to its pillars. So I will mention some poem of the famous mosamat of Adibol Mamalek Farahany.

گر خواب انوشروان تعب نراندانی
از کنگره قصرش تصویر توانی
بر عبد مسیح این سخنان گر برسانی
آرد بمدائن درت از شام نشانی
بر آیت میلاد نبی سید مختار

Bohtory remember the past glories of Iranian kingdom during the period of the Sassanids, and says that its residence lives with joy and happiness in that palace. He also speaks about the power and grandiose of its builders and the wonderful building of this palace. He sees this building so strange and wonderful that he thinks that fairies have built it. But there isn't any thing like this in Khaghany's poem.

لیس یدری اَصنع انس لجن
 سکنوه اَم صنع جن لانس
 غیر اَنی اَراه یشهد اَن لم یک
 بانیه فی الملوک بنکس
 فکانی اَری آلمواکب و القوم
 اذا ما بلغت آخر حس
 وکان القیان وسط المقاصیر
 جعن بین حو و لعس

Buhtury describes the design and painting of Germaz's wall and also speaks about the battle of Antakieh. Khaghany sees the past glories of the Sassanids in his world of imagination and speaks about the story of Noman Monzar (Monthir).

پندار همان عهد است از دیده فکرت بین
 در سلسله درگه در کوکبه میدان
 از اسب پیاده شو بر نطع زمین رخ نه
 زیر پی پیلش بین شهمات شده نعمان

Then he pays attention to the counsel and advice and says :

نی نی که چو نعمان بین پیل افکن شاهانرا
 پیلان شب و روزش گشته ز پی دوران
 ای بس شه پیل افکن کافکنده به شه پیلی
 شطرنجی تقدیرش در ماتگه حرمان
 مست است زمین زیرا خورده است بجای می
 در کاس سر هرمز خون دل نوشروان
 بس پند که بود آنگه برتاج سرش پندا
 صد پند نو است اکنون در مغز سرش پنهان

Khaghany has used some of the meanings of Koran.

پرویز بهر خوانی زرین تره آوردی
 کردی ز بساط زر زرین تره را بستان
 پرویز کنون گم شد از گمشده کمترگو
 زرین تره کو برخوان رو کم تر کوا برخوان

Kam Tarako' is the hint to the twenty-fourth verse of "Ad-dukhan" Surah which is forty-fourth Surah of the Koran.

"کم ترکوا من جنات و عیون وزرع و مقام کریم و نعمة کانوا فیها فاکهین"

Khaghany does not pay any attention to the description of wine in his Elegy. But Bohtory has taken a cup of wine from Abul-Ghauth and drinks it and describes that it the best way.

But in my idea Bohtory is better in the power of description than Khaghany and in his poems pays less attention to poetically exaggeration than Khaghany. But Khaghany's poem is more philosophical and we can say that Bohtory has recited Poetically Poem, but Khaghany Philosophically Poem.

Also if Boktory has cried for the ruins of Madaen, it has been from his culture. This kind of weeping has had genuineness and the upper part of Islam.

But weeping to the ruins of lover has not been in the culture of Khaghany and he cries for the past glories of Iran and Iranians from his attachment which he has to his nationality and meanwhile he describes the Instability and unfaithfulness of the world.

NOTES

1. Eleventh verse of Sinieh Elegy. "Poetical works of Bohtori"—a research paper of Hasan Kamel Sairafi, second copy, Page 1153, Zaghacrolarb, Darolmaaref.
2. Prose translation by Dr. Ali Asghar Hariri, Yaghma Magazine, Sixth number, year 1441.
3. The first verse of khaghany's elegy.
4. Professor Arthur Kristan Sen, Iran in the time of Sassanian, Translation by Rashid Yasami, Page 408.
5. This poem makes the Eleventh part of an Elegy which Bohtory has composed in Praise of Abosaghr Esmalebn Bolbol. And this is the first poem of that.
ننهی الى الايام تقلیها و فری وخذلانی ایای ان سمتها نصیری
6. In the preparation of this biographical note Dr. Ahmad Badavi's book on Al-Bohtory has been consulted.
7. Poetical Works of Bohtory, Hasan Kamel Alsairafi, second Volume, Page 1152.
8. Yaghma Magazine, No. 6, Shahrivar of 134 year of 15, page 263.
9. Aineh Ebrat by Dr. Mohammad Ghavad Shariat, the Publication of Esfahan University, Page 267.
10. The History of Arabic literature from Pagan Times to the Present, Dr. Ahmad Torjani Zadeh, Page 267.
11. Regrets of Khaghany from 'Tazis' Poets—Magazine of the Faculty of literature of Tabriz University, tenth year, Number of Summer, Pages 114-115.
12. The complete text of this poem may be seen on page 19 of Aineh Ebrat.
13. The complete text of this poem is on Pages 19-20 of the *Aineh Ebrat*.
14. For more information refer to the treatise of Dr. Mahadavi in Yaghma Magazine cited before.
15. Albosairi, Poetical works, the investigation of Mohammad Saied Kilani, Egypt, Page 194.
16. Namazej Fanaghdel Adabi, Ilia Salim Alhavi, pages 437-438.
17. Altavian fi sharhaldivan, Abolbagha Alakbari, correction of Mostafa Alsagha, Ebrahim Alabiare, Abdol Hafiz Shabli, volume 3, pages 267-268.
18. Eltaban fe Sharhe Aldivan, volume 3, page 369.
19. Vafayat Al-Aayan, Abn Khale Kan, look at Biography of Motanaby and the Book of Alomdeh, Ebn Rishigh, about the harmful effects of the poem.
An'jini Alhadiseh, Second volume, page 23.

21. Hasan ebn Sabet—By Mohamad Ebrahim ghomah, page 27, Darolmaaref.
22. Sureh Aishoaroa, verse 226.
23. Yaghma Magazine 'The First number of Farvardin, 1341, Eleventh year, page 23.

واذا تقصينا ذكر الايوان في

شعر البجترى وجدنا أقد وارد في قصائده التي نظمها في سنة ٢٤١ هـ أي بعد مروره بالايوان،
فهو بقول في مدح ابن ثوابة في البيت ١٩ (صفه ١٣٥) من القصيدة ٥ :
قدمدحنا ايوان كسرى وجئنا نستثيب النعمى من ابن ثوابه
ويقول في القصيدة ٨٦٣ وهو يمدح عيدون بن مخرالد :
زورة قيضت لايوان كسرى لم يرد لها كسرى ولا ايوانه
ديوان البجترى ، حسن كامل الصيرفي ج ٢ ص ١١٥٢ .

24. The kings of the period before Islam in Iran wore dresses of definite colours. For example, Anushiravan wore with his dress blue trousers. Look at the Book of Seny Molokel Arzval Anbia, By Hamzeh Esfahany, page 39, printed in Berlin.

THE ECONOMIC GENESIS OF THE PAKISTAN MOVEMENT AND ALLAMA IQBAL

BY

KHAWAJA AMJAD SAEED

Allama Iqbal (1877-1938) was the first economist of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent to raise his voice against the exploitation of the Muslims by the native and foreign classes controlling the means of production. It was not an easy task to open one's mouth on such matters in the late 19th or early 20th century against the imperialists who held the Muslims responsible for the War of Independence (1857), and clamped censorship and other restrictions on the freedom of expression. Yet Iqbal had the courage to expose their designs even when he was only a student at the Government College, Lahore, and used to recite his poetry in the annual gatherings of the Amjuman Himayat-e-Islam. In the beginning, he composed his verses in the traditional low key but gradually he changed his tone.

First Urdu Publication on Economics :

Iqbal started his career in 1899 as a teacher of history and philosophy at the Lahore Oriental College. It was in 1903 that he wrote a book on economics in Urdu : *Ilmul- Iqtisad*. That was the time when the classics of Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, Ricardo, Alfred Marshall and Taussing were taught all over Europe. But in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent even teachers and scholars had only a hazy idea of this subject. In fact, except for three Universities, it was not yet introduced at the University level anywhere in this sub-continent. But the talented poet not only studied this subject, he also familiarised it to the Urdu-knowing public.

This publication established Iqbal as the first Muslim Economist of the sub-continent. In the absence of a technical dictionary from English into Urdu it was not easy to write or translate a book on Economics. Yet credit

goes to Iqbal that he not only introduced the subject in as simple a language as possible but also, for the first time in the history of Urdu literature, rendered economic terms into Urdu which served as a beacon light for the next generation of writers on Economics.

Iqbal wrote an introduction which, in later years, proved a landmark in the political history of the sub-continent. He under-scored the relations between economic activity and human psychology and raised the question of the effect that a man would have on his body and mind if he is unable to have both ends meet. And then he himself provided the answer, saying that poverty affects the human soul very deeply. "The mirror of soul is tarnished", he wrote "and man is reduced to nonentity both morally and socially". Iqbal felt deeply at the poverty of the people in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent in the post-1857 war period. "Is poverty indispensable in the present day world economic order? Is it not possible to free each individual from the shackles of poverty? Is it not possible that the heart-rending bewailings of the poor in the streets of India are silenced for ever? Is it not possible that the heart moving and pathetic scenes of poverty are effaced from the world map for ever?"

Allama Iqbal continued his contemplation on questions he had raised in his treatise on Economics as far back as 1903, and found the answer in 1930 when he delivered his famous address at the Allahabad session of the All-India Muslim League. At that time the poverty of India, especially of the Muslims, had touched the rock bottom as a result of the British policy of Imperial Preferences to shift the burden of the world economic crisis (i.e. Great Depression) of 1929-30 to the colonies. India had to resort to large-scale cut in public expenditure. The worst sufferers were the Muslim employees, labourers and businessmen who were already living on margin.

Contribution of Iqbal :

Allama Iqbal made a significant contribution to the creation of Pakistan in three basic ways :

1. He formally enunciated the Two Nation Theory (1930), which the All-India Muslim League adopted 2 decade later; and he presented an updated Islamic ideology for the Muslim State of his vision.

He persuaded Mr. M.A. Jinnah, father of our nation, to ask for a separate Muslim homeland. (June 21, 1937 letter of Iqbal to Jinnah).

3. His philosophic doctrine of *Khudi* (ego, or self-affirmation) expressed in his captivating poetry, provided a frame of reference not only for the individual but also for the muslim national identity.

Economic Genesis of Pakistan Movement :

Since the Muslims had been driven to this plight by the exploitive manoevers and discriminatory attitudes of the native and the foreign rulers the only way out Iqbal proposed in his Allahabad address was that the Muslim majority areas of the sub-continent should be separated from the main sub-continent. Muslims and Hindus are two separate nations and could not live together, he pointed out. Excerpt from his address¹ is quoted below :

"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".

These words of Iqbal created a stir in the circles of vested interests, but the Muslim nation found a powerful leader in the person of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah who made a great political issue of this reasonable proposal and after 17 years of relentless struggle Pakistan was achieved. Iqbal, too, did not sit idle. He pursued the idea vigorously and continued fighting for the economic cause of Muslims till his death in 1938. A few months before his death when negotiations were still going on between

Quaid-e-Azam and the British Government, he expressed his views emphatically on the subject and said that the only solution lay in the establishment of a separate home-land for Muslims. On May 28, 1937 he wrote :

"The problem of bread is becoming more and more acute. 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 perception that it is equally due to foreign rule has not yet fully come to him. But it is bound to come".

This realisation came to the Muslim masses through Quaid-e-Azam who waged the twin battle against the Hindu bourgeoisie and the British Imperialism and, in the end, succeeded in creating Pakistan where the Muslims were free to tackle their problems in any manner they liked.

It may be observed here that in his early career Allama Iqbal had not yet clearly proposed a separate and independent state for the Muslims. In the beginning he formulated the two-nation theory and later he proposed sovereign Muslim states in the Muslim majority areas as the only goal for the Muslims. It was emphatically stated by him between May 1936 and November 1937 in his correspondence with Quaid-e-Azam.

Following are the important excerpts from his correspondence with Quaid-e-Azam, between May 1936 and November 1937 :²

"The character of Muslim State can be judged from what the Times of India pointed out some time ago in a leader on the India Banking Enquiry Committee".

"In ancient India", the Paper points out :

"The State framed laws regulating the rates of interest, but in Muslim times, although Islam clearly forbids the realisation of interest on money loaned, Indian Muslim States imposed no restrictions on such rates". I, therefore, demand the formation of a consolidated Muslim State in the best interest of India and Islam. For India it means

security and peace resulting from an internal balance of power ; for Islam an opportunity to rid itself of the stamp that ARABIAN imperialism was forced to give, it, to mobilise its laws, its education, its culture, and to bring them in no closer contact with its own original spirit of modern times".³

Allama Iqbal delivered three speeches⁴ on Budget in the Punjab Legislative Council of those days. He also delivered a speech on the resolution regarding application of the principle of assessment of income tax to the assessment of land revenue of February 23, 1928 in the Punjab Legislative Council.

His two historical presidential addresses of Allahabad⁵ and Lahore⁶ are of significant importance and give the outlines of his economic thinking.

Iqbal in the Legislative Council (Nov. 1926-30) :

All three Legislative Councils (1921, 1923, 1926 - 1930) of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms era were dominated by the landed gentry. They were primarily concerned with protecting and promoting the vested interests of the land-owning class, if necessary, at the expense of the townsmen.

Allama Iqbal delivered excellent speeches on all the budgets as per following details :

Budget	Date
1927-28	.. March 5, 1927
1929-30	.. March 4, 1929
1930-31	.. March 7, 1930

He also delivered a speech on a resolution regarding application of the principles of assessment of income tax to the assessment of land revenue on February 23, 1928 in the Punjab Legislative Council.

During the debate on Budget for 1929-30 in the Punjab Legislative Council, Allama Iqbal said on March 4, 1929 :

"I think it was Charles Lamb who said that mankind are really divided into two classes, creditors and debtors. In so far as this province is concerned, if we drop the religious labels, Hindu and Muslim, and substitute economic labels, lenders and borrowers lambs' remark is perfectly true. But my fear is that this province, as a whole, may now be made a permanent member of debtor class".

Iqbal - Jinnah Correspondence :

During 1936-37, Iqbal wrote 13 letters to Jinnah. These were published by Jinnah before 1947 along with a foreword. The details of various dates on which these letters were written are as follows :

Year 1936

1. May 23
2. June 9
3. June 25
4. August 23

Year 1937

5. March 20
6. April 22
7. May 28
8. June 21
9. August 11
10. October 7
11. October 30
12. November 1
13. November 10.

Islam is the basic ideology of Pakistan. This was clearly stated by Allama Iqbal in his letter of May 28, 1937 to Quaid-e-Azam :

"Happily there is a solution in the enforcement of the Law of Islamic and its further development in the light of modern ideas. After a long and careful study of Islamic Law, I have come to the conclusion that if this system of law is properly understood and applied, at least the right to sub-sistence is secured to everybody".

Allama Iqbal visualised early the enforcement of Islamic Economic System as a solution to the economic problems of the Muslims. Excerpts from his above mentioned letter are quoted below in this context :

"But the enforcement and development of the *Shariat* of Islam is impossible in this country without free Muslim state or states. This has been my honest conviction for many years and I still believe this to be the only way to solve the problem of bread for Muslims as well as to secure a peaceful India".

The economic plight of the Muslims prominently figured in his mind and he was keen to find a solution to this problem. He held the following factors responsible for the poor economic condition of Muslims :

1. Hindu money-lenders
2. Capitalism
3. Foreign rule

Disagreeing with atheistic socialism of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as a solution to the economic ills of the Muslims, he firmly believed in the Islamic Economic Order as a panacea for their problems.

New International Economic Order :

Allama Iqbal was conscious of the exploitation which the rich Western nations forced upon the poor and under-developed Eastern countries of the World. He seems to have foreseen a new international economic order which is being hotly debated and discussed today on international forums.

Iqbal thought that the policy of capturing new colonies and markets was at the root of the sharpening antagonism among Western countries. His sense of justice was outraged by the colonial system which permitted developed nations to subjugate the less developed ones. Condemnation of the exploitative nature of Western Civilization frequently appears in his poetry during this period. In 1936 he wrote⁷

One nation pastures on the other,
One sows the grain which another harvests,
Philosophy teaches that bread is to be pilfered from the hand of the
weak, and his soul rent from his body,

Extortion of ones' fellowman is the law of the new civilization.

And it conceals itself behind the veil of commerce.

He strongly stood as a valiant champion of the economic emancipation of Muslims as is testified by the following excerpts from one of his speeches made at Lahore :

"I am opposed to nationalism as it is understood in Europe, not because, if it is allowed to develop in India, it is likely to bring less material gain to Muslims. I am opposed to it because I see in it the germs of atheistic materialism which I look upon as the greatest danger to modern humanity.⁸

"The people of Asia are bound to rise against the acquisitive economy which the West has developed and imposed on the nations of the East. Asia cannot comprehend modern Western capitalism with its un-disciplined individualism".⁹

The following well known verse from his poetry indicates the frame of his mind about his feelings towards the exploitive attitude of the West :

O-Residents of the West ! God's earth is not a shop ;

The gold you think to be genuine will now prove to be base.

(*Bang-i-Dara* (Urdu) p. 150).

Iqbal believed that socio-economic changes were necessary for the establishment of social justice. At the same time he qualified the implementation of these changes dependent on the moral perfection of man, in which Islam must have a deciding role.¹⁰

What they call Commerce is a game of dice :

For one, profit, for millions swooping death,

Their science, philosophy, scholarship, government

Preach man's quality but drink man's blood.¹¹

Land Reforms :

During Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms era, all the three Legislative Councils were dominated by the feudal class whose basic aim was to protect and promote their vested interests in the country.

Allama Iqbal stood for the oppressed class of peasants and advocated land reforms. The memory is still fresh in our mind when in the Nili Bar colony the Government had decided to sell 3.1/4 lac acres of land to big land owners. Iqbal justifiably proposed that 1/2 of this land should be reserved for peasants.¹²

Iqbal came to realise that in a just polity, land as a means of production should be owned by the society for the benefit of all. "Al Ardo Lillah" (The Earth Is God's), a poem in *Bal-i-Jibril*, succinctly sums up the idea of ownership of land :

Landlord : this earth is not thine, is
not thine not yet thy fathers' ; no, not thine, nor mine.¹³

On February 23, 1928, he made a thought-provoking speech on land revenue. He maintained that the charging of land revenue on the theory of state-ownership of land was wrong in principle, and in this connection he said :

"Let me tell the honourable representatives for Simla that the first European author to refuse this theory was the French man Perron in the year 1777. Later in 1830 Briggs made a very extensive inquiry as to the law and practice in the law and practice in India and relating to the theory of Stateownership of land. He gave in his book an accurate description of the laws of Manu, of Muslim law, and practices prevailing in various parts of India—Bengal, Malwa, the Punjab etc., and arrived at the conclusion that at no period in the history of India the State ever claimed the proprietorship of land. In the times of Lord Curzon this theory was put forward, but Taxation Committee's report, which was published some time ago, had come to a very clear finding that this theory had no basis at all

However, we have to see, in the first place, how far the present system of assessment is just, workable and sanctioned by a very old tradition; but we have first to see whether or not it has justice on its side. My submission is that it is not at all just. The injustice of it is perfectly clear. If a man happens to be a landowner, big or small does not matter, he has to pay land revenue. But if a man earns from sources other than land less than Rs. 2,000 a year, you do not tax him at all. This is where injustice comes in".¹⁴

"We do not apply the principle of Progression in the case of land revenue whereas we apply that principle in the case of Income-tax".¹⁵

"Whether a man holds two kanals of land, he is liable to pay the land revenue. In the case of income-tax the principle of ability or the principle of progression is applied, that is to say, there is a graduated scale and some people do not pay income-tax at all."¹⁶

After the overthrow of the Mughal rule, the British had adopted a revenue system for agricultural land on the assumption that the land belonged to the Crown. This theory was assiduously cultivated during the times of Lord Curzon (1899-1905). If a subject occupied land, he was required to pay a share of its gross produce to the sovereign in return for the protection he was entitled to receive. The question of the ownership of land did not arise.

Allama Iqbal was totally opposed to this unequitable system.

Rural Development :

The development of rural areas is at the heart and crux of the economic development of a country. It does not mean merely agricultural growth but it also calls for improving the economic and social conditions of the rural population by raising their incomes and providing them with necessary amenities like good houses, paved streets, water supply and sewerage, health services, education, roads, power, communication etc.¹⁷

On March 5, 1927, while speaking on the 1927-28 budget in the Punjab Legislative Council, he wanted allocation of more provision for village sanitation and for medical aid to women.¹⁸

He said :

"Thirdly, I suggest the formation of youth leagues and well-equipped volunteer corps throughout the country under the control and guidance of the Central Organization. They must specially devote themselves to social service, custom reform, commercial organization of the community and economic propaganda in towns and villages especially in the Punjab where enormous indebtedness of Muslim agriculturists cannot be allowed to wait for the drastic remedies provided by agrarian upheavals. Things appear to have reached the breaking point as in China in 1925 when peasant leagues came into being in that country. The Simon Report admits that the peasant pays a substantial portion of his means to the State. The State, no doubt, gives him in return peace and security, transport and communication. But the net result of these blessings has been only a kind of scientific exactitude in taxation, destruction of village economy by machine-made goods and the commercialisation of crops which makes the peasant almost always fall a prey to money-lenders and commercial agents. This is a very serious matter especially in the Punjab. I want the proposed youth leagues to specialise in propaganda work in this connection and thus to help the peasantry in escaping from its present bondage. The future of Islam in India largely depends, in my opinion, on the freedom of Muslim peasants in the Punjab. Let then the fire of youth mingle with the fire of faith in order to enhance the glow of life and to create a new world of actions for our future generations".¹⁹

Industrial Development

The cause of industrial development was very dear to the heart of Allama Iqbal. He considered the development of industries essential for mitigating the curse of unessential unemployment. On many international

platforms there is a talk of Indigenous Technology which is being wrongly associated with Mahatma Gandhi. The historical fact is that Allama Iqbal was the author of this concept.

Examine this excerpt from his speech :

We spend practically nothing on industries. And as I have said before, and as many other speakers have pointed out, industrial development alone can save us from the curse of unemployment. There is a good future for weaving industry in this province, and for shoe-making industry also, and if we encourage these industries I think we shall be able to save the province from unemployment, provided we protect these industries against Cawnpore and Ahmedabad".²⁰

The modern struggle, Iqbal believed, was conditioned by trade and industry. "Among the Asian Nations, the Japanese were the first to comprehend the secret of revolution. They dedicated themselves to industrialising their national economy. Today, they are recognized as one of the industrially advanced nations of the world. They had achieved this distinction because of their highly industrialised economy and not because of the contributions of any national philosopher, poet or literature".

His advice was unequivocal : Muslims must take to industry and Craftmanship. "In my eyes", declared Iqbal, "the hands of a carpenter, rough and coarse due to the constant use of the saw, are far more attractive and useful compared to the soft and delicate hands of a scholar, which never carry more than the weight of a pen".²¹

Inheritance Tax

Iqbal proposed inheritance tax for those who would inherit property of the value of twenty to thirty thousand rupees. He described it as "death duties". Quickly, Mian Fazl-i-Hussain, the Unionist Chief, retorted : "Living duties would be more appropriate".²² Not to be outwitted by the remark, Iqbal said : "It is the living who would have to pay". The Punjab Legislative Council, composed largely of these proposals.

Training to Youth

Examine some more excerpts from Iqbal's speeches : "And be it further said to be shame of us - men of older generation that we have failed to equip the younger generation for the a economic, political and even religious crisis that the present age is likely to bring. The whole community needs a complete overhauling of its present mentality in order that it may again become capable of feeling the urge of fresh desires and ideals."²³

"Mussolinis' maxim was : "He who has steel has bread". I venture to modify it a bit and say : "He who is steel has everything". Be hard and work hard".²⁴

Conclusion

It is time now that we made an intensive research on the economic philosophy of Iqbal and, in the process, not only learn from his great ideas but also implement them to ensure acceleration or the pace of economic development in such a manner as to ensure prosperity of the people of Pakistan and for establishing a New National Economic Order in which social justice is not paid a lip-service but is implemented in letter and spirit.

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ALDOUS HUXLEY ON LANGUAGE, REALITY AND 'AWARENESS'

MUHAMMAD ISMAIL BHATTI

In his fiction and non-fictional prose writings Aldous Huxley displayed an uncommon intellectual curiosity and unmistakable moral passion. Throughout his career as a writer he was engaged in the discovery of truth,¹ and in this pursuit he fought against intellectual smugness, prejudices, ignorance and stupidity. Whether we read his novels or essays, the strain of free enquiry and bold articulation is found on every page. This made him such a fashionable and inspiring writer even in the twenties. Stephen Spender wrote in a memorial note :

"He seemed to represent the kind of freedom which might be termed freedom from all sorts of things such as conventional orthodoxies, officious humbug, sexual taboos, respect for establishments."²

This is an important aspect of Huxley's intellectual stance. It was, in fact, a cardinal principle to which Huxley devoted himself throughout his life. He showed an absolute intellectual honesty in the analysis of ideas and orthodoxies, that is why he said so many telling things about modern civilization and the bewildering situation in which modern man has to seek self-fulfilment.

Being a very sensitive, courageous and perceptive man, Huxley undertook the task of subjecting nearly all aspects of modern civilization to a bold, merciless scrutiny.³ His findings are always instructive because they are motivated by a genuine moral passion. His restless mind explored numberless areas of knowledge with the sole intention of cleansing the doors of understanding and perception.

When he wrote his prophetic book, *Brave New World* (1932), he perhaps came to realize the destructive nature of propaganda as an awesome

instrument of imposing uniformity of thinking and behaviour on people. Propaganda made a special use of language, which was to distort or conceal truth and propagate lies.

When he was exploring the horrible consequences of full industrialization and technological advancement, Huxley attended to the task of understanding and explaining the actual role of language in the life of man and society. As a responsible intellectual he was worried by the crisis of identity and grim prospects of human happiness in the face of organized insanity. He began to study the techniques and dangers of propaganda, emphasizing that language should be seriously taken and its misuse, especially at an organized level, should be made known to every body. In the Thirties, Huxley was concerned with language in relation to the objective reality and his views are fully expressed in his famous essay, "Words and Behaviour"⁴

"Words and Behaviour" deals with the abuses of language, and Huxley shows how doubtful motives distort the vision of other people. He wrote: "Now, language is, among other things, a device which men use for suppressing and distorting the truth. Finding the reality of the world too unpleasant to contemplate, we create a verbal alternative to that reality, parallel with it, in quality quite different from it, which we contemplate thenceforward."⁵ Huxley refers here to the language of political propaganda and has in mind the misuse of language during war time when all sorts of lies are broadcast to paralyse individual thinking. Huxley's remedy is simple: every situation must be explained in an appropriate language so that truth and reality may be understood as they are. The word 'reality' occurs in this essay very frequently and Huxley means by it something that can be observed or known. Since his love of truth compells him to demand absolute sincerity and accuracy he takes the propagandists to task for distorting the reality. "Reality", he writes, "is a succession of concrete and particular situations. When we think about such situations we should use the particular and concrete words, which apply to them. If we use abstract words which apply equally well (and equally badly) to other, quite dissimilar situations, it is certain that we shall think incorrectly."⁶

Obviously, Huxley is talking about the necessity of using precise language for concrete and particular situations. Since he is emphasizing just one level of language, that 'register' which pertains to political propaganda, he makes no effort to take the enquiry to a deeper level. The reason, perhaps, is that at this stage he was more interested in easily definable and observable realities, and truth for him simply meant what in fact could be known and verified. Attacking the misuse of language he wrote: "Inappropriate and badly chosen words vitiate thought and lead to wrong or foolish conduct."⁷ Briefly speaking, this is the central theme of the whole essay. But as far as the motive behind the use of inappropriate language is concerned, Huxley has something more to say. "Now", he wrote, language is, among other things, a device which men use for suppressing and distorting the truth. Finding the reality of war too unpleasant to contemplate, we create a verbal alternative to that reality, parallel with it, but in quality quite different from it. That which we contemplate thenceforward is not war, as it is in fact, but the fiction of war as it exists in our pleasantly falsifying verbiage. Our stupidity in using inappropriate language turns out, on analysis, to be the most refined cunning."⁸ There is no ambiguity here, Huxley very clearly exposes the intentions of those who indulge in the distortion of truth by using inappropriate language. Taking just one word, 'force', he demonstrates how the propagandists conceal the facts of destruction that this word implies.

When we read the essay against the background of the political turmoil of the thirties as well as the massive propaganda campaigns launched by the non-democratic, and even democratic, governments of the period, the truth of Huxley's almost blunt protest becomes clear. Being an advocate of sanity and rationality, he did not spare those forces which spread and promoted misery and madness. Carrying the discussion further, he wrote:

"We protect our minds by an elaborate system of abstractions, ambiguities, metaphors and similes from the reality we do not wish to know too clearly; we lie to ourselves in order that we may still have the excuse of ignorance, the alibi of stupidity and incomprehension, possessing

which we can continue with a good conscience to commit and tolerate the most monstrous crimes."⁹

This is undoubtedly a statement made by a responsible intellectual whose mind has been agitated by the wilful and vile misuse of language for morally unclean ends. Man, Huxley reminded, invented language to think, act and behave consistently, but some people began to use it to confuse, mislead and even corrupt the minds of others. It would be less dangerous if the matter stopped there, but attempts have been made "to commit and tolerate the most monstrous crimes", and that, too, "with a good conscience". "Words and Behaviour" carries in it the anger and protest of a man who is genuinely provoked by a glaring malpractice, both deliberate and cunning, the consequences of which for mankind are extremely harmful.

Although Huxley's chief interest here is the analysis of the motives behind the propagandist's use of rhetoric, yet he has underlined the importance of language for clear thinking and good conduct. As has been quoted before, he calls upon people to use language responsibly to represent objective reality as it is. This we may call a simplistic semantic view, the purpose of which is not to explore, like the socio-linguistic or psycholinguistic approach, the full depth of the nature and function of language in the total human context. However, as we shall see in a moment, when Huxley's intellectual enquiries become profound with *Ends and Means* (1937), he begins to explore how language assists and hampers understanding and direct experience of reality and at what point it ceases to be helpful in achieving "total awareness" and enlightenment.

Hitherto, Huxley's attention was confined to the language of propaganda and he did not seem to be concerned with raising fundamental questions about its essential role in human thought and experience. Rather, social and moral issues of the period preoccupied his mind. But when he elaborated his doctrine of 'non-attachment' in *Ends and Means* a complete shift of interest becomes apparent. Now he sets out to explore the full range of human motives and aspirations and to explain the possibility of

self-transcendence in the interests of a peaceful and painless life. Ever after he continues to delve deeper and deeper in search of moral certitude and spiritual peace,¹⁰ and his interest in mysticism seems to coincide with a philosophical interest in language.

In this phrase, he accepts the indispensable role of language in human life and civilization and, at the same time, is critical of its adverse effects on self-awareness and full experience of reality. He regards language as a necessary condition of our humanity and at the same time a handicap in the way of awareness and self-realization as human beings. "Thanks to words", Huxley writes, "we have been able to rise above the brutes; and thanks to words, we have often sunk to the level of the demons."¹¹ Accepting the fact that "language is now one of the primary facts of every human experience",¹² he points out the dangers, confirmed by actual observation and experience, of uncritical dependence on language. On this issue he writes: "We use language so badly that we become the slaves of our clichés and are turned either into conforming Babbitts or into fanatics and doctrinaires. And we use immediate experience so badly that we become blind to the realities of our own nature and insensitive to the universe around us."¹³

The last sentence points towards the necessity of self-knowledge and understanding of the universe, which, as he says emphatically, is made impossible by the bad use of language. Language is, no doubt, indispensable to mankind, but its petrifying effects should in no case be ignored. It distorts, for example, direct perception and direct experience, and it so often happens that an ordinary mind misses the distinction between words and things. This results into errors of all sorts. "Our linguistic habits", said Huxley, "lead us into error"¹⁴ Awareness or a direct, undisturbed experience of the self or external reality requires the ability to transcend our linguistic habits, which pull towards conventional modes of knowing through channels of familiar conceptual moulds, and face the given in its full nakedness. The conceptual apparatus available to us is undoubtedly a help, but only to a certain extent, beyond which it turns out to be barrier. Man

has been, by necessity, relying on language to articulate, to remember and to communicate with others. It is a means of acquiring, retaining and transmitting knowledge. But men have ignored the fact that language also conditions the human mind, rendering it incapable of true understanding and direct experience of things.

As mentioned above, Huxley's serious interest in the philosophical aspect of language appeared at a time when he got interested in mysticism and began to place a high value on direct experience of reality without the assistance of language. He writes in *"The Doors of Perception"*: "To be shaken out of the ruts of ordinary perception, to be shown for a few timeless hours the outer and the inner world, not as they appear to an animal obsessed with survival or to a human being obsessed with words and notions, but as they are apprehended, directly and unconditionally, by Mind at Large this is the experience of inestimable value to everyone and especially to the intellectual".¹⁵

To all intents and purposes, Huxley here lays down the 'inestimable value' of direct apprehension. The intellectual is singled out for a special emphasis because he is a man capable of self-awareness and general consciousness and can exercise higher human faculties to the maximum. Huxley shows little interest in what ordinary people are competent to do and achieve. This high brow attitude is present everywhere in his writings.

While discussing the problem of language and experience let us not forget Huxley's visual difficulties and their impact on his intellectual activities. Having a weak eyesight, and even experiencing blindness for some time, he very naturally relied more and more on the use of his mental faculties, on his contemplative ability in carrying out creative thinking. This explanation of his attitude to language is borne out by his statements on this issue in *The Doors of Perception*. Discussing his visual handicap and its consequences, he says:

"I am and, for as long as I can remember, I have always been a poor visualizer. Words, even the pregnant words of poets, do not evoke pictures

in my mind. When I recall something, the memory does not present itself to me as a vividly seen event or object."¹⁶ Lest anyone should conclude how a sophisticated person can think without the medium of language, we can, like Huxley, enlist the evidence of a psychologist. On the relationship between language and thought, Robert Thomson writes:

"The ability to think is not identical with the ability to use language. Without language some people can still display considerable intellectual powers and with language relatively intact other people are unable to think at all efficiently."¹⁷

Huxley's adventures into the realm of mystical lore and intuitive perception led him to realize the limitations of language and he reaches a paradoxical point where its good and bad aspects seem to coexist inseparably. Though he acknowledges that 'total awareness', which is the goal of every sensitive and rightly aspiring person, suffers because of the linguistic paraphernalia carried by a normal person, yet he carries on his search for new modes of achieving this end. If language blocks awareness, let the fact be known to all. He wanted to shake men out of self-complacency so that they might realize how their relation to reality is affected by their unreasonable trust in their linguistic habits. Huxley explains the paradox of the usefulness of language in these words:

"Every individual is at once the beneficiary and the victim of the linguistic tradition into which he or she has been born—the beneficiary inasmuch as language gives access to the accumulated records of other people's experience, the victim in so far as it confirms him in the belief that reduced awareness is the only awareness and as it bedevils his sense of reality, so that he is all too apt to take his concepts for data, his words for actual things. That which, in the language of religion, is called 'this world' is the universe of reduced awareness expressed and, as it were, petrified by language."¹⁸

This is indeed a forceful and clear statement of the necessity of understanding what language does and cannot do. Reduced awareness is not

the real goal, it is, on the other hand, something to be overcome and shed off in the interests of total awareness. What is total awareness? "Total Awareness is a primary, choiceless, impartial response to the present situation as a whole."¹⁹ In his last period Huxley was seriously engaged in achieving and campaigning for 'total awareness'. Even when he wrote on education, he went beyond the conventional educational goals. And since he was preoccupied with a profounder response to reality than is customary, he brushed aside easy assumptions and made his own addition. Being in favour of 'understanding' and not 'knowledge' (see his essay on the subject in *Adonis and the Alphabet*), Wisdom and not information, Huxley prescribed: "The last and most important branch of non-verbal education is training in the art of spiritual insight."²⁰

'Spiritual insight' is recommended for reasons known to every serious reader of Huxley. Even in his earlier novels, in *Those Barren Leaves*, for instance, we find some major characters seeking a meaningful relation with reality. Calamy goes to the mountains, like Indian Yogis, to contemplate in solitude and to attain 'spiritual insight'.

'In search of 'total awareness' or 'enlightenment', Huxley studied mysticism. He turned to the Eastern religions, especially Buddhism, in search of guidance on this issue. He holds that Awareness is good, unawareness a sin. "He" (Huxley), writes John Atkins, "thought Buddhism decidedly superior to Christianity in this respect because in the Buddhist Ethic stupidity, or unawareness, ranks as one of the principal sins."²¹ Who can oppose the view that awareness is better than stupidity and ignorance? Man wants to know and has devised a number of methods and systems for the purpose. Unawareness is stupidity, a 'sin', because it negates the basic human instinct to know. Thus the way of being 'aware' is the way of establishing the right kind of relationship with reality, the noble goal preached by the greatest sages and seers of the world:

"To be enlightened is to be aware, always of total reality in its imminent otherness—to be aware of it and yet to remain in a condition to survive as an

animal, to think and feel as a human being, to resort whenever expedient to systematic reasoning. Our goal is to discover that we have always been where we ought to be."²²

Without going after the varied articulations, we find in his writings a ceaseless quest for modes of enlightenment. Since our focus is only on language, what concerns us here is the enigmatic function of language in the matter. Language is a social product and deals with shared experience. It makes the discovery and dissemination of knowledge possible; but, at the same time, it disturbs the achievement of a direct experience of reality, a goal which is very dear to Huxley. Starting with the idea that words cannot be things they represent, Huxley goes on to establish that "the glory and wonder of pure existence belong to another order, beyond the power of even the highest art to express."²³ This inadequacy of language to express the 'real', the 'pure existence', is the basis of Huxley's objection to taking language seriously. Through language we are tied to the world of reduced awareness', which may be the realm of 'stupidity'. If seen in the context of mystical experience, liberation lies in detachment from the linguistic habits and attachment to recollection and meditation, otherwise enlightenment would remain an elusive goal. "Systematic training" writes Huxley, "in recollection and meditation makes possible the mystical experience, which is a direct intuition of ultimate reality."²⁴ The value that Huxley places on 'a direct intuition of ultimate reality' is not the product of mere intellectual eccentricity, it is linked with the eternal human quest for truth and sense of purpose in life. The only unusual idea from the point of view of the average man is that of so much importance attached to the mystical experience. But, as has been said earlier, enlightenment or 'total awareness' is the necessary condition of wisdom and wisdom is unquestionably a valuable asset for man. If language, as has repeatedly been said by Huxley, plays the role of an inimical factor in the pursuit of wisdom, and if it frustrates the efforts for personal enlightenment and self-realization at a higher level, then our attitude to it should certainly be revised.

Huxley recommended a non-verbal, direct and intense contact with reality because only in this kind of contact can we attain 'awareness'. "In the antipodes of the mind", he wrote, "we are more or less completely free of language, outside the system of conceptual thought. Consequently our perception of visionary objects possesses all the freshness, all the naked intensity of experiences, which have never been verbalized, never assimilated to lifeless abstractions. Their colour (that hallmark of givenness) shines forth with a brilliance which seems to use praeternatural, because it is in fact entirely natural—entirely natural in the sense of being entirely unsophisticated by language or the scientific, philosophical, and utilitarian notions, by means of which we ordinarily re-create the given world in our own drearily human image."²⁵

This lengthy comment on the point under discussion is in no need of elaboration. Here is in a pithy form Huxley's view of the nature of human experience lying beyond the power of verbal expression.

Let us look at this question from another angle. Every language is a complete system and imposes its own limitations on the outlook and thinking of a person; it even conditions the human mind so much so that it is unable to perceive and grasp much that is in the universe. Huxley is very clear about the issue. He writes:

"But no language is perfect, no vocabulary is adequate to the wealth of the given universe, no pattern of words and sentences, however rich, however subtle, can do justice to the interconnected Gestalts, with which experience presents us. Consequently the phenomenal forms of our name-conditioned universe are by nature dilusory and fallacious".²⁶ This statement about the inadequacy of language in the face of the vast universe and the consequent fallacies arising out of the situation is positively iconoclastic and makes our assumptions about existing reality look absurd. What place then can be given to language in human life which, as we know, has an order only through language? Huxley was aware of this paradox and tried to give an answer. "Wisdom", he wrote, "comes only to those who have learned

how to talk and read and write without taking language more seriously than it deserves."²⁷

This leaves us in a fix, for language is inevitable "as the only begetter of civilization and even of our humanity."²⁸ and at the same time it restricts our ability to experience the 'given', infinite faces of reality. He seems to have reached a dead end in his thinking on language and 'awareness', on our verbal habits and enlightenment. This is so because Huxley is talking of those realms of experience the awareness of which is beyond the reach of language. It is the realm of 'silence' where 'names' have no place. Susila tells Will Farnaby not to be fussy about giving an experience a name. "Why call it anything? Names are such question beggers. Why not be content with just knowing that it happened?"²⁹ This is Huxley's final stand.

NOTES

1. Stephen Spender admired this aspect of Huxley's genius. "Undoubtedly Huxley became more and more a man pursuing what he believed to be truth." (Aldous Huxley, A. Memorial Volume, ed. Julian Huxley, London, 1965, P. 19).
2. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
3. David Cecil wrote: "He showed them (the intelligent young) how to survey life hampered neither by prejudice nor by ignorance." *ibid.* p. 14.
4. The Olive Tree, Chatto & Windus, London.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 89.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
10. "He had a profound sense of some spiritual reality, not to be apprehended by the senses, existing beyond the confines of time and space, serene, inviolate, ineffable." David Cecil in Aldous Huxley: The Memorial Volume, p. 14.
11. Adonis and the Alphabet, imp. 1958, p. 11.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
14. The Doors of Perception and Heaven and Hell, Penguin Books, London, 1959, p. 8.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
17. The Psychology of Thinking, Penguin Books, rept. 1964, p. 180.
18. The Doors of Perception and Heaven and Hell, p. 22.
19. Adonis and the Alphabet, p. 69.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
21. Aldous Huxley, London, 1956, p. 152.
22. The Doors of Perception and Heaven and Hell, pp. 63-64.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
24. Ends and Means, London, rept. 1965, p. 293.
25. The Doors of Perception and Heaven and Hell, pp. 77-78.
26. Adonis and the Alphabet, p. 87-88.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 188.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 188.
29. Island, London, 1962, p. 94.

O'NEILL AND THE EXPRESSIONISTIC TECHNIQUES
OF DRAMA

by

MOIN-UL-ISLAM

Introduction :

O'Neill, like any other great literary figure, has had his share of the critical evaluation which is not at all flattering for the leading playwright of America. Frederick Lumley considers it a "misfortune of the American drama, that O'Neill should be its number one exhibit and that he should have been levated to the ranks of the exceptional when he was only the head of the youngest drama in the world."¹ "London Times" printed in 1948 what is probably the most derogatory comment ever made of O'Neill. "This is the sort of stuff that might be written by an earnest sophomore who has listened too long to professors of dramatic literature at Chatanqua in the Rocky Mountains. There is indeed an air of juvenility about most of O'Neill's work." For some of his critics, the playwrights Virgil Geddes and St. John Ervin among others, he was melodramatic.

Impressions like these were typical of the attitude toward O'Neill's work for two decades after his initial phase ended in 1933. Since 1957 which introduced *Long Day's Journey into Night*, *A Moon for the Misbegotten*, *A Touch of the Poet* and revised *The Iceman Cometh*, some favourable criticism has been accorded O'Neill. Broadway reviewers, notably Robert Benchley were impressed with the strong pulse of his plots and playwriting. Such lines of defense have ranged all the way from those who, like Lionel Abel, commend O'Neill's command of convincing dialogue to those who hold with Krutch that he had a writer's "one indisputable gift" of being able to convey "the situation, the characters, and above all the depth of his concern with them," and those who took proper cognizance of his ability to achieve a "poetry of the theatre" without verbal virtuosity.

Gassner has beautifully summed up the opinions about O'Neill in the following lines :

"The stature of Eugene O'Neill casts a long shadow on the American theatre. Whether it stretches or contracts in the critical estimates of a particular period or critic, this much is certain : the height and breadth of the American theatre is measured by it. Find fault with O'Neill and you find fault with the entire American stage ; find merit in him and you find worth in its striving or straining, toward significant drama."²

American Drama before O'Neill

Before O'Neill the commercial American theatre of private management and production was running only for profit. It was primarily the show place of the stars. The average theatres goer attended much the same type of play that had been familiar to him from the time of the Civil War, unrealistic romance and frequent adaptations of popular novels and foreign plays, especially from the French. Its literary pretensions were, in the main, Victorian and genteel. The prevailing attitude was theatrical rather than dramatic. In 1914 a book called *The New Movement in the Theatre* appeared in which Sheldon Cheney listed the short-comings of native American dramatic writing. Striving toward the theatrical instead of dramatic, American plays achieved strength at the expense of subtlety and depth. In trying to bring to public what it wanted, the native writer depended too much on comic relief and melodrama. In Europe also things had taken a bad turn and the theatre was actually stagnating and there seemed little opportunity to bring it out of this condition because the entire commercial structure would be in imminent danger of collapse should it be weakened in any way.

Theatre Libré

André antoine succeeded in rescuing the French theater from this morass by the establishment of Theatre Libré in France. Others also

followed the example set by André in their own countries. The effect of all these theatres, of course, varied from country to country. Their main accomplishment was to offer a stage for the public appearance of many new writers whose plays could find an audience in none of the usual channels. Brieux in France, Shaw in England, Hauptman in Germany, Strindberg, Chekhov, Ibsen and others, regularly fed their output into these small houses, which eventually became a permanent influence in the betterment of dramatic creations everywhere at the close of the 19th century. Free theatre movement became effective in America also. But O'Neill had also the formidable task of bridging the intellectual gap which existed between American drama and the best drama of the world. The growing vogue in America of Freudian views on sex, Jungian concepts of racial memory, anti-puritanism in morals and mores, reactions against the middle class materialism, and post-war disillusionment with received values and factitious liberal promises—all these and related factors needed to be expressed in the theatre. The American drama was falling behind its cosmopolitan public in intellectual substance and behavioural sophistication. The public had had enough of Victorian conformity, and it was ready for social and aesthetic rebel.

A true work of art has to be a representative of the age. It is an expression not only of the individual who has created it, but it is also an expression of the social forces which shape the artist and his attitude toward life. It is a social document of the age. O'Neill inherited rough-house farces and prefabricated melodramas, whereas in Europe realism had already sprouted into naturalism and expressionism. Twentieth century is notable for its freedom of experimentation as the playwright has sought to respond appropriately to the powerful and often bewildering forces at work in our contemporary culture. As a consequence the dramatist has not felt obliged to confine himself to a single way of writing. O'Neill responded to his calling in the same spirit and started a series of experiments in an attempt to modernise American drama and liberate it from the commercialism of Belasco and Daly.

Experimentation :

He was able to do so, however, not merely because he had a general talent for dramatization but because he employed the resources of the modern theatre as developed abroad. Along with his associates of the Provincetown and Washington Square Companies he made use of the two overlapping developments in dramatic art without which modernism in the Western theatre is inconceivable. (Theatre Libre movement had made it possible to encourage a natural style of acting and permitted a much more simplified stage setting than the artificial and spectacular backgrounds of the past. O'Neill made best use of it). The first of these was subsumed under realism in general and naturalism—the naturalism of Strindberg particularly. A development already over-familiar to Europeans when O'Neill started to write, naturalism was relatively new to American public. O'Neill flavoured it with the colloquial speech of the sea and the land, thus paralleling the use of regional dialect by Synge and other leaders of the Abbey Theatre in Dublin, O'Neill brought to a head a belated naturalistic trend in the American drama. He introduced an anti-genteel and seemingly authentic reality to the American stage with *Beyond the Horizon*, *Anna Christie*, and *Desire Under the Elms*, as well as a number of one act plays.

But O'Neill had to cover higher grounds, as expressionism had come to be regarded as a sign of intellectual maturity. Discontented as he was with realism, he carried out a second revolution in the American theatre almost simultaneously with the first. By 1920 he had begun the experimental phase of his work. Successive productions of *The Empror Jones*, *The Hairy Ape*, and *The Great God Brown* led to his being identified with the Avant-garde "Art Theatre" movement initiated earlier in Europe by Strindberg, Gordon, Craig, Max Reinhardt, and other proponents of symbolist and expressionist stylization. His experimentation in other forms continued and he composed huge plays like *Lazarus Laughed*, *Strange Interlude*, and *Mourning Becomes Electra*. In these plays he tried to recover in modernized form the chorus, the aside, and the trilogy for the stage. In fact he yielded to many influences, and by virtue of his being a great artist integrated them all.

His departure from realism in such plays as *The Empror Jones*, *The Hairy Ape*, *All God's Chillun Got Wings*, *The Great God Brown*, and *Strange Interlude* at once put the American drama into modern age as they reflect the maturity of American drama.

Expressionistic Techniques :

O'Neill, an admirer of Strindberg's expressionistic and naturalistic plays, was the first to apply the techniques of expressionism to the American drama. He created two almost perfect adaptations of expressionist style. His fame as a writer of powerfully realistic short plays had just been established when he gave the Provincetown Players the first important expressionistic play in America, *The Empror Jones* of 1920. Its theme of man's relationship to his own soul and his God was well suited to express ionistic writing, and O'Neill made exceptional use of the stage facilities of light and sound to emphasize the deterioration of a human mind in the body of a haunted man. O'Neill has negotiated little that surpasses *The Empror Jones*. From beginning to end it holds the spectator and the reader, I venture, no less—under its spell. Its cumulative dramatic effect is irresistible. Although he has written plays that bulk larger in his career, he has written none that affords greater testimony to his uncommon dramaturgical skill. The impact of *The Empror Jones* upon an audience is tremendous. The tom-toms, starting, as Richard Dana Skinner has aptly put, at the rate of the human pulse beat and rising bit by bit as a fevered pulse would rise, lay hold of the emotions of the audience no less than those of Brutus Jones and sweep it along into the drama's powerful climax. The sound effect is one of the most theatrically impressive that O'Neill has managed: superior to the soft surge of the sea in his admirable one-act play, *The Moon of the Caribees* or to the dynamo's whirr in *Dynamo*. But, unlike such effects in the hands of numerous other playwrights, it is not extraneous; it is of the warp and woof of the play itself.

In O'Neill's gallery of characters, Jones looms notably large. The dramatist has worked subtly into his psychology and into the psychology

of the Negro more generally, more skilfully, than he succeeded in doing in the instance of *All God's Chillun Got Wings*, which he wrote three years later. What we find here is a crafty study of the black man's dream of release from bondage and, upon the dream's fulfilment, his defeat by the same imperialistic tricks with which he ruled his people. In the business of silver bullets which brings death to Jones, O'Neill has further indicated a symbolic imagination rare in the American drama. The whole of the latter part of the play, indeed, with its thunder of fancy, lifts the drama to heights which it had not attained before.

Man's inability to escape from his primitive past in *The Empror Jones* is, indeed, a remarkable tour de force, both as drama and as an exposition of the expressionist technique. With the exception of the first and last scenes in which Smithers is an independent intelligence, the play is pure expressionism. All action is a projection of Jones's mind.

The Hairy Ape made greater use of expressionism. Once more O'Neill's protagonist is a man without a place in the world, frantically seeking somewhere to belong. Yank, the ape-like stoker, prowls the streets of New York in search of revenge against the society which he feels has ruined him until he is at last welcomed into the crushing hands of a giant gorilla with whom he can identify himself. O'Neill employs highly stylized dialogue and number of masked actors in choral patterns far more than in *The Empror Jones*. The best expressionistic portion of the play is the scene depicting the violent clash of Yank's brutish world with that of rich, haughty Fifth Avenue: The people on the street appear as "a procession of gaudy marionettes" who take no notice of Yank's presence; and Yank now completely frustrated by their disregard attacks one gentleman, who summons the police.

In a play filled with naturalistic dialogue as primitive as the mentality of Yank, and his fellow stokers, O'Neill still had in mind only the larger meaning. "The subject", he said "is the same one that always was and always will be the one subject for drama, and that is man and his struggle

with his fate. The struggle used to be with the gods, but is now with himself, his own past, his attempt to belong." All of man's illusions are completely knocked down, one by one. Stridberg's impassioned avowal that there can be no solution to man's problems simply because man is man finds here its clearest expression in O'Neill. In assigning to the hairy ape the kind of belonging which can be found only in death, O'Neill embarked on a journey of rejection that would take him, except for a few hopeful interruptions, to a conclusion no more optimistic than the fate of the hairy ape. Not an angel and no longer a primitive, man stands between heaven and hell, finding lesser and lesser meaning as society becomes more complex and at the same time finding it impossible to return to the world of nature from whence he came. No problems are resolved in this play. None can help him out of his dilemma. Capitalism and materialism receive detailed, unqualified censure. But to rebel against them is futile. Man's inability to return to his former innocence finds its conclusive symbol in Yank's death at the hands of the beast. Similarly such ideals as "Liberty! Justice! Honour! Brotherhood!" become equally meaningless. To restore to men the sense of belonging, belonging to a power higher than himself, to a way of life both giving and commanding respect, to restore him to a sense of creation, of achievement to a degree that enables him to feel he is needful part of the whole, is something that no social organization can provide.

The ape-like traits of the workers are seen through Mildred's distorted and neurotic vision. In the Fifth Avenue scene the robot like characteristics of the leisure class are seen through Yank's equally distorted vision. The symbolism of steel bars and Rodin, like position are classic examples of expressionistic techniques.

In *The Great God Brown*, mask as an expressionistic device is put to a continuous and more subtle use which each of his main characters put on and take off for each other's benefit or delusion the crisp false faces behind which throb their tremendous inner selves. One of them even

steals the mask of his friend's dead self, in order to possess his friend's widow.

O'Neill continued to use expressionism in his search for meaning in life, specially in the complex system of masks in both the *Great God Brown* in 1926 and *Lazarus Laughed* in 1928. In the latter alone, he used 400 costumes, 300 masks, which include the double size masks of Greek tragedy; the half face of the commedia dell'arte and the ordinary full faced mask, and as many wigs.

O'Neill made occasional uses of the technique in subsequent plays but it was never as sustained as in these two plays. His most effective use of the technique in subsequent plays is in *Marco Millions*, when Marco, on his travels to the East sees all countries and customs as the same because he is blinded by his purely commercial point of view. O'Neill used the technique only of seeing everything through a central intelligence and thus made his plays truly and permanently viable.

Although expressionism was short lived yet the experiments of the imaginative artists have left behind some permanent legacies which no realist is entirely able to ignore. Because of this gift modern realism has a fluidity and a plasticity which add constant excitement to the business of attending the modern theatre and which prevent any attempt to create a rigid classification establishing the precise nature of "modern" drama.

Conclusion:

There can be no doubt that O'Neill represented almost everything that is fundamentally modern about the American theatre. He reflected also all that until recently was modern about the European theatre in his restless experimentation. He turned to the continent for its inspiration and ideas: to the realism of Ibsen, the psychology of Strindberg, the psychiatry of Freud, the philosophy of Bergson, and that combination of elements called "expressionism". Almost single handed he liberated the American drama from the commercialism and effectiveness of the pre-war

stage craft and dignified this art. He carried the drama beyond the banality of surfaces. He made it a calling rather than a trade. For this purpose he yielded to all kinds of influences from realism to expressionism. O'Neill's lofty individualism placed him in the forefront of those who began to modernise the content of American drama no less than its form. His response to the vogue of depth psychology led him to modernize further both dramatic form and content by attempting to manifest subconscious tensions. The means he adopted for this purpose carried him into areas of experimentation which only venturesome playwrights dared enter and where only exceptionally adept ones could survive.

He cannot be called an expressionist. Neither can he be called a naturalist or a Freudian. As a true artist he used these techniques for his purpose and did not become a slave to any one of them. Whatever technique he adopted he put his seal on it and made it his own. In expressionism also he is less abstract in characterization than the expressionists and less incoherent in his presentation of scene than Strindberg.

O'Neill's romantic plays proved far less impressive than his expressionistic ones. In these he could use to the full extent his considerable theatricalizing faculty, for it has always been apparent that O'Neill's imagination has been ever more theatrical than visionary and poetic. His magic as well as his violence, for which he has been accused of giving us melodrama in the garb of tragedy, his mastery as well as his aberrations, must be related to the fact that theatre came to him many shaped and unconstrained when he set down to write. A theatrical imagination was, however, his ally whenever he wanted to dramatize the division in man's soul. This is seen in the phantasmagoric vignettes of *Emperor Jones* and the *Hairy Ape*, and in his use of masks for *The Great God Brown* and the interior monologues for *Strange Interlude*.

Among the most stylized or "expressionist" of these *The Hairy Ape*, moreover, best illustrates the fact that even symbolism in O'Neill was double faceted. Whereas another dramatist might have been content to make Yank, the stoker hero of the play, represent the working man trying to

work out his disorientation and protest, O'Neill made him a symbol of Man looking for a connection with the universe once he emerges from a brutish state.

O'Neill seems to insist in these plays that reality is not represented by the surface of things. A man is more than his external behaviour and appearance. To get at the truth, the mask must be torn away, the facade pierced. Genuine reality is inner reality. To really understand a man is to know the private, inner world where dwell his secret and sometimes unconscious desires, aspirations, conflicts, frustrations, hallucinations. It is this strange and confusing subjective reality that O'Neill wished to explore. O'Neill is striving to project the essential qualities of objects, experiences and people from the inside out. He is not concerned at all with copying what meets the eye. Accurate representation of shape, size, and appearance hold no interest for him. He wishes to plumb the depths where man really lives. Because of his desire to reveal inner reality, O'Neill suppresses the details of actuality and discards conventional theatrical techniques to develop his own style of writing and production. He is not bound by time and space, nor does he pretend to follow a logical sequence of action. For the same reason characters in his plays are usually depersonalized.

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YOUTH EMPLOYMENT IN PAKISTAN

By

ZAFAR IQBAL and ABDUL MATEEN KHAN

Like other developing countries, in Pakistan also the youth constitute a significant proportion of country's population and labor force. Being the most dynamic element in the society, it attracts the government's attention to organize it and implement programs aiming at the training of youth for participation in development tasks. The formulation of youth ministry is one aspect, social and attitudinal characteristics, value systems, and youth unrest in particular with wide-spread unemployment, need a systematic study. In this paper an attempt is being made to present some aspects of youth employment in Pakistan, but a great deal more research is required to improve the understanding of this complex problem. The idea is to stimulate contribution to overall problem of youth unrest.

We shall first look into the quantitative aspects.

Population and its Growth Ratio :

According to the population census held in 1972 the population of the country amounted to 72.4 million. Two things are important in it. One is the high proportion of persons below 10 years of age as compared to developed countries. Secondly, males constitute a markedly high proportion of the population than in other countries ; the 1972 census indicated a ratio of 114 males to 100 females.¹

An overwhelming majority of population is in rural areas, almost 71 per cent of the total number, but it is declining. Due to different fertility and mortality trends, different projections have been made for the estimates of population. The Five Year Plan envisages that the rate of growth will decline to 2.7 at the end of the plan.

TABLE I

Youth Component

The following table shows the Number of youth.

Population Aged 0-24 Years, Pakistan 1951 to 1972
(In Thousands)

Year	0-14	15-19	20-24	18-24	0-24
1951	13383	3733	2509	6242	19625
1961	16738	3533	3083	6616	23354
1972	28763	5545	4736	10281	39044

Source: P.E.S. 1977-78

In Pakistan, the population under 25 years of age increased for 19.625 million in 1951 to 39.044 million in 1972 or by about 2 times (Change is 98.95%). Children and youth together constituted 59.78% in 1972, youth alone forming about 15.74%. The population under age 15 was about 44 per cent as compared with 27.1 per cent in developed countries and 40.6 per cent in developing countries.² This high proportion of young people in Pakistan is annually moving into the child bearing ages and once they begin having children of their own, there will be many more children simply because there are so many potential parents. This will result in age distortion in the next generation.

Participation in Labor Force :

The ratio of participation of country's population in its labor force to some extent depends upon the definition of the economically active population. In Pakistan census authorities regard all persons of 10 years of age and over who work or are looking for work for profit, a wage or a salary, or who help any member of their family in agriculture, trade, or any other profession as active labor force.

TABLE II

Youth Component

Activity Status of Youth Population, age 10-24 (000)

	Total	Males		Females	
	Number	Percent	No	Percent	No.
1. Population	18454	100	10016	100	8437
2. In labor force	6886	39.87	5171	64.87	844
(a) Employed	5272	31.07	4893	48.85	296
(b) Unemployed	1614	8.80	1078	16.02	548
3. Outside labour force	11568	60.13	4845	35.13	7593

Source: P.E.S. 1977-78 & Labor Force Survey, 1974-75.

In 1972, 39.87% of the total youth population was in labor force, i.e., employed or looking for employment (unemployed), while among the males as much as 65% was in labor, force, the corresponding proportion among females was only about 10%. In outside labor force there are students and household workers.

The pattern of regional distribution of the youth population follows the broad lines of general population. Over 72% of the youth labor force are in rural areas, while the urban areas contain 28% of youth population and 33% of the youth labor force. Thus like general trend, the rural-urban shift of the youth labor force appears to be faster.

The educational composition of the youth population presents some interesting features. The distribution of the youth population by educational status is given in table III. *Literacy Ratio by Sex, and Areas.*

TABLE III
Literacy Ratio

Total	age 10-24		
	Total	Urban	Rural
Total	28.48	46.53	19.47
Male	37.9	53.63	29.93
Female	17.47	41.6	7.33

Source: P.E.S. 1977-78.

One striking point is rather the uneven distribution of literacy by sex and area. Among males, literacy rates are 38 % and among females 17%. The highest literacy rate was in age group 15-19, which was 32.2 %.³

The literacy rates widely differ between urban and rural areas. The urban areas have a ratio of 46.5 % whereas it is only 19 % in rural areas. This trend in youth follows the broad lines of general population.

Youth Unemployment :

It is noted earlier that 8.8 % of youth labor force was reported unemployed in 1972 (Table II). In Pakistan unemployment is predominantly a problem concerning and affecting the youth. The available data on unemployment, though limited, permit some broad conclusions to be drawn.

Data from the labor force survey 1974-75 indicate that the total unemployment in the country was about 2 % whereas, H.E.D survey of autumn, 1973 reported it 13.0 per cent. Table IV gives the distribution of youth unemployment.

TABLE IV

% age of Unemployment By Age Group and Sex and Area

Age	Total		Male		Female	
	Rural	Urban	R	U	R	U
10-14	2.2	9.3	2.4	9.9	—	—
14-19	2.7	7.1	2.9	7.4	0.8	—
19-24	2.2	4.6	2.4	4.8	—	—
25-34	1.0	1.2	1.0	1.4	1.3	1.9
35-59	0.7	1.2	0.8	1.1	—	2.7
60-64	1.4	1.2	1.0	1.2	—	—
65—	0.8	1.9	0.9	2.0	—	—
All Ages	1.3	2.7	1.4	2.8	0.4	1.5

Source :—Labor Force Survey 1974-75

The concentration of unemployment in youth age group⁴ is apparent from this table. A notable feature is sharp fall in the unemployment rates in the age groups 25-34 and above. The table shows that in the youth age group, urban unemployment rates are markedly higher than the rural areas in both males and females.

Because of unavailability of data on youth unemployment by educational status we will have to rely upon the data in which no age distinction is given. Table V presents this picture.

TABLE V

Unemployment rates by literacy level of Education and Area, 1974-75.

	Pakistan	Rural	Urban
Illiterate	1.1	0.8	2.2
Literate	—	—	—
No education or less than Primary	1.2	0.2	3.4
Primary education but less than matric	2.8	3.0	2.6
Matric but less than degree	5.7	8.4	4.0
Degree General education	5.6	14.9	3.2
Degree & Postgraduate Diploma	2.6	—	3.1
Other than education			
All Groups	1.7	1.3	2.7

Source:—Labor Force Survey 1974-75.

This table is for the whole of the population. However, it shows that unemployment rate increases as a whole in the higher categories of educational attainment. In considering the interaction between education and employment it is possible to identify three different trends.

Firstly, it appears that the proportion of the employed falls with the rising level of schooling.⁵ In other words, the probability of obtaining employment tends to diminish as the educational level of labor force entrant rises.

Though it is very difficult to apply this conclusion to youth, it indicates the definite disharmony between the educational output and the employment market, and serves to disprove the impression that a longer stay in the education system would result into better chances of obtaining employment.

The second trend shows that despite this shrinkage in the probability of obtaining a job with more education, the actual range of better job

risers with educational level. The study⁶ of the Rawalpindi city concludes that for all completed education levels of urban males, income differentials emerge with the initial year of work and maintain over the life cycle. These differentials increase slightly by educational level.

The third trend in the education-employment relationship is manifested in increasing unemployment among the rural population, Table V showing the proportion of rural unemployed is only slightly more than that of urban at primary education but less than matric, but at degree level it is more than double. This is a disturbing feature and is indicative of the more opportunities to urban population than rural. It also shows that the reservoir of educated rural labor force is potentially capable of joining the labor force at short notice if special efforts are made for employment generation for this group. This factor has important implications for employment policy.

For the last many years, this problem has posed a grave concern to the economy. But unless reliable data is available, the above issues can not be made a part of the policy.

To conclude the quantitative picture, recent estimates are quite valid guidelines. The youth population in 1972 was approximately 18.45 million. Of this about 6.89 million or 40% was in labor force. It is estimated that 40% of this was employed.

Employment Attitudes :

There has been a very little investigation into the attitudes and aspirations of the youth in Pakistan. The studies on this topic need caution, specially because the employment preference of an individual is influenced by a variety of factors such as income expectation, district or region of proposed employment nature and status of the job, short term and long term prospects etc. An unemployed person may respond realistically but the hypothetical questions may not receive well considered options or choice. If any survey is conducted, the stagnant employment market or limited possibilities of finding jobs would affect significantly on the actual preference pattern.

The employment preference survey,⁷ conducted in 1961 by Psychology Department, of the sample of Punjab University students indicated that occupational choices are highly influenced by parental aspirations; their values parents occupations etc. But the scope and objective of the survey was different, it can not be strictly applicable. The preferences can be known by the number of applicants in professional and educational institutions, but it reveals only the preference of educated people. Secondly most of the people apply in more than one institution due to uncertain future. Being a transitional society, having laissez faire socio-economic order at the time of independence, political instability, the nationalization experience and now religious renaissance coupled with stresses and strains of economic development, there are several factors which influence the attitudes, aspirations and choices of the youth. There is conflict between the individual goals and the socio-economic perception of national advantage. Growth of many institutions, system of rewards and incentives, the status and administrative structure have their impact upon career choice. One can understand the youth attitude towards employment, since it is the representation of the rest of the society. The major difficulty is, however, absence of data and information at micro level.

Migration of Youth :

The study⁸ of Gujranwala city indicated that the proportion of young persons of working age is much higher among the migrants, than in the general population. Another study⁹ of Karachi and Faisalabad indicated that out of total migrants in the sample survey 64% were in the age group of 11-30 years in Karachi and 64% in Faisalabad. The same study¹⁰ stated in the causes of Migration that 87.4% in Karachi and 76.6% in Faisalabad, migrated due to search for employment opportunities, owing to under employment, low income and poverty.

Migration to other countries, has also suddenly increased during 1970's. Apparently, it seems that youth constitute a major proportion among migrants, but it needs a systematic Survey.

Waiting Period :

The study of Karachi and Faisalabad provides some information about migrant persons. The following tables shows the percentage of surveyed people waiting for employment.

Not Employed	Karachi	Faisalabad
1-10 days	15.6	43.6
10 days-1 month	14.8	21.6
1-3 month	29.5	13.8
3-6 months	19.3	8.9
6 months-1 year	5.4	1.8
More than one year	4.6	0.7

Source : Ibid P.P.

It is not easy to draw firm conclusions in the absence of data, however two points need explanation. First, unemployment rates in the country do not provide data about the duration of time therefore, rate and pattern of absorption in the labor force over a period of time cannot be ascertained. Secondly, the waiting period can be judged with the constant high rate of unemployment among the youth. Statistical investigations and timeseries analyses are needed about the movement of unemployed into economic activity.

Government Measures :

1. Integrated Rural Development Program :—

The program initiated in July 1972. It aimed at the integration of services to agriculture. "One of the Major objectives of this program is the creation of jobs."¹¹ The physical output of this program may be disputable but it has provided employment opportunities.

2. National Development Volunteer Program (NDVP).

It was established in 1973, with a view to providing employment to educated persons : out of a total of 60,000 registered persons, 20,700 were placed for on-the-job training, and out of these 1992 volunteers have been provided permanent employment during 1973-74. But in 1975-76, registration was limited to engineers.¹² The program has not fulfilled its objectives fully and has been limited due to palliative or emergent in nature.

The fifth five year plan provides the increase of internal jobs by 3.38 million and out of these 48% are in agriculture sector, 16% manufacturing, 14% trade and 11% inservices. It is also expected that the flow of migrants from the country will be reduced. There are programs for skill development and manpower training as well.

For the meaningful and effective utilization of youth, therefore, some factors should not be neglected. The problem of unemployment can not be solved by emergency measures, which are often limited in their approach and sporadic in nature. The programs of rural development should be implemented as an integral part of overall national development. The ideology and objectives of such a program should be clearly defined and publicly stated.

The private sector, should also shown the responsibility of employing youth labor force on attraction terms.

Our youth look for opportunities of acceptance and recognition.

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CONTENTS

	Page
I. THE ARCH OF MADAEN FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE FAMOUS ARABIC AND PERSIAN POETS KHA- GHANY AND BOHTORY	<i>Dr. Amir Mahmood Anvar</i> 1
II. THE ECONOMIC GENESIS OF THE PAKISTAN MOVEMENT AND ALLAMA IQBAL	<i>Khawaja Amjad Saeed</i> 33
III. ALDOUS HUXLEY ON LANGUAGE, REALITY AND AWARENESS	<i>Muhammad Ismail Bhatti</i> 47
IV. O'NEILL AND THE EXPRESSIONISTIC TECHNIQUES OF DRAMA	<i>Moin-ul-Islam</i> 59
V. YOUTH EMPLOYMENT IN PAKISTAN	<i>Zafar Iqbal & Abdul Mateen Khan</i> 71