



NATIONALISM IN PERSPECTIVE: ALLAMA IQBAL'S CRITIQUE OF WESTERN NATIONALISM

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ABSTRACT

The skin-deep charm of the Western civilization hypnotized the Muslim world instantaneously. Nationalism was one of those products imported to the realm of the Muslim politics, which received uncritical credence at the hands of both Muslim academics and laymen alike. Allama Iqbal, the cherished Muslim ideologue, having dug deep into the corpus of the western philosophy, came scathingly out in condemnation of the Western Territorial Nationalism dubbing it a mirage, which had brought the humanity on the brink of annihilation. He was particularly perturbed by the blind aping by the Muslim world of the Western Territorial Nationalism around whose neck Iqbal saw hanging the beads of aggression, imperialism, and atheism. Taking to his poetic shafts he warned the Muslims to guard themselves against this infernal bane. As a substitute for the Western nationalism, he put forward the idea of "Cultural Nationalism" that drew the divine sanction in entirety from the Holy Quran, and the Sunnah. Unlike the western nationalism, which was divorced from the ethical and spiritual elements, and was predicated upon the trivial foundations, the cultural nationalism sought the unification of the mankind on the basis of the loftiest ideal of Islam. Iqbal pleaded passionately for universalism, and a kind of 'League of the Muslim countries'.

KEYWORDS: Nationalism, Allama Iqbal, Cultural Nationalism, Ethnicity, Pan-Islamism.

Introduction:

In the modern sense, inspired by precepts of liberty, equality and fraternity, the Nationalism issues forth from the aspirations of a community to assert its unity, and independence predicating its existence as 'distinct' upon bases of race, territory, and language. A Nation is a community of people sharing a commonality of ties of homeland, of culture, and those of tradition.

Dr. Muhammad Iqbal affectionately hailed as Allama Iqbal (1877-1938) was a renowned poet, and the Muslim ideologue par excellence. The enviable place he catapulted to at the apex of human thought points vividly to his sublime stature. Whereas Allama is predominately referred to as a poet extraordinaire, the scheme of his philosophical thought is no less intriguing. In fact, both his poetry, and philosophy complement each other. Dr Iqbal is fondly heralded as Muffakir-e-Pakistan (thinker of Pakistan), Shair-e-Mashriq (The Poet of the East), and Hakeem-ul-Ummat (The Sage of Ummah).

Delved deeper and deeper into the new emerging trends in the west which hypnotized the Muslim world into a trance, Iqbal took to picking apart the contemporary western civilization, and its multi-faceted brainchildren characterizing them as rotten to their very core. He contended that socio-political institutions fashioned out of this civilization which was barren of a spiritual and ethical element, could not at all take root, and yield any good to humanity. "An ideology born out of the womb of atheism could never refine, and elevate the human thought. Allama Iqbal singled out democracy, nationalism, and imperialism as the most infernal banes fallen upon the humanity."The

trio he condemned as stripping the humankind of its humanity was the centerpiece of his critique. He came flatly out in condemnation of the "Western Nationalism" which brought an appalling misery to humanity during his own life in the WW1. He passionately pleaded against the creed of nationalism exhorting the Muslims to guard themselves against this curse.

1. Defining Nationalism:

The term 'nationalism' despite the fact of its having gained a wide currency worldwide, so far remains elusive as a concept. The catholicity of the ideology has made it much thornier for the political gurus to reach a consensus so as to evolve a universal definition of it; besides, catching on to its various dynamics operating rather in asymmetrical, and irregular fashion at different times, and in the different corners of the globe. Even whereas in the parlance of one discipline, say, political science, it signifies one thing, something precisely different, if not antithetical, is connoted by it in another discipline.

Nationalism stems its roots back from Latin origin "Natio" derived from "Nasci". It denotes: "to be born" conveying the idea of common blood ties. In the late thirteenth century, it was imported to English people who meant by it: 'a blood related group'. Later, it referred to inhabitants of a country. It merits an attention here that the word 'nation' became vogue in the eighteenth century, whereas 'nationalism' is a much more recent phenomenon.

Nationalism is an ideology predicated upon the ground that an individual's loyalty and commitment to his/her nation-state must surpass other individual or group interests.

By the term are meant fundamentally two premises: 1) the attitude members of a group/nation hold when they care about their national identity, and 2) the actions the members of a nation take while seeking to achieve, and sustain self-determination.

“From the perspective of political and economic union of a people, a nation is a kind of a role the entire populace assumes while they become organized for a mechanical purpose. As such, the society has no ulterior purpose. It is an end in itself. It is a intrinsic self-expression of man as a social animal. It is a natural regulation of human relationships, so that men can develop ideals of life in cooperation with one another. There is also a political flipside of it; however, this is only for a special purpose. It is for self-preservation. It is solely power oriented, and is not of human ideals.”

Whilst the creed of nationalism is contingent on many a facet of it depending largely on time, and space, more often than not, by protagonists and antagonists alike, it is oversimplified. As stated by Kunisuke Hamada and Shunsuke Tanabe in their “Relationship between Subordinate Concepts of Nationalism and Political Values: Empirical Assessment in the Ethnic Nation” (p.1): nationalism is judged upon the simplistic yardstick of the political orientation. The schema goes like this: the right is the torchbearer of nationalism while the left tosses it away. The former is passionately nationalistic, and extols a nation seeking more and more monopoly of state power to regulate morality, security, and pursuing a high-handed approach on the diplomatic front. The latter, that is to say, the left, dubs nationalism as a well-thought of scheme contrived to enslave peoples, and it leads to militarism, imperialism, and sheer exploitation.

Jensen (2016) holds that it is now widely conceded that the nationalist sentiment developed as a result of shaping up of collective memory cultures in the nineteenth century. National unity was nourished with the help of inventing traditions, such as symbols, rituals, heroic stories, legends, and myths or superstitions. They furnished a people with the concrete basis for fashioning themselves into a socially and also politically organized community, and with traditions, and roots which characterized its unique epics, and legends. A nation’s ‘identity checklist’, as aptly called by Anne Marie, included founding fathers, national heroes, traditional attires, their language, an emblematic animal and a history. (The Roots of Nationalism: National Identity Formation in Early Modern Europe, 1600-1815, Edited by Lotte Jensen, year 2016, P. 17)

Anderson (1987) has argued in his acclaimed work “Imagined Communities” that modern nations function as imagined communities; although members of what he calls “imagined community” do not personally know the rest of the members of the group, they all have [evolved] an image of their national community in their minds. Such images are spread by means of mass media, and other institutions, such as newspapers, and books.

1.1. Significance of the study:

Whilst a great deal of work on canvassing the true picture of Iqbal’s nationalistic views clutters up the corpus of the national as well as the international literature in the form of both books, and research articles supplemented further by theses, there remains a need to critique the western nationalism in the light of the objections hurled at it by Allama Iqbal in order to truly weigh the pros, and cons of the said concept, and appreciate the philosophical acumen of Allama. And this study attempts to do that to fill the gap.

1.2. Research Objectives:

1. To comprehend the nature, and dynamics of the cult of western nationalism keeping in view Iqbal’s shift from Western nationalism to pan-Islamism.
2. To objectively grasp Iqbal’s objections leveled at it, and weigh them in the light of the experiences of its application in the pre- and post-WW’s world.
3. To examine the nature, and feasibility of Iqbal’s ‘Cultural Nationalism’.

1.3. Research Question:

2. What factors induced Allama Iqbal to take a flight from an Indian Nationalist to a Pan Islamist?
3. Was it that Iqbal discredited nationalism on account of its lacking spiritual base, or he turned a jaundiced eye to it keeping in view the Indian experience for its foisting the Hindu majority on the Muslim minority?
4. What is Iqbal’s cultural nationalism, and how is it different from the western nationalism?

2. Literature Review

2.1. Theoretical Assumptions on Nationalism:

Studies on nationalism involve a number of interrelated concepts such as race, tribe, class, nation, religious group, and language group, etc. Nationalism in different countries has different contours, and has different bases, say common race in one country, and a common language in another country. Once upon a time, Christianity was able to unify populations as large as empires on the common bonds of faith-inspired nationalism. Islam in the history of mankind was triumphant in reconciling the uncouth warring tribes of the Arabs with each other under its banner. It vehemently proclaimed that race or caste was for reference only. Further, there are quite as numerous theories on nationalism as the scholars working on it.

In “Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison” Paul Brass (1991) advances a typical theoretical perspective on ethnicity and nationalism by deriving instances from a range of situations. His theory rests on two main premises. The first assumption is that there is no objectivity in the rise of ethnic identity, and its transformation into nationalism. Rather, the transformation of cultural differences into a base for political differentiation becomes visible only under certain

situation. His thesis is basically that ethnicity and nationalism are not 'given', rather are social, and political constructions.

A number of scholars on nationalism view it as an intrinsic sentiment of man towards his/her nation- something that has existed since times immemorial. However, there is also a camp of scholars such as Gellner (1983), and Anderson (1991) with what is known "modernist approach" arguing that nationalism is a phenomenon which first came to the fore in modern times. Accordingly, the emergence of nationalism precedes the nation, contrary to the contention that nationalism arises out of a nation itself. They maintain that nations are born as a corollary of modernization and industrialization. As put by Gellner that nations came to reunify, by cultural and linguistic means, people cut off due to industrialization.

The theory by Miroslav Hroch merits a special mention here. In his "From National Movement to the Fully-formed Nation: The Nation-building Process in Europe", he comes up with rather an interesting thesis. He classifies a nation as "a large social group integrated by a wide array of integrated factors, political, social, economic, geographical, cultural, and historical, and not just one factor. He lists three elements responsible for creating a nation:

1. a memory of a common past treated as a destiny of the group;
2. a density of linguistic or cultural ties facilitating a higher degree of communication within that group or beyond.
3. a belief in the equality of all of the members of the group regulated as a civil society.

2.2. Nationalism from Indian Perspective:

As stated by Maulana Mawdudi (1941) during the course of the freedom movement, the thorny issue of nationalism flared up apparently an irresolvable embroilment. The terms 'nation', 'nationalism', and 'nationality' were in vogue at the hands of each stakeholder, vagueness, and impreciseness of the concept notwithstanding. While championing the "Composite Nationalism" Congress adamantly dwelt on its claim that all the people, notwithstanding their religious orientation, constituted one and the same nation. It classified all the religious groups as merely sects. It flatly dismissed the "Two Nation Theory" propounded by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, and later systematized, and refined by Allama Muhammad Iqbal. With the view to popularizing the Indian Nationalism, it took many steps; however, two schemes it launched merit a mention here. One was an educational scheme known as "Wardha scheme, and the Vidya Mandir scheme". The other was "Muslim mass contact movement.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, a cherished Muslim intellectual, and leader. His lofty stature earned him utmost reverence among the Muslims. With Allama Iqbal, at first, he was a pan-Islamist, but later following the collapse of the Ottoman Caliphate, he subscribed to the Indian Nationalism, and remained a die-hard nationalist till his last breath. Maulna Mawdudi who held Azad initially in the

highest esteem as the successor of Shaikh Ahmed Sirhandi, and shah Ismail, stood flabbergasted at his sudden shift, deeming it the greatest tragedy of the century.

Aziz (1961) in his work writes that in contrast to the religious universalism, Azad pleaded for composite nationalism, and against Iqbal's plea for a Muslim state, he suggested it as a political substitute. It may be noted here that the majority of the Muslims jumped on the bandwagon of the camp of Allama Iqbal, and Muhammad Ali Jinnah, with a few including the Ulemas of Deoband endorsing the thesis of Azad. Maulana Azad drew inspiration in support of his political alliance with the Congress from one the verses of the Holy Quran, and clauses of Mithaq-i Madinah.

Maulana Mawdudi, another renowned Muslim ideologue, heaped scorn on the composite Indian Nationalism, and the Muslim League's version of Nationalism alike holding the view that neither the composite nationalism, nor Muslim nationalism was Islamic in their orientation. Thus, he stood in inveterate antagonism to both, warning the Muslims of India to stay away from them. Himself an orthodox, he was engulfed by a constant troubling concern as to the place of Islam in a new state of Pakistan. He wondered if the emancipation of the country from the fetters of the British Raj would usher in the religious, cultural, and national freedom to the Muslims. If a democratic national state, a state without religion, were constituted, what would be the position of Islam therein then? He made a very passionate plea that all energy and effort were to be oriented towards securing the supreme end that is, establishing Dar al-Islam.

Earlier Views of Iqbal on Nationalism:

In the earlier phase of his thought, There we find a Iqbal who was a staunch nationalistic singing paeans to his motherland India, and instilling in the minds, and hearts of his readers, the passion to idolize the country. He brought it home to the Muslims, and Hindus that they were the inheritors of a glorious civilization, the mortals of a wonderful land, and the nightingale of a magnificent garden. In *Tarana E Hindi*, Allama Iqbal says:

سارے جہاں سے اچھا بندوستان ہمارا
ہم بلبلیں ہیں اس کی، یہ گلستان ہمارا

یونان و مصر و روما سب مٹ گئے جہاں سے
اب تک مگر بے باقی نام و نشان ہمارا

English Translation:

*"The best land in the world is our India,
We are its nightingales: this is our garden.
The civilization of Greece, Egypt and Rome slid into oblivion,
but we are the fortunate ones to have survived till now.*

His earlier poetic works tinge with vivid sentiment of nationalism. The longest of the poems titled

“Tasveer-e-Dard” (The Picture of Pain) he read in his debut at an annual meeting of Anjuman-e-Himayati Islam, Lahore in March 1899, artistically spotlights, and laments the state of affairs caused by internal strife, and mutual dissensions between both the communities. He warns his countrymen of the dangers ahead. Disunity, inter alia, was something which put him to an acute excruciation. In the poem, he resolves to string them together like beads in a rosary. When Iqbal finished it, the audience was reduced to tears. Wilfred Cantwell Smith, a Canadian professor of comparative religion comments on this phase of Iqbal’s philosophy in the following words:

“At the turn of the century, he was attracted also to the surging nationalism of the day. He appealed strongly for Hindu-Muslim solidarity, and wrote inspiringly of the glorious land of India, and of the honor, love, and devotion due to her. His Tarana-i-Hindi, one of these patriotic poems, is today loved as a national anthem by thousands of all communities in India.” (Smith, W.C.1947)

Admonishing the Indians not to be swayed by religious prejudices, for no faith teaches that, Iqbal asks them to reconcile their differences, and be one in the following verses (Tarana-E-Hindi by Allama Iqbal, p. 82):

مذہب نہیں سکھاتا آپس میں بیر رکھنا

بندی ہیں ہم وطن ہے بندوستان ہمارا

English Translation:

Religion does not teach us to be enemies with each other: We are Indians, our homeland is our India.

The theme of love for land, appeal to bury the dissensions, and glorification of India, its people, its waters, and its flora and fauna runs majestically through all the verses woven in his earlier career as a poet. Motherland forms the focal point of the discourse, and the basis of his affection, and loyalty. His commitment to his country is visibly reflected in another poem entitled “Naya Shiwala” (The New Temple). He envisions constructing a new temple, the temple of love in his mother India wherein love reigns supreme, and where India will be idolized. In Naya Shiwala, he says (p.73):

پتھر کی مورتوں میں سمجھا ہے تو خدا ہے

خاک وطن کا مجھ کو ہر ذرہ دیوتا ہے

English Translation:

“Do you think as god, the idols of stones, for me, there is deity in every particle of country’s dust.”

It is said that now Tarana-e-Hindi has almost assumed the

character of a national anthem of India. In one of the masterpieces of his “Hindustani BachonkaGeet” (The Song of the Indian Children), the nationalistic fervor appears to be at its zenith. He has the children say in chorus in *Hindustani Bachon ka Geet* (Bange Dara, 42)

چشتی نے جس زمیں میں پیغامِ حق سنایا

نانک نے جس چمن میں وحدت کا گیت گایا

تاتاریوں نے جس کو اپنا وطن بنایا

جس نے حجازیوں سے دشتِ عرب چھڑایا

میرا وطن وہی ہے، میرا وطن وہی ہے

English Translation:

India is my motherland:

The land in which Chishti delivered the message of God.

The garden in which Nanak sang the song of Tawhid of God.

The land which the Tatars adopted as their homeland.

For which people of Hijaz abandoned the Arabian wilderness.

That same is my homeland, that same is my homeland.

Iqbal: The Pan-Islamist:

Perveen 1967 opines in her doctoral thesis that in his youthful, he was burning with the sentiment of an Indian nationalist reading to lay down his life for Indian nation. To him, the commonality of ties of territory, and the like provided the firm basis for a nation. Nevertheless, this phase in Iqbal’s thought turned out ephemeral, as ‘a shift from the poet of India to the bard of Islam was swift.

Asifa (2017) in her article entitled “Iqbal’s Philosophy of Nationalism” explicates the texture of Iqbal’s thought as having been moulded in its entirety by Islam. She notes that any creed bereft of a spiritual base was anathema to Allama. She further says in the following words:

“He was very much distressed to see the Muslims jumping on the bandwagon of the West, and blindly aping the Western civilization which, by its very nature, was infused with the brute materialism. Allama took up most of the ideologies stemming from the west that were in vogue those days. Nationalism was among such concepts gaining a widespread currency amongst the Muslims. After his careful study, Allama made a passionate plea against the Western notions of nationalism exhorting the Muslims to stay away from it.”

Allama Muhammad Iqbal committed himself to discovering as to ‘who constituted a nation, and on what grounds?’ As stated in the foregone paragraphs that before his flight to Europe, he subscribed to the western territorial nationalism. However, during his three year sojourn there, he blossomed from an Indian Nationalist to

a Pan-Islamist who believed in none other than an Ummah or Millat cemented together under the banner of Islam. Matured into a meditative Muslim thinker, he never sat on his hands to take a jab at the western nationalism. He scathingly condemned the above creed by means of some of his sharpest shafts holding it responsible for the colossal misery it had plunged the humanity into.

In "TaranaMili", Iqbal recast his cry he previously raised in Nagma-e-Hindi in the following verses:

چین و عرب ہمارا ، ہندوستان ہمارا

مسلم ہیں ہم ، وطن ہے سارا جہاں ہمارا

English Translation:

China and Arabia are ours; India is ours.

We are Muslims, the whole world is ours.

Now that he abandoned the pursuit of the contemporary western nationalism resting on fragile grounds, his faith consolidated in having certain values of a spiritual orientation as cardinal to the life of a nation; values which he thought constituted the substance of Islam.

Asifa (2017) notes: This remarkable shift was brought about largely due to his extensive inquiry into the realm of the Western philosophy, and partly due to the prevailing political realities in India. As visible in his prose and poetry, there can be construed several reasons for this marked swing in his thought:

1. The first decade of the nineteenth century was characterized by political chaos, and rivalries among the world powers to materialize their self-aggrandizing designs led to volatile situation across the Europe. Himself an eye witness, he was shocked at the destructive policies of the maniac leaders gearing up the world for the bloodiest episode of the century. Economic, political, and military hostilities for national glory endangered the world order, and put at stake peace of the humanity.
2. He was appalled by the nefarious designs of the so-called big powers of the Europe bent upon annihilating the Muslim societies esp. in the Middle East, and North Africa. The long standing institution of the Ottoman empire which was the emblem of the glory of the Muslims, and commanded awe across the Muslim world, was put disintegration, and areas over which the former exercised suzerainty were seized, and distributed among the victors. The well-thought of policies of the western powers led to the collapse of the Osmania Khilafat ultimately giving a rise to the small states which played as pawns into the hands of the European powers.

In one of his articles, Iqbal exposed the cult of nationalism:

"Very early from the writings of the European scholars I had come to know that the basic scheme of the western imperialism was to dismember the unity of the Muslim World by popularizing the territorial nationalism among its various components."

Allama Iqbal also discerned in the very DNA of nationalism a well calculated imperialistic design of Europe to enslave the nations, and shatter the religious unity of the Muslims. ((Philosophy of Nationalism, Asifa Abbas, World Times Magazine, august 2017)

3. Himself a pacifist, Allama strongly believed in human dignity, and naturally tilted to a system which would uphold the same belief in the value, and dignity of human life. He could never reconcile himself with the militant creed which was bred in the lap of aggression. In Bang e Dara, he points out the inherent evils in the western nationalism which engender nothing else but cut-throat competition, and antagonism among the nations. In the name of the foreign trade, other small, and weak nations are chained with fetters. Nationalism has stripped the field of politics of fair play, and compassion.
4. Allama Iqbal's outlook was out and out Quranic; he sought the presence of divine spiritual sanction in any ideological system before espousing it. Natural thereupon it was for him to toss away the western nationalism born out of the womb of atheism.

In one of his poems entitled "Wataniat (Yani Watan Bahesiat Aek Siyasi Tasawwur Ke)" (Patriotism: As a Political Concept), He says in *Wataniyat, Bang-e-Dra* (102):

یہ بت کہ تراشیدہ تہذیب نوی ہے

غارت گر کاشانہ دین نبوی ہے

English Translation:

*This idol which is the product of the new civilization
Is the plunderer of the structure of the Holy Prophet's Deen
(Religion).*

He further says (*Wataniyat, Bang-e-Dra-102*):

ان تازہ خدائوں میں بڑا سب سے وطن ہے

جو پیرن اس کا ہے ، وہ مذہب کا کفن ہے

English Translation:

*Country is the biggest among these new idols!
What is its shirt is the shroud of Deen (Religion).*

Furthermore, Allama was antithetical to the west for its cut-throat competition. He maintained:

"I am opposed to nationalism as it is understood in Europe. Because, I see in it the germs of atheistic materialism which I look upon as the greatest danger the modern humanity."

Criticizing the parochial outlook of the Muslims who he thought have reduced themselves to the petty confines of race, and caste, which at the best was for geographical reference only, and for identification, he shamed them into introspecting if they were really Muslims.

یوں تو سید بھی ہو مرزا بھی ہو افغان بھی ہو

تم سبھی کچھ ہو بتاؤ مسلمان بھی ہو

English Translation:

You are Syed, and Mirza, and you call yourself Afghan;

You are everything, but can you truly claim as well the name of Mussalman? (Allama Iqbal, Bang-e-Dra-120, Jawab-e-Shikwa)

Syed Abdul Vahid (1992) asserts that particularly aggrieved to see the state of the Muslims in India. Their life force was woefully marred. They fell into the shambolic predicament of decay, and laziness of spirit. Their intellectual development and a sense of freedom stagnated, and stranded between illusive contentment, and gross dependence.

Allah ordains in the Quran that the Muslims must not be fallen for temptation of superiority of race or color:

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنَّا خَلَقْنَاكُمْ مِنْ ذَكَرٍ وَأُنْثَىٰ وَجَعَلْنَاكُمْ شُعُوبًا وَقَبَائِلَ لِتَعَارَفُوا إِنَّ أَكْرَمَكُمْ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ أَتَقْوَاهُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلِيمٌ خَبِيرٌ

English Translation:

"O mankind, indeed we have created you from male and female and made you peoples and tribes that you may know one another. Indeed, the most noble of you in the sight of Allah is the most righteous of you. Indeed, Allah is Knowing and Acquainted. (Al-Hujrat, 13).

Cultural Nationalism:

Jubair ibn Mut'im reports the Apostle of Allah, (Peace and Blessing Be Upon Him) to have said (*Sunan Abi Dawud 5121*):

عَنْ جُبَيْرِ بْنِ مُطْعِمٍ أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ لَيْسَ مِنَّا مَنْ دَعَا إِلَىٰ عَصِيْبِيَّةٍ وَلَيْسَ مِنَّا مَنْ قَاتَلَ عَلَىٰ عَصِيْبِيَّةٍ وَلَيْسَ مِنَّا مَنْ مَاتَ عَلَىٰ عَصِيْبِيَّةٍ

English Translation:

"He is not one of us who calls for asabiyyah, (tribalism/nationalism) or who fights for asabiyyah, or who dies for asabiyyah."

No matter what their race and region, and color, and status, they who believe in the Kalma enter the commonwealth of Islam as proud members to stand at a par with all the moneyed or the privileged. The trivial distinctions of 'how fair someone's skin is', and 'how much wealth one has in reserve' have no room in the equitable domain of Islam. The measure of judging someone's status is his/her uprightness.

Allah says in the Holy Quran (Surah Al-Hujrat, 10):

إِنَّمَا الْمُؤْمِنُونَ إِخْوَةٌ

"The believers are but brothers."

The Prophet of Islam is said to have lamented the following banes his Ummah is affected by (Sahih Muslim, 934):

"There are four matters of jaahiliyyah that exist among my ummah and they will not give them up: boasting about one's forefathers, casting aspersions upon people's lineages, seeking rain by the stars and wailing for the dead."

Allah Almighty says (*Surah Nisa, 1*):

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ اتَّقُوا رَبَّكُمُ الَّذِي خَلَقَكُمْ مِنْ نَفْسٍ وَاحِدَةٍ وَخَلَقَ مِنْهَا زَوْجَهَا وَبَثَّ مِنْهُمَا رِجَالًا كَثِيرًا وَنِسَاءً ۚ وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ الَّذِي تَسَاءَلُونَ بِهِ وَالْأَرْحَامَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ كَانَ عَلَيْكُمْ رَقِيبًا

English Translation:

"[Allah] created you out of one living entity, and out of it created its mate, and out of the two spread abroad a multitude of men and women And fear Allah, through whom you ask one another, and the wombs. Indeed Allah is ever, over you, an Observer."

Drawing out heavily from the decrees of God, and traditions of the Messenger of Allah, Allama Iqbal ventured into challenging, and debunking the western nationalism, and its claims decrying it as an infernal bane fallen upon the shoulders of the humanity. His thought was exclusively shaped by the Islam. As a substitute for the territorial nationalism of the west, he put forward the notion of Millat-i-Islamia or Ummah welded together under the green flag of Islam. He banished the contemporary nationalism with great cogency not only because his faith weighed his views, but also because he saw impending a total rack and ruin of the mankind at the hands of the monster let loose by these western cults.

What was more, Iqbal strongly held that nationalism narrowed down the horizon of the human thought, and the flower which could otherwise unfold itself so splendidly withered away at its hands. The loyalties were inordinately subordinated to superficial entities. Further, the devil of nationalism had the nations go ballistic, and paved the way for the perpetual thralldom of smaller, and weaker countries; besides, unthinkable suffering, and

gross exploitation were resulted in as it natural corollaries. With the help of his poetic barbs characterized by richness of imagination, and grandeur of words, he took to castigating the Muslims for letting themselves be humbugged into skin deep glamour of the western civilization, and for turning their back on the God-given identity of theirs as an Ummah. In *Jawabe Shikwa*, Iqbal says (Bang-e-Dara. 120):

منفعت ایک ہے اس قوم کی ، نقصان بھی ایک

ایک ہی سب کا نبی ، دین بھی ، ایمان بھی ایک

حرمِ پاک بھی ، اللہ بھی ، قرآن بھی ایک

کچھ بڑی بات تھی ہوتے جو مسلمان بھی ایک؟

English Translation:

Your nation's weal, your nation's woe, In common you all share,

Your Prophet (PBUH) and your creed the same, the same Truth you declare;

And one your Ka'ba, One your God, and one your great Quran;

If only you Muslims were one!

Asifa Abbas (2017) remarks that cultural Nationalism as understood by Allama views people as a compact mass unified by their inwardly felt bonds of cultural values. Contrary to the Western nationalism, it is benignant. Allama's nationalism in terms of India was his desire to facilitate his vision to reform all the existing socio-political institutions harmonizing them with the picture sketched in the Quran. This could be realized only by mobilizing the masses in certain piece of territory. His proposition was that nationalism posed a challenge to those countries such as India wherein the Muslims were a numerical minority. However, it fitted in well with Islam in the Muslim majority countries, for therein the Muslim were considerable large enough to assert their right to organize themselves in line of the dictates of the Quran, and Sunnah.

Upon his elaboration on the nature of conflict between nationalism, and Islam, Iqbal wrote to Jawaharlal Nehru that Nationalism in terms of attachment to one's land, and even passion to die for its honour was something sanctioned by Islam; something a Muslims proudly did as part of his faith. It clashed with the spirit of religion only when it began to act as a political concept, asserted itself a principle of human solidarity. Only it pleaded for Islam to be relegated to the background as a mere private matter did it come into conflict with the religion. Allama was loath to repudiate any ideology straight off acknowledging that "idea of nationalism is certainly a healthy factor in the growth of communities." Not in all cases, it was inconsistent with the essence of Islam.

"Nationalism in the sense of Love for one's country, and even readiness to die for its honor is a part of the Muslims' faith. It comes into a conflict with Islam only when it begins to play the role of a political concept, and claims to be a principle of human solidarity demanding that Islam should recede to the background of a mere private opinion, and ceases to be a living factor in the national life."

In "Javid Nama", he lays the blame on the West for innovating the Nationalistic credo which bred nothing else but dissension, and bad blood among the Muslims countries. On the other hand, the gullible Muslims in uncritically emulating the Western ill-begotten products presented to them as pearls, themselves had created deep schisms. The need of the hour was that they, the Muslims, must rise above the superficiality of distinctions of being the Syrians, the Palestinians, and the Iraqis, or else, as the writing on the wall was quite glaring, doom would be theirs. (Javid Nama, P.6)

Iqbal-126 declared in the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, that he visualized an international Islam, an international league of the Muslims, as he declared that Islam was neither nationalism, nor imperialism, but a league of nations which recognizes the artificial boundaries, and racial distinctions for reference only, and not for constraining the social horizon of its members.

Allama Iqbal strongly believed in the unifying force Islam carried in itself to bring rapprochement even among the militaristic, and belligerent sections of the society, the best example of which he could invoke was the peace brought about among the war-torn Arabian peninsula. Islam was naturally possessed of such an elegant flair as could lay down the foundation of a world order unimpeded by mutual rivalries, and enslavement, and exploitation of one people at the hands of the other. For the Muslims, the faith was not a personal concern as was the case with the Christianity which admitted private-public life dichotomy; It was the comprehensive code of conduct. He says (*Bange Dara p. 120*)

قوم مذہب سے ہے ، مذہب جو نہیں تم بھی نہیں
جذبِ باہم جو نہیں ، محفلِ انجم بھی نہیں

Translation:

Unto a nation faith is life, You lost your faith and fell,

When gravitation fails, must cease concourse celestial.

Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani(1879- 1957) was an Islamic scholar of the international repute, reformist, and the freedom stalwart. Termed Shaikh al Islam, Shaikh Ul Arab wal Ajam by his followers, he commanded a great reverence in, and outside Indo sub-continent. He was a staunch proponent of Hindu Muslim unity, and a die-hard advocate of Composite Indian Nationalism. From the very start, he was against the inception of the state of Pakistan, and politically sided with the Congress. He was honored with the Indian Civilian honor, Padma Bhushan in 1954.

Madani opined that in the present times, geographical/territorial factor formed the basis of nationalism, and not religion, or ethnicity. The Muslims, and the Hindus in living together on one land, qualified to be acknowledged as ONE NATION. He said: "All should endeavor jointly for such a democratic government in which Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians and Parsis are included. Such a freedom is in accordance with Islam. The Muslims could live as observant Muslims in a religiously plural society where they would be full citizens of an independent, secular India."

On the question of Nationalism, Allama Iqbal ended up landing into a heated lengthy debate with Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani. He took to his poetic barbs to launch into a scathing attack on Madani's thesis. However, later on, the intervention of a mutual friend of both, named Taloot, is said to have clarified, and brought reconciliation between both. Allama Iqbal Lahori is said to have himself communicated a letter to Madani acknowledging the latter's services to Islam.

عجم بنوز نداند رموز دیں، ورنہ
ز دیوبند حسین احمد! ایں چہ بوالعجبی است

سرود بر سر منبر کہ ملت از وطن است
چہ بے خبر ز مقام محمد عربی است

English Translation:

The Ajamites do not yet know, The fine points of our faith;

*Otherwise Husain Ahmad of Deoband! What is this
foolhardiness?*

*He preached from the pulpit that the Muslim nation can
exist by devotion to one's country!*

*How ignorant he is about the real teaching of Muhammad
Arabi!*

While Iqbal supported the 'Ijtihad' exercised by the Turks to dissolve the Ottoman Caliphate, it is deliberately cited to insinuate that he blew hot and cold suffering from the inconsistency of thought, and partiality towards his co-religionists.

In endorsing the territorial Muslim nation-states based on cultural nationalism, Iqbal attempted to make Islam as the real baseline for creation of a nation, an Ummah. In fact, he sought to rescue Islam from being reduced to a personal affair and its consequent extinction as a complete code of life. Rizwan Malik, Allamah Muhammad Iqbal's Concept of Muslim Nationalism in India.

As mentioned in Abdul wahab El-FFendi's work (2004) whilst Iqbal did have a lot of qualms about the Western democracy, and ready-made adoption by the Muslims, he argued that the republican form of government was not only thoroughly consistent with the spirit of Islam but was a practical necessity in view of the new forces let loose in the contemporary world. It must serve as a baseline for the regeneration of the Khilafah, and ultimately for the national

independence of the Muslim countries. The final aim however should be achieving the unity of the Ummah.

Conclusion:

Allama Iqbal was not swayed by his religious orientation to unjustly dismiss anything coming from the west; He never accepted any credo without critically taking full stock of it, and likewise, he never turned his back on any ideology without weighing it in the scale of Islam. If any system of thought was in line with the spirit of the Holy Quran, Iqbal appreciated it. Nationalism together with imperialism, capitalism, and democracy were outright banished, and condemned by him as forces of evil unleashed upon the humanity. And quite interestingly, during his very lifetime, his views against these western cults held good; the disaster set in, bloody warfare engulfed the mankind in the form of WW1. Nationalism remained at the bottom of all this.

Contrary to it, the cultural nationalism was Quranic, and therefore, pursued a lofty ideal of unification of all and sundry irrespective of caste or color, on the basis of a belief in the unity of Allah. It was the guarantee of the emancipation of the humanity from all the fetters the satanic cults of the western ideologies shackled them with. It had an ethical and spiritual basis. Allama Iqbal refined and systematized the divine ideal of Ummah when the nationalism was causing unthinkable havoc unto the mankind. His revolutionary call though unheard, can best come in useful to address the plagues besetting the Muslim World today. The Muslim thought will continue to owe a lot to the genius of Iqbal.

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