



Political Science Notes on Muslim Philosophers

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Al-Farabi

Introduction:

Abu Nasr Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Tarkhan al-Farabi was born at Wasij, a village near Farab, a district of Transoxania. He was one of the greatest philosophers that the Muslim world had ever produced. He mainly studied in Baghdad and after gaining considerable proficiency in the Arabic language, he became an ardent pupil of the Christian savant Abu Bishr Matta bin Younus, quite prominent as translator of a number of works by Aristotle and other Greek versatile writers.

Being a first Turkish philosopher, he left behind lasting and profound influence upon the life of succeeding Muslim Philosophers. Being a great expositor of Aristotle's logic, he was aptly called al-mu'alim al thani (the second teacher). According to Ibn-e-Khaldoon, no Muslim thinker ever reached the same position as al-Farabi in Philosophical knowledge. Al-Farabi is the first Muslim philosopher to have left political writings, either in the form of commentaries or in treaties of his own based upon Plato.

Al-Farabi's works was preserved from ravages of time contain five on politics as under:

1. A Summary of Plato's Laws
2. Siyasatu'l-Madaniyah
3. Ara'u ahli'l-Madinatu'l-Fadilah
4. Jawami'u's-Siyasat
5. Ijtima'atu'l-Madaniyah

Contribution of Al-Farabi to Islamic Political Thought

“In pure philosophy, Farabi became as famous as any philosopher of Islam, and it is said that a savant of caliber of Avicenna found himself entirely incapable of understanding the true bearing of Aristotle's Metaphysics until one day he casually purchased one of Farabi's works and by its help he was able to grasp their purport.” (Sherwani)

Al-Farabi was a renowned philosopher of his age and deeply revered in all ages. Al-Farabi's insatiated enthusiasm led him to study Philosophy, Logic, Politics, Mathematics and Physics. He left his indelible impact upon the succeeding generations through his works, which are still read, learnt and discussed with great passion and literal zest. His sincerity, profound moral convictions and his genuine belief in liberty and in the dignity of human being united with his moderation and humanitarianism made him the ideal spokesman of his age, which was full of rivalries, corrosions and false vanities.

Sherwani was of the view, **“A man with such learning had no place in the ninth-century Baghdad and as we have pointed out, we find him regularly attached to Saif-ud-Dowlah’s court. In 946 Saif took Damascus and Al-Farabi became permanent resident of that delightful place, spending his time in the gardens of the erstwhile Umayyad capital discussing philosophical questions with his friends and writing down his opinions and compositions sometimes in a regular form, sometimes in an irregular form, sometimes, on merely loose leaves.”** Al-Farabi renounced from the worldly matters and he never pursued the pleasures and luxuries like other middle class Abbasids. He led exemplary simple life with full contentment with what he got to eat and to wear.

It can be very well asserted that al-Farabi was in the truest sense “the parent of all subsequent Arabic Philosophers”. The great Christian scholars namely Albert the Great and St. Thomas Aquinas acknowledged their indebtedness to al-Farabi in the development of their own political theories. Al-Farabi laid down several rules for teachers honestly striving to train the young students in philosophy. No scholar should start the study of philosophy until he gets very well acquainted with natural sciences. Human nature rises only gradually from the sensuous to the abstract, from the imperfect to the perfect. Mathematics in particular is very important in training the mind of a young philosopher, it helps him pass from the sensuous to the intelligible and further it informs his mind with exact demonstrations. Similarly, the study of logic as an instrument to distinguish the true from the false should precede the study of philosophy proper. Al-Farabi voluminously wrote mainly on pure philosophy and there is no doubt that he had to draw on neo-Platonic ideas current in the Arab world of those days in his commentaries on Aristotle, Porphyry and Ptolemy. Sherwani says that **we might accept the proposition that he was inspired by Plato, in this setting up of the Ideal City, but as there is a mass of new material in his political writings not found in Plato and taken from local sources, it is a matter of importance that such material should be analyzed and Farabi be given his rightful place on the scene of political philosophy.** Al-Farabi died at the ripe age of nearly eighty years in 950. His name and works are everlasting and echoed in the corridors of time.

Al-Farabi's Ideal Head of State

Every Islamic state is ruled by the ruler, or as later European Political scientists would call him the Sovereign. Plato after developing the matter of the government of his ideal city in his Republic had made the omnipotent and omniscient philosopher sovereign who should have no other interest but that of the affairs of state. Al-Farabi starts from the nature of the workers of leadership and impresses his readers that what is wanted for the office is the power of making proper deductions.

According to Al-Farabi, his Rais should be such superior man, who, by his very nature and upbringing, does not submit before any power or instructions of others. He must have the potentialities to convey his sense to others for complete submission. Rosenthal was of the view, "He is the Imam, the first ruler over the ideal city-state, over the ideal nation and over the whole inhabited earth. The philosopher-prophet, in the opinion of Al-Farabi, is alone qualified to help man, a citizen to reach his true human destiny, where his moral and intellectual perfection permit him to perceive God, under the guidance of the divinely revealed Shariat. Those ruled by the first ruler are the excellent, best and happy citizens."

Al-Farabi contemplatively points out the virtuous qualities of his ideal Head of State, who should be competent to control the actions of all in the State and must be in possession of latest intellect as well as the gained intellect. All such refined and high qualities including his political and literal caliber make him an Ideal Sovereign for the overall interest of the society and the nation. He enumerated twelve attributes of an ideal Sovereign:

1. He must possess persuasion and imagination to attain perfection as well as a philosopher skilled in the speculative science.
2. He must be physically sound with meticulous understanding.
3. He must have visualization of all that is said.
4. He must have a retentive and sharp memory.
5. He should discuss the matters with least possible arguments and must have authority to get the work done.

6. He must have power to convey to others exactly according to his wish and he has profound love of learning and knowledge.
7. He must have perfect capacity for a comprehensive knowledge and prescription of the theoretical and practical sciences and art, as well as for the virtues leading to good deeds.
8. He must shun off playfulness and control over anger and passions.
9. Al-Farabi's ideal Rais must have love of truth, persuasion of justice and hatred of hypocrisy, knavery and duplicity.
10. He must vie for utmost happiness to his subjects and he should do away with all forces of tyranny and oppressions.
11. He must have power to distribute justice without any effort, fearless in doing things as he thinks best to be done.
12. He must serve the people of his state from all internal and external dangers. He must be in possession of considerable wealth, so that he should not prone to greed and lust.

Al-Farabi fully realizes that these fine qualities cannot be found in one single human being, so he says that one without just five or six of these qualities would make a fairly good leader. If however, even five or six of them are not found in a person, he would have one who has been brought up under a leader with these qualities, and would thus seen to prefer some kind of hereditary leadership, with the important condition that the heir should follow the footsteps of his worthy predecessor. In case even such a person is not available, it is preferable to have a council of two or even five members possessing an aggregate of these qualities provided at least one of them is a Hakim, i-e one who is able to know the wants of the people and visualize the needs of the state as a whole. This Hakim is to Farabi a desideratum of every kind of government, and if such a one is not procurable then the State is bound to be shattered to atoms.

Kinds of State

Al-Farabi describes the varieties of the states other than the Ideal States and the remarkable contribution of this philosopher are very much alive and given serious considerations even today. Al-Farabi divides states into following categories:

1. State of Necessity (Daruriya):

Its inhabitants aim, at the necessities of the life, like food, drink, clothing, a place to live and carnal gratification and they generally help each other in securing these necessities of life.

2. Vile State (Nadhala):

Its citizens strive for wealth and riches for their own sake. The account in the Siyasa includes a description of its ruler. Ibn-e-Rushd also succinctly touches upon this state.

3. Base and Despicable State:

Its inhabitants concentrate on the pleasures of the senses, games and other pastimes. This state is the one in which men help one another to enjoy sensual pleasure such as games, jokes and pleasantries and this is the enjoyment of the pleasures of eating and merry-making. This state is the happy and fortunate state with the people of ignorance, for this state only aims at attaining pleasure after obtaining first the necessities of life and then abundant wealth to spend.

4. Timocracy (Madina Karama):

It contains a variety of honours. Since the Arabic source of Al-farabi is lost in the wealth of legend, we are unable to determine whether this lengthy and diffuse description goes back to it or represents Al-Farabi's own amplification. The latter seems to be more correct. The citizens of these honor-loving states assist each other in gaining glory, fame and honor. The honors fall into two groups. The first is a personal relationship between one who is worthy to be honored because of some virtue in him, and the others who accord him honor and respect because they recognize him as their superior. The second kind of honor is accorded to men because of their wealth, or because of they have been victorious, exercise authority or enjoy other distinctions. This state in the opinion of Al-Farabi is the best of all the states.

5. Tyranny (Taghallub):

It receives from the aim of its citizens; they co-operate to give victory over others, but refuse to be vanquished by them. Al-Farabi sets out to distinguish between despotic states and define

power's sake, within or externally, by force and conquest or by persuasion and achieving enslavement. His despotic rule is a mixed one and thus often resembles timocracy or plutocracy. Ibn-e-Rushd avoids this by following Plato's description of tyranny and the tyrannical man, and the transition from democracy to tyranny and of the democratic to the tyrannical man but done to their common source both Al-Farabi and Ibn-e-Rushd similarly define tyranny as absolute power.

Rosenthal was of the view, **“Tyranny has even more variations for Al-Farabi than timocracy; as many as the tyrant has desires, for this despotism expresses itself in imposing his will on his subjects and making them work for his personal ends. Al-Farabi knows of two kinds of tyranny within which these variations occur, internal and external tyranny. The first consists in the absolute mastery of the tyrant and his helpers over the citizens of the state, and the second is the enslavement of another state or people.”**

6. Democracy (Madina Jama'iva):

It is marked by the freedom of its inhabitants to do as they wish. They are all equal and no body has master over another. Their governors only govern with the explicit consent of the governed. Democracy contains good and bad features and it is therefore not impossible that at some time the most excellent men grow up there, so that philosophers, orators and poets come into being. It is thus possible to choose from its elements of the ideal state.

Apart from the afore-mentioned classification of the states, which seems to be idealistic, Al-Farabi has a definite place for the trait of political character over other nations. He initiates reasons for this mastery and says that it is sought by a people owing to its desire for protection, ease or luxury and all that leads to the satisfactions of these necessities. In this powerful state, they might be able to get all the desire. There is nothing against human nature for the strong to over power the weak, so nations which try to get other nations under their control consider it quite proper to do so, and it is justice both to control the weak and for the weak to be so controlled, and the subdued nation should do it for the good of its masters.

There is no doubt that all the lapse of centuries and the international ideology which is the current coin in politics, the psychology of the nations today is much the same as described by the Master centuries ago. **Al-Farabi** said, **“But the more chivalrous among them are such that even when they have to shed human blood they do so only face to face, not while their opponent is asleep or showing his back, nor do they take away his property except after giving him proper warning of their intentions. Such a community does not rest till it thinks it has become supreme forever, nor does it give any other nation an opportunity of overpowering it, always regarding all other peoples their opponents and enemies and keeping itself on Guard.”**

Colonies:

Al-Farabi is comprehensively clear about the principles of colonization. He opines that the

inhabitants of a State must scatter hither and thither in different parts of a State because they have been overpowered by an enemy or by an epidemic or through economic necessity. There are only alternatives to the colonists, either to migrate in such a way as to form one single commonwealth or divide themselves in different political societies. It may come to pass that a large body of these people are of opinion that it is not necessary to change the laws which they have brought from their mother country; they would then simply codify existing laws and begin to live under them. It will thus be clear to understand that A-Farabi not only contemplates colonization but also self-Government of a republican kind which is closer to the modern conceptions.

Al-Mawardi

Introduction:

Abul Hasan Ali bin Muhammad bin Habib-al-Mawardi is the first writer on political theory in the history of Islam. Except Ibn-e-Khaldoon, all the jurists, theologians and political philosophers who have followed him, down to our own days, have hardly made any improvement upon his thoughts. He was born in 974 AD and died in 1058 AD. Al-Mawardi was regarded as one of the versatile and most learned jurists of his age, and his opinions laid emphasis in the world of law and jurisprudence. He belonged to the orthodox Shafi'ite school of jurisprudence and still we find traces of the pure rationalism. Like other Muslims he received the traditional education, and he wrote on many topics besides law, like, a Commentary on the Quran, a treatise on prophecy and several works on Ethics. As far his legal writings, it is noteworthy that "Government and administration, at all levels, were his principal concerns."

Al-Mawardi started his career as a professor of law and jurisprudence at Basra and Baghdad, and later on he was appointed as Qazi-ul-Quzat of Baghdad by a-Qaim, Abbasid Caliph and he was also conferred an honorific title of Aqdal-Quat or the Supreme Justice. But he declined to accept this offer of appointment because he said there were far abler people who deserved the title much more than himself. It is related that he did not publish any of his works in his lifetime. When a friend asked why he kept his books back he replied that it was because he felt that his motives in writing them were not as pure as he should have wished and that he did not know whether Allah the Almighty had accepted these literary offerings or not.

Al-Mawardi has left a great and valuable treasure of knowledge and philosophy. His books are the following:

1. **Al-Ahkam at-Sultaniyah (Ordinances of Government)**
2. **Nasihah-ul-Muluk (Advice to Kings)**
3. **Qawanin-ul-Wazarat (Laws of the Ministry)**
4. **Tahsilun Nazar fi Tahsil-uz-Zafar (Control of Sight for facilitating Victory)**

Contribution of Al-Mawardi to Islamic Political Thought

Al-Mawardi was the founder of the science of politics in the Islamic World. He was not very

original in what he did. His greatness lies in the fact that he received political opinions and traditions of the past and transformed them into a logical system. For four hundred years the Muslims were engaged in conquest and empire building, but they could not evolve any concrete pattern of government or administration. Al-Mawardi's achievement is that he gave definition to what was unshapely and undefined. Moreover, he assembled his ideas in writing; therefore his book *Al-Ahkam at-Sultaniyah* became a standard work of reference on political and administrative practices.

In spite of the untenable position in which al-Mawardi had to work, one cannot fail to admire his effort to work out a political system essentially based on the fundamental thought and early political practice of Islam. Al-Mawardi's remarkable contribution is that he has given a detailed account of the administrative machinery of Government. He portrayed not only what exists but also what ought to exist. This idealistic touch made his work popular with every regime and every generation that came after him.

Al-Mawardi's work and his theory of Caliphate saved the Muslim people for a long time from the extravagant and illogical claims of the Shiahs, the Khawarij, the Mutazilah and other extremist sects in Islam. His immediate aim of emancipating the Sunni Caliphate of the Abbasids from the Buwayhid tyranny was so providently realized in his own lifetime, that it must be counted as one of his remarkable achievements. Al-Mawardi knew that the Abbasids could not fully retrieve the lost ground and could not regain the glory of their early ancestors. To compensate this irretrievable position he instituted the theory of absolute governorship which provided a handy instrument of self-protection to the Abbasid Caliphs against the attempt of possible adventurers who aspired to overthrow the Caliphate. His most valuable contribution to political theory was that he based his account on historical practice and facts and liked other Jurists and the scholars; he did not indulge in empty speculation.

Criticism:

But with all the good points that can be said about Al-Mawardi, he had one short-coming, he was not a political thinker, and hence could not evolve a philosophic conception of the state. He does not discuss the scope, jurisdiction, responsibilities and obligations of the state, gives no conception of sovereignty and seems to be completely ignorant of the idea of the constitution. Lack of a constitutional theory has not only very much reduced the value of Al-Mawardi's work but has its deadening effect on the later development of Islamic political thought.

Al-Mawardi seems to have no conception of democracy. His theory of election dealing only with the appointment of the Caliph is wholly undemocratic. Moreover, he is very particular about the rights and prerogatives of the Caliph but pays little attention to the rights and obligations of the people. Lack of the idea of fundamental rights of men has been one of the principal sores in Muslim polity for ages, and has been mainly responsible for almost complete absence of the growth of democratic life in Muslim lands.

Al-Mawardi's Theory of State

Caliphate:

The institution of Caliphate represents the mission of Hazrat Muhammad (P.B.U.H) the Prophet and the main duties of the Caliph are the safeguard of religion from all destructive propaganda and innovations and the proper organization of general polity. The Holy Quran aims at creating an ideal society in which good predominantly prevails over evil and in which the laws of God are generally practiced and obeyed. Further, it promises the inheritance or possession and governance of the earth to those only who follow in the footsteps of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and practice piety and do justice.

When the Muslims built a world empire and actual needs arose, they tackled all these issues and tried to reach definite conclusions on all of them in the light of Quran and the Sunnah. The Quran is silent on all these pertinent issues, because their meaning is ever changing with the historical evolution. Besides, the Quran does not aim at creating a state but a society. **Syed Qutab** was of the view, **“Whatever the form and shape of the state, if the Quranic society is realized in it, it may bear the designation of the Islamic State.”** The Quran says, **“Obey God and obey the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and the Uli-al-Amr from amongst you.”** It also commands the Prophet (P.B.U.H) to take the counsel of the Muslims in matters of state.

The Muslim jurists are of the opinion that the institution of the Caliphate is not necessitated by a clear injunction in the Quran but by the consensus of opinion, it is obvious that the matter is left to the discretion and judgment of the Muslim community. The Quran is very clear and definite about all fundamental problems for instance, about the articles of faith, the forms of religious worship, laws of matrimony and inheritance, distribution of booty of war, prohibition of interest, rights and obligations of husband and wife etc., but omits all details about the form and constitution of the Caliphate; and this is deliberate, because the wisdom of God knows better that the social and political constitutions of men are ever changing and evolving with the march of time.

The second fundamental source of political speculation was the Sunnah. And because the jurists failed to get sufficient material in the Quran to construct a detailed political theory, they spent greater pains in exploring the Sunnah and the archives of early Islamic History to realize their purpose. And not only traditions of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) but also of the companions and successors were compiled.

The forty years of the Pious Caliphate rightly represented the true spirit of Islamic polity. Although the structure of the Caliphate was brutally shaken during the regime of Hazrat Usman (R.A) and finally cracked during the reign of Hazrat Ali (R.A), its basic principle remained permanent and operative. These principles are as follows:

1. The aim of Islamic State is to create a society as conceived in the Quran and Sunnah.
2. The State shall enforce the Shariah as the fundamental laws of the state.
3. The sovereignty rests in the people. The people can set up any form of the government conforming to the above two principles and with the exigencies of time and environment.
4. Whatever the form of the government may be, it must be upon the principle of popular representation, because based sovereignty belongs to the people.

Muslims in early Islam were not beguiled by sophisticated notions of Caliphs as presented by later theologians and jurists. To them it was crystal clear the source of all temporal authority were the people and the people alone. The ideas of absolution of the Caliph and of divine right were entirely foreign to them. There was no written constitution as the modern constitutions. The Quran and Sunnah did not specifically demand the necessity of a state. And at any rate the conception of the state was never clear. It was on account of this that the Umayyad and Hashimite race for supremacy of power started immediately after the device of the Prophet (P.B.U.H). After the fall of the Pious Caliphate, the idea of democratic caliphate passed into monarchical system without any ideological conflict. (Ibn-e-Khaldoon)

The Umayyad made strenuous efforts and effected a practical compromise between monarchy and the original caliphate. They however, took pains to preserve the original pattern of succession by nomination and limited election within the House of Umayyad. This Umayyad innovation received general approval and became an established principle of Islamic polity for alter times.

Wazarat:

Al-Mawardi says, “the appointment of a Wazir does not mean that the Imam or Caliph should give up all connections with the administration of the state, but the real significance of his appointment consists of the fact that in the province of politics it is better to have a coadjutor rather than one sole person at the helm of affairs.” And when the Prophet Moses (A.S) could make his brother Haroon (A.S) his Wazir in order that his hands should be strengthened, then surely in the administration of the state it is allowable for the Imam to have a Wazir beside him. Al-Mawardi says that Wazarat is of two kinds:

1. The Wazarat of Delegation:

The Wazir of Delegation is the person in whom the Imam has the fullest confidence and to whom the powers of administration of the realm are delegated. The difference between the Wazir and the Imam himself is that the Wazir of Delegation is not empowered to appoint anyone as his successor and the Imam, the highest authority; can dismiss the officers appointed by him.

2. The Wazarat of Execution:

The Wazir of Execution is similar to the Secretary to the Government in modern times. Al-Mawardi says that the main function of the Wazir is to get the decrees of the Imam executed and he should be the main official channel of information for him. Mawardi opines that, seven qualities are required for a person aspiring to this office and these are honesty, confidence, absence of greed, good relationship with the people, intelligence and the wisdom of grasping the truth of things, absence of luxury and amorousness, and lastly, diplomacy and experience. **Al-Mawardi said, "It is not necessary that the holder of the office should be a follower of Islam and a non-Muslim dhimmi can also be appointed a Wazir of Execution."**

For the efficient functioning of the administration, the government should be divided into various departments dealing with the business of government such as revenue, army and other high offices of State. **The State administration as a whole was called Diwan.** Al-Mawardi enumerated four chief offices of Government are under:

1. The Army Board
2. The Board of Provincial Boundaries
3. The Treasury
4. The Board of Appointment and Dismissal of Officers

Views of Central Government:

Al-Mawardi being an orthodox Shafi'ite, gave an account of legal rationalism in his writings. Very rationally he makes full endeavors to demonstrate the necessity of the Imamate and he proves it not only by referring the Islamic law but lays down a general proposition that it is in the nature of man or rather those among men who are superior to others in intellect that they should hand over their affairs to one who can keep them from being tyrannized over by others and should have the power of adjudging between them in case of mutual quarrels.

Al-Mawardi relies solely upon the Quran without reference to any other source of law. Thus when he tries to demonstrate that the Imam should not indulge in luxurious living and he reminds the readers of the order which God gave to the Prophet David (A.S) when He appointed him His Caliph: **"O David, We have appointed thee Our Caliph on earth; so judge aright between man and man, and follow not desires that might lead thee away from the path of thy Lord."**

He at the time of discussing different categories of taxes, argues entirely on the basis of the Quran, and quotes a verse to prove that the Zakat should be distributed **"among the poor and the needy, and those who collect them and those whose hearts are to be reconciled, and to free the captives and the debtors, and for the cause of God and for the wayfarer"** (Quran ix, 60).

Along with the verses of the Quran he argues from the order of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) as related in the Traditions when he wishes to prove that the Caliph has the right to appoint his own successor, he argues from the battle of Muthah and says, **“The Prophet (P.B.U.H) appointed his manumitted slave, Hazrat Zaid bin Harithah, to take his place at the head of the Muslim army and at the same time ordered that in case of his death he should be replaced by Hazrat Jafar bin Ali Talib, after him Hazrat Abdullah bin Rawahah and in case he is also killed, the mantle of command should fall on the shoulders of whomever the soldiers might choose.”** Mawardi was of the view that **“it was possible for the Prophet (P.B.U.H) to make these nominations; it should be possible in case of khilafat as well.”**

As regards the office of Qazi, he quotes the instructions given by the Caliph Hazrat Umar to Hazrat Abu Musa al Ash'ari when he appointed him to this office. Sometimes al-Mawardi uses the documents of the Umayyad and the Abbasid periods his premises, for instance, he quotes the accession address of Hazrat Umar bin Abdul Aziz to demonstrate the exalted ideals of the office of the Caliph. Whenever he wants to stress the importance of the Wazarat, he quotes a **proclamation of Mamun** where he declares that **he wishes to appoint one of his ministers who should be virtuous, sophisticated and conservative in his habits, experienced and matured in his profession and willing to undertake the most difficult missions, should be reliable and trustworthy, whose silence should signify his great indulgence and whose conversation should demonstrate his great knowledge. He should be able to understand the innermost thoughts of others by the mere gesture of the eyes, and even a second's conversation should suffice for him to get at the root of the matter, who should have the posture of the rich, the foresight of the learned, the humility of the savant and the acuteness of the jurist, who should be grateful for any good that might be done to him and should bear his troubles with patience.**

Theory of Rebellion

Introduction:

Even in the ancient and medieval tribal and monarchical systems it was recognized that if the monarch ruled with tyranny and inequity, the people had a right to overthrow him and choose a new leader in his place. The act of rebellion in such an eventuality was not regarded as a crime but as a vindication of the fundamental rights of people.

After the ascendancy of Islam, it brought about a complete revolution in human thought and knowledge. Islam combined politics with religion in a remarkable way that it was susceptible to reason and most conducive to human relations. It defined the proper dignity and status of men in this universe, his relations and obligations to God, and His privileges as the Lord of creation. It taught for the first time the ideas of universal brotherhood and complete equality of men. It demolished the artificial barriers of color and creed and brought the poor and the rich at one platform. The great republic of Madina was built on the highest and purest ideals of democracy. The only sad thing about this was that it was too short-lived and that it could not get time for proper growth and consolidation. The consequences of the premature demise of the Republic of Madina were dire and far-reaching. The fast developing ideals of Islamic democracy were blasted and superseded by the imperialistic systems of the Umayyads, the Abbasids, the Fatimids and others. A struggle began between the State and Society. The society tried to reflect the principles of Islamic life and polity, while the state tried to emulate the traditions and ways of Byzantine and Sassanid empires. For one hundred years of Umayyad rule the struggle between these two forces continued. But when Abbasids came into power, it signaled the victory of the State polity over religious ideology. The emperor or Caliph became the spiritual and temporal head of the state, his wishes and whims became law, and he was responsible to none. The people living under his cruel subjugation had no right of resistance or revolt.

The Muslim jurists, political thinkers, statesmen and diplomats invented a political theory which affected a superficial and sophisticated compromise between the two forces. The compromise was given religious sanctity and justification, so that it became permanent and unchallengeable.

Al-Mawardi's Views:

Al-Mawardi is greatly influenced by the political ideas of his age. He discards the divine right of rule, for despite his anxiety for the restoration of sovereign power of Abbasid Caliphs, he nowhere supports their claim, or the claim of jurists to unchallenged obedience to the Head of the State.

1. Al-Mawardi quotes the following tradition from Abu Hurairah: the **Prophet (P.B.U.H)** said, **“After me there will be appointed rulers over you, and both the good as well as bad deeds**

will go by them; but you must obey the orders from them that is based upon righteousness; for if they rule with fairness the good of it will occur to them and to you both, if they rule with inequity you will get the benefit of it and they, the evil consequences thereof.”

2. Al-Mawardi clearly advocates revolt when the Imam either falls prey to sensual passions or becomes sceptic of the basic tenets of Islam. But it is ambiguous as to how a tyrant or heretical Imam can be deposed. No method has been proposed by means of which the will of the people may be ascertained, or the Imam may be expelled his office. There is no precedent in Islamic history when an Imam was deposed from office by legal and proper means. And since the Imam is the executive Head of the State, and not responsible to any Majlis or Tribunal, it is obvious that he cannot sit to impeach himself or allow others to punish him.

One thing is quite clear from the writings of Al-Mawardi, that he is opposed to the claim of undisputed obedience to the Caliph. He does not elaborate a detailed theory of rebellion, nor discusses the fundamental rights of man. He is very careful in choosing only those traditions which suit his purpose. He could have easily established from the tradition of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) as well as from the practice of the Pious Caliphs, that Islam has given an open charter of rights to humanity, and that it has unambiguously defined limits of State’s powers and freedom of the individual.

He could have noted that the famous verse of the Quran, **“Obey God, and obey the Prophet (P.B.U.H), and obey the ruler who is from amongst you,” (Al-Quran, 4: 58)** does not give license of despotism to rulers, for the same verse continues, **“if you quarrel on any issue, bring it to the judgment of God and the Prophet (P.B.U.H), provided you believe in God and in the day of Judgment.”** Obedience to the head of the State is bound by the condition that he obeys the injunctions of God, that is, rules with truth and justice. In another verse the Quran says, **“Their affairs are decided by mutual counsel amongst themselves” (Al-Quran, 42: 38)** and not by the arbitrary will of a ruler.

Hazrat Abu Bakr (R.A) reported that the **Prophet (P.B.U.H)** said, **“Indeed if the people see evil and do not rise to ward it off, it is just probable that the vengeance of God may overtake them all.”** Abu Said narrated that the **Prophet (P.B.U.H)** said, **“Some of the most loved and nearest persons to me on the Day of Judgment shall be the Just Imam, and the most hated and damnable person to me on the Day of Judgment shall be the Tyrant Imam.”**

When **Hazrat Abu Bakr (R.A)** was elected Caliph, he said in his policy speech: **“Obey me as long as I obey God, but when I disobey Him you are no longer bound to obey me.”** He continued the speech and said, **“And I am just like one of you so when you find me on the right path, follow me, but if you see me diverting, set me right.”**

In the early phases of Islamic history, there were a general and strong feelings among the Muslims that there existed a solemn covenant between the State and people, that the State was conducted by the elected representatives of the people, and that it existed only to protect and

promote their interests. So when the rulers broke this covenant, and violated the principle of representation and threw overboard the interest of the people, the people thought it as their inherent right to repeal such rulers and grab political power from them. It was the clear infringement of this covenant that eventually led to the assassinations of Hazrat Usman (R.A) and Hazrat Ali (R.A) and also to the sudden collapse of the powerful Umayyads. The Abbasid Caliphs fetched the reign of the Islamic empire, killed these ideas altogether and the concept of the covenant was completely forgotten.

Conclusion:

Al-Mawardi did not elaborate a theory of rebellion and if he wanted to propound a theory, he could have found abundant sanction for it in early thought and practice. It may be noted here that the idea of rebellion has always been most abhorrent to Muslim rulers throughout history, because after the regime of the Pious Caliphs, many a ruler denied the right of the people to participate in the affairs of the State. But there is no denying the fact that the people resented the autocratic trends in the statecraft and stood for their basic rights.

Nizam-ul-Mulk Tusi

Introduction:

Khawaja Abu Ali Hasan bin Ali bin Ishaq widely known in history of Islamic political thought as Nizam-ul-Mulk Tusi. He was born in 1017 AD. Nizam-ul-Mulk was not his real name. it was a title of honor conferred upon him by his Saljuqi ruler, Alp Arslan, after his appointment as minister. His father, Abu al-Hasan Ali belonged to a family of landowners of Radhkan, a small town in the suburb of Tus, where Nizam-ul-Mulk was born.

His elementary education started with the study of Traditions and Jurisprudence and his father wanted him to take up the legal profession, so consequently he was put under the scholarly guidance of Al-Samad Funduraji, who was a profound scholar of Law of his age. Tusi traveled to Bukhara and Merv, and also to a number of towns in Transoxiana in search and employment. After 1049 he went to Ghaznah, where he sought service with Ghaznawids, thus having an opportunity to acquaint himself with their state administration. When Sultan Abdul Rashid was killed in 1052 and with his demise, the political situation in the country became aggravated and in the hours of turmoil and confusion, he fled to Balkh and entered the service of Ali bin Shadhan who was the governor of that province. Then he went to Merv and there Chaghari Beg appointed him the mushir (counselor) of the katib (secretary) of his son, Alp Arslan. It was Alp Arslan who conquered all the territories of Western Asia till then ruled by the Eastern Roman Emperor Constantine, imprisoning Emperor Diogenes himself and forcing him to pay tribute to the Islamic state.

Later on the advice of Ali bin Shadhan that Alp Arslan after his accession to the throne in 1062, Nizam-ul-Mulk was appointed as a joint Minister with Amin-ul-Mulk Kunduri. But Kunduri was soon put to death. Then Tusi became the full-fledged Prime Minister of the whole empire with the succession of Malik Shah to his father's throne in 1072, which he owed entirely to Nizam-ul-Mulk's efforts. From the capital of Saljuqs, his influence spread to the capital of the Abbasid Caliph, who is said to have honored him with the titles of Radi-ulAmir al Muminin. **Sherwani** was of the view that **during his term of offices he was showered with all kinds of honorific titles and dignities both by his master, Alp Arslan and Malik Shah, and by the titular Caliph of Baghdad, Al-Qaim, and as if these titles would not suffice to connote the qualities of the man, the great divine of the period, Imam-ul- Haramain Sheikh Abdul Malik-I Jawaini added a number of other distinctions to his honorific titles.**

In his last days he came into collision with the Ismailyah movement of Hasan bin Sabah, in whose activities he saw danger to the Saljuq Empire. Nizam-ul-Mulk was cruelly assassinated by one of Fidais (the Assassins) in 1091 AD.

ideas:

1. **Siyasat Namah or Siyar-ul-Mulk (The book on State polity and administration)**
2. **Dastur-al-Wuzara (The conduct of Ministers)**. It is more generally known as the **Wasaya-i-Khawaja Nizam-ul-Mulk (The precepts of Khawaja Nizam-ul-Mulk)**
3. Nizam-ul-Mulk is said to have written a book entitled as **Safar Namah (The book of Travels)** which is now extinct.

Contribution of Nizam-ul-Mulk Tusi **to Islamic Political Thought**

An age of Political Turmoil:

Nizam-ul-Mulk Tusi lived in a dark age of political warfare and constant conflict among the political demagogues to grab power which has witnessed the lower degradation of the Caliphate, following its transformation during a period of three centuries from a democracy into autocracy and then from autocracy into a mere puppetry in the hands of powerful aristocrats and wazirs. This also saw the decline of the Ghaznawids Empire and the Bhwaihid kingdom and the emergence of the Suljuqs after their victory over the Ghaznawids in 1040 when their nomadic and wandering life changed into the cultured race who ruled over vast gigantic empire. It was an age of radical change and fusion of social and political ideas and institutions, specifically in the Muslim world in which Nizam-ul-Mulk Tusi lived and worked relentlessly.

Contribution of Nizam-ul-Mulk:

This is an admitted fact that Nizam-ul-Mulk Tusi wielded a profound influence on the succeeding generations by making valuable contributions to the history of political thought. He was an irrepressible advocate of natural rights of individuals and he ardently championed their cause to give liberty and freedom but with restrictions to show respect and regard to the rulers. He did away with the stagnant politics and despotic conspiracies of palaces and became responsible for heralding a new era of political consciousness.

It is sufficient to know the ideas contained in the Siyasat Namah came from the prominent Prime Minister of the Saljuqis and are the ones accepted by his master Jalal-ud-Din Malik Shah as the constitutional code of his extensive empire. In his immortal political works, Siyasat Namah, he discussed at length all evils and ills of politics of his age and he aptly suggested remedies in order to avoid all kinds of destructive tendencies among the states. His foreign policy was a great success, and he maintained cordial relations among his neighboring states.

His work was a valuable constitution of his country, and his contributions not only became advantageous in his era but also greatly influenced the later period. The book was compiled nearly a thousand years ago, when the House of Abbasids was tottering, the power was declining, and the days of the Eastern Empire of Constantinople were nearing their end, and India got a miserable shock and set-back due to perennial internal dissensions and conflicts, the ailment of the caste system and the threats of a permanent conquests by outsiders. **Sherwani** pays tribute to Tusi in these words, **“It is to the great credit of Nizam-ul-Mulk Tusi that in the dark and uncertain epoch, he sat down to write a book which was as useful to a seeker of political truth in our own times as it was to his contemporaries. He freely takes his cue from the non-Arabic and non-Muslim sources. In fact he marks an epoch in the history of Eastern learning and arts, for he was an expert in the arts and sciences of his day, a faithfully counselor of his patron and his eminent son, a friend of the great Persian astronomer-poet, Umar Khayyam, founder of the Nizamiyah University and its branches, and a martyr at the hands of a murderer, in a word he rose to such eminence that the whole continent of Asia may well take a pride in his personality and his work.”**

Theory of Kingship

Nizam-ul-Mulk Tusi served many kings and he profoundly studied the monarchical system of government developing under the aristocratic rule of prince, as against the constitutional structure of the Caliphate which was delicately interwoven since the ascendancy of Islam. His political theory represents a phase of the development of the Muslim polity which was characterized by kingship. The first thing distinguishable about his exposition of the institution of kingship is that he is careful to make no reference to the Caliph as the head of the Muslim political community, and to remark nothing about the constitutional relations of the Saljuq enter with the Abbasid Caliphs. He very often uses the title of Sultan for the Saljuq king. And as for the term Amir Mustauli (Governor by usurpation) it does not occur at all throughout his writings, both being the terms of the constitutional law employed by the jurists to denote the legal superiority of the Caliph over the prince. He generally calls his ruler as Padshah, a Persian term used for the king.

Nizam-ul-Mulk Tusi had to surmount all difficulties in regard to the coordination of Islamic principles in which he had an implicit belief with the Perso-Turkish thought and practice in politics in rogue, and it is unnecessary to indulge in controversy about the powers of the two offices. It is curious that the reason for the establishment of the kingly office as remarked by him should be identical with the set-up of the Imamatus as given by Mawardi, and it seems contradiction in terms that while trying to justify the hereditary king he should be using arguments already advanced in favor of an elected President. His theory is that the king enjoys the right to rule over his subjects by virtue of divine appointment.

“In every age God the Almighty selects some one from among men and gives over to him the charge of the well-being of the world and the comfort and tranquility of the human race after duly furnishing him with the art of government. He also makes him responsible for the peace and security of the land and endows him with all the necessary prestige in order that God’s creatures may live in peace and plenty and that justice and security may be the order of the day.” (Nizam-ul-Mulk Tusi)

Functions of the King:

According to Nizam-ul-Mulk Tusi the essential functions which the king has to fulfill in human society are the following:

1. It is the duty of a king to remain in constant consultation with the wisest, the most experienced and the most competent of his people and to repose confidence in such of his subjects as deserve it and delegate to them a part of his duties according to their merit and worth.

2. Nizam-ul-Mulk Tusi was of the view that the ultimate object to which the king must canalize his energy and initiative for maintaining peace and order in the state, so that the people may live with comfort under the shadow of his justice.
3. According to Nizam-ul-Mulk Tusi, a king must issue an instrument of instructions to all his subordinate officers and governors of the states enjoining them to treat the people well and extract only the dues allowed by the law of the land.
4. Nizam-ul-Mulk's prince must work for the collective good of his people, so that an era of prosperity and progress may usher. The sovereign must remember that God the Almighty is pleased with a king only when he treats his people with kindness and justice.
5. Tusi lays great emphasis on obedience as the most essential duty of the people towards the ruler, since he brings to them peace and prosperity after they have been deprived of it as a punishment for their obedience to God.
6. Tusi said that the people must blindly obey every order and instruction of the prince without questioning the validity of his authority. It is valid because it is de facto.
7. Nizam-ul-Mulk Tusi believed that **“the king is endowed by God with wisdom and knowledge so that he can treat each of his subjects according to his worth and can give each a position according to his value. His wisdom is just like a lamp that gives off abundant light. People can find their way in its light and can come out of darkness.”**

Tusi treats Prince as divinely appointed ruler, vested with unlimited powers; he does not regard him by any means as a law-giver. A human authority with absolute legislative powers has never existed in a true Muslim polity, because legislation in the proper sense of the term has never been recognized as a human function in the Muslim legal theory. According to this theory there already exists a divine law (Shariat) which is theoretically as binding on the ruler himself, however autocratic he may be in practice, as on his subjects. Tusi was of the view, **“It is obligatory for the king to seek knowledge of religious matters and to comply with and make arrangements to carry out the commands of God and the traditions of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and to pay due respect to religious scholars.”**

Religion and politics are inseparably joined together, and are complementary to each other. Nizam-ul-Mulk Tusi said, **“The state and religion are like two brothers.”** The principles of conduct which he lays down for the king under the influence of this religious trend are in striking contrast with those prescribed by Machiavelli for his “Prince”. Unlike the Machiavellian Prince who is advised to handle religion merely as a useful instrument for achieving political ends, and who is taught to appear rather than become religious. But Nizam-ul-Mulk' Prince is taught to believe sincerely in religious truths, and to exercise political power as an essential means of attaining them. He emphasizes the importance of religious character of the king's authority and it tones down the autocratic attitude of his monarch. The moral obligations he sets on the absolute

authority of the king prevent it from growing into an oppressive despotism. The first and foremost obligation of the king towards his subjects is to do justice. He firmly believes it to be a religious duty, for it has been ordained by Almighty God. Justice, as a principle of good government, occupies a predominant place in his concept of kingship, and time and again, he lays emphasis on its importance for state and society. **“A state can continue to exist notwithstanding impiety, but it cannot exist with tyranny.”** (Nizam-ul-Mulk Tusi)

Nizam-ul-Mulk Tusi is greatly impressed by the Persian standards of justice that he believes that **“Sassanian kings, especially Nushirwan the Just, have surpassed all other monarchs in justice, generosity and courage.”** He was of the view that **“The king should strive to seek the favor of God, which can be attained through the kindness with which they treat the people and through justice which they administer to them. When the people pray for the welfare of the king, his state grows stable and prospers everyday.”**

Al-Ghazali

Introduction:

Abu Hamid Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Ahmad, surnamed al-Imam-ul-Jalilm, Hujjat-ul-Islam and Zainuddin, was born at Ghazzalah near Tus in 1058. He is one of the greatest and distinguished original philosophers not only in the history of Muslim philosophy but also in the history of human thought. He was educated at Tus proper in the early years of his career and later on he shifted to Jurjan, and then finally migrated to Nishapur to imbibe wisdom and philosophy by sitting at the feet of perhaps the most versatile genius of his time, Abul-Maali Muhammad al-Juwaini Imam-ul-Haramain, who was invited back from Hijaz to preside over one of the great colleges founded by Nizam-ul-Mulk Tusi. He was accepted first as the pupil and the assistant by the Imam. Al-Ghazali won great fame and prominence because his philosophical doctrines and consequently as a great sage of the age, he was called to the court of Nizam-ul-Mulk Tusi while still in his twenties. He was the intellectual adviser and chief canonist till 1091 when he was formally appointed to the great foundation of Baghdad.

Al-Ghazali was aptly considered a mujaddid and reckoned at par with the four Imams. There have been many philosophers and scholars in Islam and other religions, but the distinct caliber of one of great philosophers ushered a unique era of knowledge of his age. He left behind indelible impressions because of his immortal works and philosophical-cum-political doctrines which have still influence upon this modern age. In 1095, he had discontinued his work of teaching in Baghdad. His mind continually in a state of doubt, probably found no satisfaction in dogmatic predictions. Sherwani said, “Baghdad did not see very much of Ghazali and it seems that deep thought, coupled with murder of his patron Nizam-ul-Mulk Tusi and the death of Malik Shah in 1092, all these things had a tremendous effect on his psychology.”

For about ten years, in the period of utter disillusionment, Al-Ghazali extensively traveled here and there to imbibe wisdom and intellect from every source, dividing his time between pious exercises and literary work. Al-Ghazali remained in fretful years because of state politics which took a serious turn. He died in Tus on 19th of December, 1111. His closing years were chiefly devoted to pious contemplation and the study of the Traditions, which as a youth he could never remember. A beautifully complete and rounded life in which the end comes back to the beginning.

Principle political works of Al-Ghazali are as follows:

- 1. Munqidh Min ad-Dalal (Deliverance from Waywardness)**
- 2. Ihya-ul-Ulam (Renaissance of Sciences)**
- 3. Tibr-ul-Masbuk (Molten Gold)**
- 4. Sirr-ul-Alamain (The Mystery of the Two Worlds)**
- 5. Fatihat-ul-Ulum (Introduction to Sciences)**
- 6. Kimiya-i-Sa’adat (Alchemy of Goodness)**
- 7. Iqtisad Fil-I’tiqad (Moderation in Belief)**

Contribution of Al-Ghazali to Islamic Political Thought

Al-Ghazali is undoubtedly an outstanding and remarkable political scholar in Islam. His philosophy is an expression of his own personality. He abandoned the attempt to understand this world. But the religious problem he comprehended much more profoundly than did the philosophers of his time. **Dr. T. T. Debeer** said, **“These were intellectuals in their methods, like their Greek predecessors, and consequently regarded the doctrines of Religion as merely the products of the conception of fancy or even caprice of the law givers. According to them Religion was either blind obedience, or a kind of knowledge which contained truth of an inferior order. On the other hand, Al-Ghazali represents Religion as the experience of his inner being; it is for him more than Law and more than Doctrine, it is the Soul’s experience.”**

Al-Ghazali’s philosophical analysis, logical positivism and religious empiricism have profoundly influenced every age of philosophy and religion and even today, modern student of the political history seeks inspiration in solving all philosophical and political inquiries. His liberalism and intellectualism completely dominated Western Philosophy and even Western thinkers preserved main elements of his great philosophy in their works. Europe, about the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century of the Christian era, was in the abyss of degradation and political degeneration. This period is dubbed by one of the greatest of modern political scientists as “essentially unpolitical”.

In the contemporary age of Al-Ghazali, Europe was engulfed in perpetual controversy between Pope and the Emperor. This controversy led to political cleavage and intransigents and wreckers mutilated all traits of progress and prosperity. There was nothing but blood, destruction and wars, which snapped all resources and economy. Poverty and wrangling had become regular features of the day. At that time, East was at the pinnacle of glory and progress.

It is certainly difficult to agree with unfounded and sweeping statement of Hitti that Al-Ghazali constructed such a scholastic shell for Islam that all its future progress became arrested within it. If the progress of the West consisted as it is said in breaking a similar shell within context of his own religion then quite a few hammer strokes therein were wrought by the hands of the Muslim thinkers of which the uppermost hand was the hand of Al-Ghazali. This anybody might see for himself by making a close study of Al-Ghazali’s influence on the West.

Al-Ghazali as a great savant was decidedly superior to some of those who had gone before him. For while he had become conversant with the working of the political system when he was attending the court of his patron, Nizam-ul-Mulk Tusi, Prime Minister of Suljuqi Kings, Al-Ghazali, while living in such surroundings had made a close study of the problems of politics. It was his efforts to leave off his luxurious life and write most of his works from a mental point of

vantage in Syria or Arabia or else in the seclusion of his paternal hearth and home. Al-Ghazali is definitely superior to Al-Mawardi in being analytical as well as comparative in his arguments.

Sherwani was of the view that “A student of the history of political theories is aware of the great gap which seems to exist between the decline of Roman thought about the beginning of Christian era till about the thirteenth century, when thought seems dull, constitutions unscientific and people lethargic and pleasure-loving. Knowledge would be the richer and chains of thought more continuous if that artificial blank were to be filled by such giants of wisdom as Mawardi, Nizam-ul-Mulk Tusi and Al-Ghazali. Even in oriental thought, Al-Ghazali’s place is certain. His greatness lies partly in having successfully refilled the desired outlined by brilliant Islamic colors, although they were not destined to last very long, giving place once again, and finally to barbaric hues.”

“Amir” of Al-Ghazali

Al-Ghazali, a political philosopher, renowned in East and West because of his versatile genius, harnessed his thoughts into a proper channel for an efficient and systematic government in order to bring about progress and peace in the state. He appears to be particular about the duties and functions of the sovereign, so that administration of the state must not become unwieldy and dogmatic. He enumerates the necessary qualities of an ideal ruler, and reverently expresses that he should have intellect, knowledge, perception, right proportion of things, chivalry, loves for his subjects, diplomatic bend, foresight, strong will-power and must be well informed of the news of the day and the past history of the kings. He must learn the lesson from the past kings. He should not repeat the errors and failures of his predecessors. Amir must also vigilantly watch that his judges, secretaries, viceroys and other officers did their work well, it is chiefly in these qualities which go to make a ruler the shadow of God on earth.

Al-Ghazali relates how a learned man once told the great Caliph, Harun-ar-Rashid, to beware that he was sitting where Hazrat Abu Bakr (R.A.) once sat and be truthful, where Hazrat Umar (R.A.) once sat and differentiate between right and wrong, where Hazrat Usman (R.A.) once sat and be modest and bountiful, where Hazrat Ali (R.A.) once sat and be knowing and just. He puts forward the case of the Apostle of Islam, who himself fed his cattle, tied his camel, swept his house, milked his goat, mended his shoes, patches his clothes, took meals with his servants, ground his own corn in time of need and did his own marketing.

Daily Routines and Duties of “Amir”

Al-Ghazali says that the daily routines of an Amir should be following:

1. The Amir, after morning prayers, should go out riding in order to have investigation in person about wrongs done to his subject.
2. He should then sit in court and permit all and sundry to have a direct access so that he might have first-hand information about any complaints.
3. The ruler should make a point of taking advice from simple men of knowledge, intelligence and experience.
4. The ruler must extend interviews to foreign ambassadors and envoys. He should be well-versed in diplomacy and politics.
5. Al-Ghazali strictly warns the Amir against too much indulgence in drink, chess or hunting and says that the best mode of simple life be practiced.
6. The Amir and good kings should used to divide their time in four parts, setting apart one for prayers, another for state affairs, justice and counsel of the learned about the affairs of the state,

7. He is very particular that the Amir should not pay heed to the advice offered by his women favorites, and quotes the instance of Umar who actually divorced his favorite wife when he was elated to his exalted office for fear of being influenced by her in state affairs.
8. Al-Ghazali warns that the ruler must not show them any favoritism, but instead must appoint nepotism or people on merits.

Rosenthal said, “Al-Ghazali proceeds to enumerate the virtues by which the Imam must be distinguished in order to lead men entrusted to his care to the goal which the Sharia has set for men. Although we meet with the qualifications stipulated by Al-Mawardi they are partly modified to meet the general political situation and the particular case of Al-Mustazhir. Ability to wage jihad is conditioned by the possession of power and courage. It has always been considered one of the foremost duties of the Caliph. But Al-Ghazali faced with a young Caliph and a powerful Seljuq master, explains away its absence in Al-Mustazhir by pointing to the Shawka, the force and power of the Seljuqs which guarantees the najda required of the Caliph. He wants to think of them not as independent rulers but as the loyal servants of the Caliph.”

Simplicity of the “Amir”:

Al-Ghazali persistently lays stress that the ruler should be simple in his habits. He says that the Amir should have a limited source of income which does not provide him possible opportunity to indulge in luxury and debauchery. He says that Amir must spend his life according to the income at his disposal, and should not abundantly and lavishly spend so that the economy of the country may not be disturbed. Al-Ghazali quotes the Apostle that God would be kind and compassionate to rulers who are themselves meek and kind to their people. He regards Caliph Umar bin Abdul Aziz as a model of justice, equality and simplicity, who once wanted his monthly salary in advance to buy the Eid clothes for his daughters but desisted from drawing it from the state treasury because he was reminded by Finance Minister that there was no certainty of his living for the month for which he wished to draw his pay.

Oppression and tyranny was normally the salient feature of king’s life and the ruler had to become totalitarian in order to create effective subjugation over the people. Complete arrest from freedom and political subjugation were the normal orders of the day. But the sages of ages became the source of instrumental change of destinies. They played a vital role in liberating the people from enslavement and cruel yoke. Beyond any praise such was the greatness of Al-Ghazali in those fretful days that in spite of the great honor bestowed upon him, he replied that he did not want anything from any of God’s creatures.

“In spite of those lofty ideals, Al-Ghazali seems to have rightly realized that time had changed since the early days of Islam, and besides honest work there was something else, a certain amount of prestige which is wanted to exert a psychological influence on the people and keep law and order in the hand, and he would desist from doing anything which might result in the disintegration of the state through the lack of these factors.” (Sherwani)

Ibn-e-Khaldoon

Introduction:

Abu Zaid Abd-al-Rahman Ibn-e-Khaldoon, the North African Muslim of the 14th century, was undoubtedly the first to introduce a most scientific method in the political study of the history of human civilization. He is distinguished for considering history as a science worthy of study and not merely a narration of facts. Ibn-e-Khaldoon belonged to an Andalusian family which had migrated from Seville to Tunis on the expulsion of Moors on the conquest of Spain by Ferdinand III of Castile. It was one of these humble families that Ibn-e-Khaldoon was born in 1332, and he raised to be a man of remarkable knowledge as well as of profound historical and political acumen, perhaps the first scientific historian of world and one who has left an indelible mark on the sciences of historiography and sociology.

During fourteenth century, Tunis was the cradle of learning and knowledge. Young Ibn-e-Khaldoon took full advantage of the scholastic opportunities which were abundantly available there. He learnt the Quran by heart, studied the Traditions and Maliki Jurisprudence, as well as Arabic Grammar and Rhetoric from eminent scholars and by dint of his sharp diligence and intellect, he was taken in service at the age of twenty by the ruler of Tunis, Abu Ishaq II. The restless spirit that was in him made him roam about from one capital to another, now secretary of state of Fez, then crossing the straits of Gibraltar as a fief holder of Muhammad bin Yousaf, Sultan of Granada, later as the head of a political mission to Pedro the Cruel, king of Castile who was staying at his ancestral town of Seville. Then he moved on to the court of the Prince of Bejaya near Constantine. In 1374, he again went to Granada but it was not long before he was expelled back to Africa.

After returning Africa he was tired and weary of perennial wanderings and he took refuge in African Desert and compiled his world-famed Prolegomena giving finishing touches to it about the middle of 1377, after which he returned to his native town of Tunis a quarter of a century after he had left it. In 1382 he went to Cairo where he lived the rest of his life. At Egypt, he occupied a distinct position and high status as a Chief Justice a number of times and during the intervals, he used to deliver lectures. He died as judge in Cairo on March 17, 1406. He was reverently buried in Sufi Cemetery outside Cairo's Nasr Gate. He was a versatile genius, a great philosopher and a man of strong convictions of his age, who wielded an abysmal influence on the posterity.

Ibn-e-Khaldoon made great contributions in the field of knowledge and learning and his works are still widely read by every student of political philosophy. He gave us the following works:

1. **Kitab-al-Ibrar**It is a universal history written in seven volumes, the introduction to this work entitled **Muqaddamah**, extensive enough to take the whole of the first volume. It was about the author's views with regard to the nature and method of history.
2. **al-Taarif**
3. **Histry of the Berbers**

Contribution of Ibn-e-Khaldoon to Islamic Political Thought

Ibn-e-Khaldoon wielded a deep influence on his succeeding political philosophers due to his systematic study of political theory in a dark age, when political discussion meant nothing more than a rough and ready formulation of the functions of the ruler. Almost all the eminent western philosophers like Machiavelli, Bodin, Montesquieu, Adam Smith, Hegel and Marx were profoundly influenced by his political theory composed in his immortal work “Muqaddamah” which extensively deals with a great variety of subjects. Ibn-e-Khaldoon was greatly revered as a sage of the age and his contemporaries envied him for his steadfastness and political acumen for combating political abuses and ills that prevailed in all ages of thoughts and philosophies. He left behind a treasure of knowledge which will work as a store-house for the posterities.

Ibn-e-Khaldoon discussed various Islamic political institutions in the light of the history of the early Islamic state. He made political enquiries into the various historical events of the early period of Islam with impartiality and analytical mind of jurist. He upholds the practicability of Islamic laws in the state and considers the Sharia state as definitely superior to the Power state. He contemplates little of the Siyast Madaniya for he considers the philosophers ideal state as the visionary product of utopian thought, having no relation with historical facts. The ideal for him is the Islamic state as it existed under the first four Caliphs. But his empiricism is manifest in his analysis of the Muslim empires of his own day. In his political thinking, it is Islam that emerges as the sole objective for all human endeavors.

Mohsin Mahdi says, “The biographical, stylistic and doctrinal evidence introduced in this study establish this point beyond any reasonable doubt. It has been shown that he articulately though cautiously, defended the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle against Neo-Platonism, atomism and logical nominalism; and that his study of Prophecy, the religious law and the character of the Islamic community prove that he was a true disciple of the Islamic Platonic tradition of political philosophy.”

Ibn-e-Khaldoon seems to be the only great thinker who not only saw the problems of the relation of the history and the science of society to traditional political philosophy but also made full endeavors to develop a science of society with the framework of political philosophy as based on its principles. According to Ibn-e-Khaldoon, traditional philosophy demands the study of man and society as they really are, and supplies the frame work of directing such a study and utilizing its results. Rosenthal was of the view that importance of Ibn-e-Khaldoon was not recognized in his own time, and until the seventeenth century did Muslims writers take any notice of him, while Europeans scholars discovered him only in the last century. Ibn-e-Khaldoon’s importance consists in a number of novel insights of permanent value and significance:

1. In his distinction between rural and urban life and the necessity of the latter for the emergence of civilization and a state in the strict sense of the term.

2. In his postulating the Asabiya as the principal driving force of political action.
3. In his projection of Islam into a universal human civilization, thus standing on the social and in the climate of Islam and looking out towards humanity at large.
4. In his realization of the casual interdependence of the several factors of social life in the power state; economic, military, cultural and religious.
5. In the concept of the parallel existence of the state founded by a prophetic law-giver, as distinct from the state built on power in response to the human need for political association and the desire of strong personalities for domination.
6. Arising from the last point, in his definition and analysis of the Islamic country, as a composite structure whose law is a mixture of Shariah and political law.
7. In his basic recognition of the vital part which religion should play in the life of the state, especially if it transforms the Asabiya into a durable, cohesive and spiritual motive power.

Ibn-e-Khaldoon's Historical Approach **to the Political Science**

With the ascendancy of Islam, historical literature got its birth and religious, moral and practical aspects of history were greatly stressed for the expansion of Islamic influence over the whole world. Muslims, by the inspiring source of history, are directed to contemplate the vicissitudes of earthly life, the rise and fall of the kingdoms and the Judgment of God upon the nations are revealed in their fortunes and misfortunes. As to the method they demand and command veracity and exactitude in transmitting historical information derived, whenever possible, from primary sources or eye-witnesses. With the expansion of Islam during the seventh-eighth centuries and the production of a vast and varied historical literature, the seeds of historical thought contained in the Holy Quran and the sayings of the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H).

History as a profession started in Islam with the search for and the collection and transmission of individual reports about specific events. These reports were first transmitted orally and when written records were gradually introduced, these were accepted at first merely as aids to memory. The historians took pains to learn about, and ascertain the competence of the authorities who transmitted these reports and used the science of biography (Ilm al-rijal) and of authority criticism (al-jarh wal-tadil) as their main tools. Tabri, a famous Muslim historian, was of the view that history is not a rational discipline and that human reason does not play significant role in it.

Ibn-e-Khaldoon's Views on History:

Ibn-e-Khaldoon had seen considerable political ordeals and vicissitudes, and he fully knew that a number of states quite distinct in culture, dialect, historical environments and administration were destroyed under the wheels of time and fully realized the factors responsible for the rise and fall of Islamic states. The methods of argument that he adapts to a large extent, is analytical but he does not fail to supplement it with historical data. Ibn-e-Khaldoon also considered history as a science. The aim of history for him is not merely to narrate the stories of kings, queens and dynasties or prepare the chronicles of war and pacts among states but to describe the facts of rise and fall of human civilization. It is essentially the record of human society, its growth and decay, under different geographical, economic, political, religious and other cultural conditions.

Laws of Sociology:

Ibn-e-Khaldoon was undoubtedly a sociologically minded historian. He was conscious of the originality of his work and claimed himself to be discoverer for the first time of the laws of national progress and decay. The sociological laws operate with regard to masses only and would not be significantly determined with reference to single individuals, for the individual's own attitudes and beliefs are considerably conditioned by the social environment in which they are placed.

Historical Approach to the Science of Politics:

His political theory developed as part of his description of human civilization. Ibn-e-Khaldoon held that all political institutions are closely associated to the socio-economic conditions of a time and that they are quite at in with the environments of a particular age, both mental and physical. That is why he makes political enquiries pertaining to religious, social, economic and physical circumstances. Ibn-e-Khaldoon's science was new, independent and was not dealt with by any previous thinker with such originality, extension and profoundness. He was the first Muslim philosopher cum-historian who contributed to the study of political institutions, forms of Government and the other public institutions and their development in Muslim States.

Physical Environments:

Ibn-e-Khaldoon is predecessor of Montesquieu, realizing the influence of physical environments and climatic conditions on the habits and characters of people. He devotes a major portion of his work on the enquiry of the influence of food and climate upon human things. He explains that the people of fertile zones are stupid in mind and coarse in body, and that the influence of abundance upon the body is apparent in matters of religion and divine worship. He signifies the influence of physical environments on political institutions which reflect the character of people as molded by geographical environments. He said, "Bedouins are more courageous than other and the decline sets in life of a dynasty when people indulge in luxury and ease-loving life due to abundance of food and also development in arts and crafts."

Natural Society:

Herbert Spencer regarded moral improvement merely as an existence of the biological concept of adaptation, and social well-being in terms of the law of the survival of the fittest. Ibn-e-Khaldoon preceded him in propounding a theory of organic state. He said, "**Dynasties have a natural life span like individuals. They have life of their own which normally does not exceed a period of 120 years for each dynasty in its capacity as a ruling nation.**" Ibn-e-Khaldoon had already stressed on moral improvement in terms of biological concept of adaptation in the course of his discussion on problems concerning the transformation of nomadic life together with its variations in the various aspects of social behavior.

Professor Schmidt says, "**Ibn-e-Khaldoon is a philosopher as much as Auguste Comte, Thomas Buckle or Herbert Spencer. His philosophy of history is not a theodicy as Hegel's. Thus he is placed as philosopher, historian of civilization, a scholar of sociology and political economy. It is worthwhile to discover the glimpses of Ibn-e-Khaldoon's views in the works of every western philosopher.**"

Stages in the Development of Society and the State

During the period of establishment, solidarity based upon familiarities and religion continues to be essential for the preservation of the state. This is the period during which the ruler forces the ruled to build the institution necessary for a civilized culture. There are new activities to be carried out and new political relations to be created. When aided by religion, solidarity becomes more effective in establishing the state, since the subjects will then obey the ruler and his directives more willingly convinced that in doing so they are praying to God. The stages in the development of the society and the state are following:

Stage 1. During the first stage, solidarity is still largely based on a community of sentiments, and the ruler owes his position to his noble ancestry and the respect of his fellow tribesmen. His role is dependent on their number, power and assistance. He is still their chief rather than their master and king. He has to accommodate their sentiments and desires and to share his power with them. The same is true of religion. The ruler who is establishing a state with the aid of a religious passage cannot act as a master and a king, since religion means the obedience of all to God and the religious Law.

Stage 2. The second stage in the development of the period of consolidating the ruler's power is to create absolute kingship. Natural solidarity and religion are checked so far as they mean the sharing of power, and are used at the discretion of the absolute ruler. Solidarity is replaced by a paid army, and an organized administrative bureaucracy, that carry out his wishes. Natural solidarity becomes increasingly superfluous. The people generally acquire the habit obeying their new ruler. The impersonal organization of the army and bureaucracy take care of the protection of the state and the development of the various institutions of a civilized culture.

Stage 3. As the ruler's lust and aggrandizement for attaining absolute power is satisfied with the full concentration of authority in his hands, he begins to use his authority for the satisfaction of his other desire in other words; he starts to collect the fruits of authority. Thus a third stage of luxury and leisure follows. The ruler concentrates on the organization of the finances of the state and goes on increasing his income. He spends lavishly on public works and one beautifying the cities in imitation of famous civilized states. He enriches his followers who start living a luxurious life. Economic progress and prosperity usher a new era of development, which satisfy the increasing desires of the ruler. The crafts, the fine arts and the sciences are greatly patronized to be flourishing for the satisfaction of the new ruling class. The state has finally reached the stage where it is able to satisfy man's craving for luxuries and his pride in possessing them. This is a period of rest and self-indulgence in which men enjoy the comforts and pleasures of the world.

The first three stages are powerful, independent and creative, they are able to consolidate their authority and satisfy the subjects becoming the slaves of these desires.

Stage 4. Having reached its zenith, the next stage is a period of contentment in which the ruler and the ruled are satisfied and complacent. They imitate their predecessors in enjoying the pleasures of life, how their predecessors struggled to achieve them. They think that their luxurious life and the various advantages of civilization have always existed and will continue to exist for ever. Luxury, comfort and the gratification of their desires become a habit with them. The length of this period depends upon the power and extent of the achievements of the founder of the state.

Stage 5. During fifth stage, the state is already starting to decline and disintegrate. The fifth and last stage of waste and prodigality is setting in. the state has reached old age and is deemed to be slow or nearing death. The very process of establishing it had destroyed the vital forces of solidarity and religion that were responsible for its existence. The ruler had destroyed the communal pride and loyalty of their kinsmen, who humiliated and impoverished have lost the drive to conquer. Their successes, having known only the life of luxury and surrounded by a prodigal entourage, continue to spend more and more on their pleasure. They increase taxes and these in turn discover economic activity and lead to a decline in the income of the state which makes it impossible for the ruler to support his new followers.

Rosenthal was of the view “**The fifth phase is one of extravagance and waste. In this phase the ruler destroys what his ancestors have brought together, for the sake of lust and pleasure. For he is generous towards his intimates and liberal at his banquets in order to win the scum of the people, to whom he entrusts great tasks which they are unable to undertake. In this way, he spoils (his chances) with the noble and distinguished among his people and with the followers of his predecessors, so that they are filled with hatred against him and agree among themselves to desert him. Moreover, he loses point of his troops because he spends their pay on his pleasure and prevents them from getting to know him personally. In this phase, the natural ageing of the dynasty (that is the decay) sets in and a chronic disease gets hold of it without remedy or release until it collapses.**”

Further, the habits of comforts and luxury generate physical weakness and moral vices. The elite and the aristocrats forget the courageous manners of primitive life. They are powerless before an outside invasion by a strong civilized state or by united primitive people. Excessive taxes and fear of invasion weakens the hopes of ruled. Despondency becomes so common and it reigns the day and consequently it freezes all economic activities. The entire population physically weakens and living in large crowded cities become subject to disease and plague. With the decrease of economic activity and the depopulation of cities, the state begins to disintegrate; starting from the outlying regions, princes, generals and the discontented kinsmen of the ruler become independent.

In the capital of the state, the mercenary troops and civil bureaucracy begin intriguing to wrest the actual power from the ruler, leaving him but the insignia and the name. Finally an external invasion puts an end to the life of the state, or it may continue to decline until it withers away

like a wick dying out in the lamp of which oil is gone or goes under the subjugation of foreign power.

Ibn-e-Khaldoon as a Father of Political Economy

Ibn-e-Khaldoon has rightly been claimed as the forerunner of a great many Western scholars such as Machiavelli, Bodin, Gibbon, Montesquieu, and many other notable thinkers. There is hardly any other thinker with whom he might not be compared. Long before Adam Smith, Ibn-e-Khaldoon foresaw the interconnection of political and economic institutions. The Muslim genius made an enquiry into the various aspects of economic activities and recorded their political significance in respect of their good and bad effects on the state. **Stefan Colosio** said, **“The great Muslim historian was able to discover in the Middle Ages the principles of social justice and political economy before Considerant, Marx and Baconine. He was an original economist who understood the principles of political economy and applied it skillfully and intelligently, long before it was known to Western research. He thus talks about state’s work in economic field, and its bad effects about political forces and social classes, the methods and kinds of property, the social task of labor, and its division into free and paid labor, and about law of supply and demand.”**

Role of capital and labor in Economy:

Ibn-e-Khaldoon depicts a vivid picture of the role of capital and labor in an economy. He devotes special chapters to the question of Government finances and other business affairs. His theory of labor, in which he defines profit and sustenance and the role of labor in the fixation of the values of the commodities, exerted a marked influence on the writings of classical economists. Ibn-e-Khaldoon defines the term sustenance and profit as, **“The part of the income that is obtained by a person through his own effort and strength is called profit. When a particular person enjoys its fruits by spending it upon his interest and need, it is called sustenance. Thus it is the part of the profit that is utilized. If the profit results from something other than a craft, the value of the resulting profit and acquired (capital) must also include the value of the labor by which it was obtained; without labor it would not have been acquired. A portion of the value whether large or small, comes from the labor.”**

Ibn-e-Khaldoon praises Islamic economic system which prescribes Zakat, Kharaj and Jizya. To establish the superiority of Islamic economic system, he quotes the saying of **Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H.): “The only thing you possess of your property is what you ate, and have thus destroyed; or what you gave as charity, and have thus spent.”** Ibn-e-Khaldoon severely condemns the engagement of rulers in the commercial activity because it creates hurdles in the development of a free competition in economic field, which is most essential for the circulation of wealth in the society as a whole. If the rulers indulge in trade activities, they would be in an advantageous position in the selling and purchasing of the commodities, by virtue of their political control on the commercial activities. Thus injustice would be brought about in the society which is disastrous for the dynasty.

Taxation Policy:

Among the economic problems his discussion first elaborately starts with taxation. As a practical

politician he had full knowledge of the ways and means to collect the Government revenues. He was of the view that taxation must be equitable and just. When justice and equity are lacking in taxation policy of a Government, it is inviting its own ruin. He said, “In the beginning of dynasty taxation yields large revenue from assessments. At the end of the dynasty, taxation yields small revenue from large assessments.”

A balanced budget is essential for sound economy and is the key to stability of the political order. Ibn-e-Khaldoon said, **“In the beginning of the state, taxes are light in the distribution but considerable in their total and vice versa. The reason is that the state, which follows the ways of religion, only demands the obligation imposed by the Shariah, namely Zakat, Kharaj and Jizya, which are light in their distribution and these are the limits beyond which one must not go.”**

A rural economy based on agriculture, with a simple standard of living and light taxes, provides an incentive to work hard, with prosperity as the prize. But as soon as autocrats assume power and urban life, with a much higher standard of living, makes greater demands, heavier taxes are levied upon farmers, craftsmen and merchants. Production and profits decline, since the incentive has been taken away from all those engaged in the economic life of the state.

Salaries and Allowances:

The deductions in services and allowances decrease expenditures of those affected which ultimately affects the incomes of so many others from whom they used to buy things. This involves a decrease in a business activity and monetary transactions and thus leads to diminishing tax revenues of the state. He disapproves such procedures by a state. Ibn-e-Khaldoon extensively deals with the injustice to the people and is of the view that it brings about the ruin of civilization, because attacks on people’s property remove the incentive to acquire or gain property.

The great injustice which he mentions is buying the people’s property at cheaper rates and selling it at higher rates. It is most destructive to civilization. This involves taking the capital of the people and this making them unable to do the cultural enterprise. When capital is decreased, profits are diminished, people’s incentive slackens and thereby the business dwindles. Ultimately this proves to be a death blow to the state.

Standard of Living:

The prosperity and business activity in different cities differ in accordance with the difference in the size of their population. As labor is the fundamental source of profit or income, larger the labor, the higher the profit. The extra labor works for luxuries and luxury goods and crafts etc. Production thrives income and expenditure of the inhabitants multiply and more and more population pours into the city. All the strata of the society in the large city is affected. As profit is the value realized from labor, larger the labor the more will be the value realized from it, which leads to prosperity. In less populated cities or remote towns, villages and hamlets, people are equally poor because their labor does not pay for their necessities and does not yield them a surplus which they can accumulate as profit. Even beggars and poor differ in large and small

cities.

Income and expenditure balance each other in every city. If both are large, the inhabitants are prosperous and the city grows. Ibn-e-Khaldoon concludes that the favorable conditions and much prosperity in civilization are the result of its large size. As is the case in cities, so it is with the countries. He gave the examples of the populated countries such as Egypt, Syria, India, and China as being more prosperous as compared to the less populated regions which were less prosperous.

It should be noted that Ibn-e-Khaldoon's thesis is that higher population brings much labor and much value is realized from it, which causes profit and prosperity. Apparently it may sound strange today, that more populated countries are poor and less populated ones are advanced. But as far as cities in a given country are concerned, his construction is as valid as it was in his time. Technological changes were not occurring in his time, he does not explicitly elucidate the role of productivity of labor.

Ibn-e-Khaldoon was of the view that the wages of the teachers and religious officials are lower, because demand for their services is not high. His remarkable exposition of labor, value, profit, population and their correlation with prosperity and civilization has stood the test of time. He gives the definition of profit as the value realized from human labor. He said, **“With the decrease of population sustenance of a country disappears, springs stop flowing because they require labor, they flow only if dug out and water drawn. He compares this process with the udders of cattle.”**

Livelihood:

His derivation of livelihood is interesting, he said, **“It should be known that livelihood means the desire for sustenance and the efforts to obtain it. Livelihood is information from Ashe life. The idea is that Ashe life obtained only through the things (that go into making a living) and that they are considered with some exaggeration, the place of life.”**

Among productive activities he included medical services, education and musical etc. whereas Adam Smith excluded services from his definition of real national product. But Ibn-e-Khaldoon excludes activities such as based on fraud, exploitation or ignorance i-e, astrology, alchemy, search for buried treasure and the various public servants who receive their shares from public receipts vitiated by injustice, oppression and fiscal pressure. While dealing with comparative wages, he has very intelligently analyzed the reasons for the low wages of dealing with religious matters, teachers, mufti, prayer leaders, preacher, muezzin etc. as profit is value realized from labor, the value of labor profits differs according to the needs or particular kind of labor. He said, “Now the common people have no compelling need for the things that the religious officials have to offer.” So their share is in accordance with the general need and demand of the population for them. It is meager as compared with others. Besides he deals with various other and economic problems such as high and low prices, crafts, agriculture, prices of food stuff and hoarding etc. in all these matters, Ibn-e-Khaldoon showed the depth of great thinker and political economist.

Allama Iqbal

Introduction:

Allama Muhammad Iqbal is a figure of legendary greatness amongst the scholars and poets of the modern age and his political thought has won a great deal of attention and respect amongst discerning students of political philosophy. He was born at Sialkot, a renowned city of Pakistan. He received his early education in Scotch Mission College, Sialkot and after his elementary schooling; he came to Lahore for higher education. He did M.A. in Philosophy from Government College Lahore in 1899 and served the Government College, as a lecturer in the subject of Philosophy for about five years. He later left for England in 1905 for higher studies. He obtained PhD degree from Munich University by writing a thesis, The Development of Metaphysics in Persia. He again went to London and did Bar-at-Law from Lincoln's Inn. He returned to India in 1908 and was appointed as Professor of Philosophy in the Government College Lahore. Along with professorship he enrolled himself as a practicing barrister at the Lahore High Court. He resigned after a year and half from professorship and continued his legal practice.

He entered into practical politics and joined his efforts with freedom-champions to liberate the Indian Muslims from the clutches of the Hindus and subjugation of the English. He was elected as Member of the Punjab Legislative Council, and later elected unanimously of the President of All-India Muslim League. He vigorously advocated the two nation theory and demanded a separate homeland for Indian Muslims, where their religion and culture could flourish without any fear of chauvinism. He actuated the Muslims of India from political slumber to champion their cause for separate country within India, and this very vision became crystal reality in his pronouncement in the annual session of the League in 1930. Dr. Allama Iqbal's declaration for Pakistan echoed throughout the world and it became the instrumental in re-awakening and the enlightenment of Muslims to combat all forces for the achievement of a separate homeland i-e. Pakistan.

Dr. Iqbal has given an ever-inspiring treasure of knowledge and philosophy through his works, which have immortalized him on the pages of existence. He is widely respected because of his philosophy and poetry which enlivened the nation, living in a state of vertigo to win their liberty from the usurpers. As poet he is considered to be the poet of Prophets for all ages. His works have been translated into many foreign languages so that the students must properly be benefited in their future researches by his thoughts and philosophies.

His works are detailed as under:

- 1. Development of Metaphysics in Persia (Thesis for PhD)**
- 2. Asrar-e-Khudi (Secrets of Self)**
- 3. Ramooz-e-Bay-Khudi (Mysteries of Selflessness)**

4. Payam-e-Mashriq (Message of the East)
5. Bang-e-Dara
6. Zaboore-e-Ajam
7. Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam (collection of lectures)
8. Javed Namah
9. Bal-e-Jibraeel
10. Pas Che Bayad Kard Ay Aqwam-e-Sharq
11. Zarb-e-Kaleem
12. Armughan-e-Hijaz
13. Ilmul-Iqtisad (Economics)

Iqbal as a Muslim Political Thinker

Allama Iqbal a great supporter of freedom and pioneer of Muslim movement in the sub-continent recklessly strived for the achievement of his noble ideals. Indian Muslims were tied in the chains of enslavement and subjection and he strived for the whole nation with his virulent speeches and thought-provoking declarations for making unanimous efforts for liberty and emancipation. His dynamism is proverbial, his mysticism is extraordinary and his simplicity is an example for his followers. He gave new inspiration to the Muslims who were politically unconscious and ignorant. He kindled fire in them to fight for their basic rights. He is loudly applauded everywhere due to his greater contributions leading to the ultimate establishment of Pakistan.

Allama Iqbal was a sensitive sage of his age and he saw the prevailing political ills in India, and inculcated ideals for the complete liquidation of the dominators, so that Islamic culture and heritage be protected from all penetrating evils. The Hindu and the English were the two domineering forces in the sub-continent and all fundamental privileges for Muslims were completely denied. In order to liberate the Muslims from cruel subjugation, our thinker took deep interest in the political situation and problems as no sensitive and intelligent young Indian could fail to do, but **“it was only when he realized that most of the political leaders of the Muslims were lacking political acumen and foresight that he started taking active interest in politics.”** (S.A.Vahid)

Allama Iqbal was a member of the Committee of Muslim League formed in London in 1903 by the Rt. Hon. Ameer Ali. On his return from England, Iqbal took keen interest in the objective working of the Muslim League but did not participate actively in politics from 1910-1923. In 1924, Allama Iqbal joined the National Liberal League of Lahore but not finding it very effective resigned from it later on. In 1926, he was elected as a member to the Punjab Legislative Assembly.

Secretary of Muslim League:

In 1928, Iqbal became secretary of that branch of the Muslim League which functioned under the

President-ship of Sir Muhammad Shafi. Along with other members of League, he appeared before the Simon Commission which was appointed by the British Government to report on the introduction of further political reforms in the sub-continent. While participating eagerly in Punjab politics, Iqbal was also interested in all-India politics. In 1929 he attended the Muslim Conference held in Delhi under the Chairmanship of Sir Agha Khan, and made some important contribution to the deliberations of the conference. In 1930, he was unanimously elected to preside over the Annual Session of the Muslim League held in Allahbad. In his historic presidential address, Iqbal said, **“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 foundation 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.”**

Round Table Conference:

In 1931, Allama Iqbal attended the Second round Table Conference in London and served as the representative of the Minorities Committee. He returned to Lahore on 30th December 1931 most disappointed at the attitude of Mr. Gandhi and other Hindu leaders at the conference and convinced more than ever, that the only solution of the political troubles of the sub-continent was a division of the country.

In 1932, Iqbal was invited to attend the Third Round Table Conference. While the Conference was in progress, Iqbal grew so dissatisfied with its proceedings that he resigned and returned to India. In 1936, at the inspirations of Mr. Jinnah, Iqbal undertook the work for the Punjab Parliamentary Board, which was to conduct elections. Muslim politics was in turmoil and chaos as at that time Mr. Jinnah was facing a very hard time. But in the midst of all this darkness there shone a flickering light in Lahore and this was Iqbal who stood steadfast by Jinnah in those trying days and helped him to charter the course of Indo-Muslim politics.

When Allama Iqbal died as a broken heart without seeing the fulfillment of his ideals, **Mr. Jinnah** sent this message to his son, **“To me he was friend, guide and philosopher and during the darkest moments through which the Muslim League had to go he stood like a rock and never flinched one single moment.”**

On March 24, 1940, when the Pakistan Resolution was passed by the Muslim League at Lahore, **Mr. Jinnah** said, **“Iqbal is no more amongst us, but had he been alive he would have been happy to know that we did exactly what he wanted us to do.”**

Iqbal’s Contributions:

No one today denies that Iqbal placed a very vital part in the founding of Pakistan. Iqbal was perhaps not a politician in the strict sense in which Mr. Jinnah or Mr. Nehru were, but he could see further than almost any other of his contemporaries could. It was the part of Allama Iqbal’s greatness that he not only formulated conception of an Islamic State in India and outlined its physical boundaries but laid down the characteristics which a state must have. **Rushbrook Williams** said, **“If it were to provide that interplay between the individual and the society in**

which the individual lives, which Iqbal knew to be essential for the highest development of both.”

Allama Iqbal’s contributions to Islam and Muslims are unparalleled in their characteristics and his followers interwove the practicability on the basis of his ideals. All Muslims of the world are indebted to our great thinker and pay gratitude for his relentless fight for a separate homeland, which changed the political attitudes of other sovereigns. His selfless services and devotion in the field of poetry, philosophy and metaphysics are unprecedented, which ushered a new era of literature and knowledge. His message through his statements, speeches and work will ever vibrate against evil, slavery and subjugation.

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Iqbal's Concept of an Islamic State

Allama Iqbal's greatness as a versatile poet and his originality and profundity as a renowned thinker can never be denied in any age of human thought and philosophy. His greatness in these fields can attract no controversy. The eternal presence of the Poet of the East in Pakistan is felt with deep reverence and respect more than a visionary poet or merely an academic philosopher. He is the creator of the very conception of the state of Pakistan. The birth of Pakistan, as an independent Islamic state, on the map of globe, had many causes but name so potent as the one that has reference to the vision which Iqbal had about the political future of the Indian Muslims.

Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan, the former President of Pakistan, said, "It is common fallacy to believe that the concept of Pakistan was formed in a poet's dream. The poet, Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, was no idle dreamer. Nor can countries like Pakistan, 364737 square miles; population 80,000,000 spring from the nebulous realm of poetry alone. Iqbal was in fact a philosopher of traditional as well as modern thought who had made a careful study of human affairs, both of East and West, and focused the light of his inquiry on the causes of economic and cultural subjugation to which the Muslims of India had been systematically subjected since their first abortive struggle for independence in 1857. It was in his presidential address at the annual session of All-India Muslim League in 1930 that he spelt out the broad outlines of a plan under which the Muslims of India were led to aspire to an independent state in which they would be free to follow their own way of life."

Allama Iqbal in the name of Ijtehad, strongly defended his idea of the creation of Muslim Empire within the sub-continent of India, which was very akin to its approximation to the Western conception of the term "state", purely as an interim and transitional phase of the growth of universal brotherhood of man. **Khawaja Abdur Rahim** was of the view that **Universal brotherhood is an ideal good for human evolution which Islam came to establish, and the symbol of which phenomenon every year is held aloft by Islam for the rest of the world to see on the day of pilgrimage at Mecca, when millions of Muslims coming from distant parts of the world congregate, in the presence of One God, and stand shoulder to shoulder in spite of the local loyalties they may owe to the lands whence they come.**

Allama Iqbal said, "For the present every Muslim nation must sink into her own deeper self, temporarily focus her vision on herself alone, until all are strong and powerful to form a living family of republics. A true and living unity, according to the nationalist thinkers, is not so easy as to be achieved by a merely symbolical over lordship. It is truly manifested in a multiplicity of free independent units whose racial rivalries are adjusted and harmonized by the unifying bond of a common spiritual aspiration. It seems to me that God is slowly bringing home to us the truth that Islam is neither nationalism nor imperialism but a League of Nations which recognizes artificial boundaries and racial distinctions for facility of reference only and not for restricting the social horizon of its members."

The state of Pakistan exists to fulfill higher Muslim aspirations in the modern world history; to begin with, it must be made to serve as a stepping stone to the final phase of Muslim history, as a sort of a platform from where we are to appeal to the rest of the humanity to listen to the Divine Oracle which says that all humanity is one and the various communities into which it is divided is merely for the purpose of identification and the division has no other deeper meaning. The philosophy of colorless cosmopolitan must not be accepted. For the uplift of universal brotherhood of mankind, Pakistan should not emphasize the growth of the distinctive and cultural features. It is rather to stress that the historical evolution of our national life in all its uniqueness is an important condition precedent for the full realization of the ideal of brotherhood of man. We have to love Pakistan and develop the distinctive features of Pakistan's culture.

Allama Iqbal was of opinion that the rehabilitation of Muslim history could take place provided in Pakistan, future homeland of Indian Muslims; historical task will be approached, for development of national culture with an eye on ultimate goal of universal history. In Islam the idea of territorial frontiers has no ultimate juridical significance, because fundamentally the earth belongs to the God and is the inheritance of the righteous ones. The discords and the conflicts which are presently infesting the world peace and are threatening to mount up to a point where another global war may breakout with consequences too terrible to contemplate, are ultimately traceable to the rigid adherence to the concept of absolute national sovereignty.

No nation is prepared to surrender any part of its sovereignty in favor of the creation of super national authority; that is so simply because the state in our own day has become an idol which is to be worshipped to the utter neglect of our reverence for that element of transcendence which gives to the human history, a universal background. Much of the chaos and disorder that one notices is the social, economic and political. Life in Pakistan ultimately reflects the crisis of a character which has taken place in our interior consciousness. It is here that an attempt that healing has to be initiated. Ethics but not Economics lay down the primary force for the redemption of man. All strength, even material strength is ultimately possible and durable only upon a moral basis.

Iqbal's Conception of Khudi (Ego)

The conception of Khudi has been the most important contribution of Iqbal to the realm of political thought. It was not due to the fact that he was the first to treat the subject before him such eminent minds as Nietzsche, Fichte, Bergso and William James had dealt with the subject from the various angles of vision. Iqbal's originality lay in the fact that the whole concept of Khudi underwent a radical change and assumed a realistic interpretation under his masterly pen. To Iqbal, Khudi or ego does not signify pride or arrogance, but the spirit of self affirmation of one's potentialities and their proper utilization. Every object of the universe exhibits this spirit in some way or other. Even the Creator of this universe could not help expressing His ego and created this world in order to be known. One Hadith alludes to this fact in these words:

“I was a hidden treasure. I wished that I may be recognized, therefore I created the whole creature.”

Thus man being the highest creature, should have spirit of “I-am-ness” in its perfection, and should assimilate and absorb in himself the attributes of God and thus become His vicegerent (naib) on earth. This implies that a limited authority has been given to every man to fashion his life according to ego. Ego must then consist in creating desires and wishes and trying to realize them, by the authority vested in every man.

Iqbal said,

خودی بچون تن را شد خوی رد آ کیدار
شکارا عالم پر رد کندار
پوشیده اندر ذات او جهان صد
ست از اژدایر او پی او غبات
کاشت است صومت تخم خجهان در
پخود شد تن را غیر خویاست شت ندا

When the Self awakened itself, it revealed the world of concepts.

A hundred worlds are hidden in its being; its not-self comes to being from its self-affirmation.

It has sown the seeds of hostility in the world by imagining itself to be other than itself.

Allama Iqbal believed that the philosophy of self-denial was developed by the weaker nations in their days of decline and degradation. The criticism of Nietzsche against Christianity was based on the fact that the Christians having a defeatist mentality believed that paradise was to be given to the weak and the humble few and not to the wealthy and the strong.

Iqbal and Nietzsche:

Despite the high price he bestowed upon Nietzsche and acceptance of his influence, the fact remains that Iqbal was never completely a follower of Nietzsche. Iqbal profited from many great thinkers and renowned Sufis, but in keeping with his own philosophy of Khudi he never completely became an imitator of any. The influence of Western thought apparent in Asrar-i-Khudi contains not only the philosophy of Nietzsche but also ideas of the German philosopher, Fichte, and of the French Jews, Bergson.

Allama Iqbal has delineated in his famous poem, Asrar-i-Khudi that there are three stages in the development of Khudi. The first stage is called Obedience, the second Self-Control and the third is called Divine Vicegerency. In the first stage the self is likened which is taken directly from Nietzsche, while the other two are taken from Islamic philosophy and literature. Allama Iqbal states in his famous lecture entitled, "The Human Ego" that there is in the history of modern thought one positive view of immortality. This view deserves some consideration, not only because Nietzsche has maintained i.e. with prophetic fervor but also because it reveals a real tendency in the modern mind.

Allama Iqbal said, "The Quranic view of the testing of man is partly ethical, partly biological. I say partly biological because the Quran makes in this connection certain statements of a biological nature which we cannot understand without a deeper insight into the nature of life. It mentions, for instance, the fact of Barzakh, a state perhaps of some kind of suspense between Death and Resurrection. Resurrection appears to have been differently conceived. The Quran does not base its possibility, like Christianity, on the evidence of the actual resurrection of an historic person. It seems to take and argue resurrection as a universal phenomenon of life, in some sense true even of birds or animals."

According to Quranic view:

1. That the ego has a beginning in time, and did not pre-exist its emergence in the spatio-temporal order.
2. There is no possibility of return to this earth. This is clear from the following verses: **"When death overtook one of them, he said, Lord! Send me back again, that I may do the good that I have left undone. By no means, these are the very words which he shall speak. But behind them is a barrier (Barzakh), until the day when they shall be raised again. "**(23, 101)
3. That infinite is not a misfortune: **"Verily there is none in the Heavens and in the Earth but shall approach the God of Mercy as a servant. He has taken note of them and remembered them with exact numbering: and each of them shall come to Him on the day of resurrection as a single individual."**

This is a very important point and must be properly understood to have a clear insight into the Islamic theory of salvation. It is with the irreplaceable singleness of his individuality that finite ego will approach the infinite ego to see for himself the consequences of his past actions and to judge the possibility of his future.

Helpers of Ego:

Allama Iqbal maintains that stability, permanence and integrity are the essence of ego. A dew-drop vanishes with the sunlight; a drop of tear disappears after a while, because they took stability, while a drop which remains in a sea shell becomes a pearl. Similarly, an individual should subjugate and exploit to his benefit, the things external to him and save himself from being subjugated. It is true that as against God man is helpless, but as against other creatures, or natural objects, man is quite powerful, to harness them to his best advantage and benefit.

Mr. Justice Anwar-ul-Haq said, “According to Iqbal, life is a forward, assimilative process and in essence is the continuous creation of desires and ideas. The human ego has a definite mission on earth in the two main diversions. In the first place, it has to struggle with its environment and to conquer it. By this conquest it attains freedom and approaches God, Who is the freest entity. In the second place, the ego has to maintain a constant state of tension and thereby attain immortality. By attaining freedom and immortality the ego conquers space on the one hand and time on the other. The ego has to help in the upward march of humanity by leading to the birth of a higher type of man, namely, the superman or the perfect man, who is the ideal to which all life aspires.”

According to Iqbal the following factors and forces fortify the human ego or personality:

1. Love:

Iqbal explained the word Love in a letter to Prof. Nicholson, “It means the desire to assimilate, to absorb. Its highest form is the creation of values and ideals and the endeavors to realize them. Love individualizes the lover as well as the beloved. The effort to realize the most unique individuality individualizes the seeker and implies individuality of the sought, for nothing else would satisfy the nature of the seeker.”

2. Faqr:

By Faqr, Iqbal means an attitude of mind which enables a man to endlessly strive spurning delights and rewards, except the attainment of worthy ends. In other words, it depicts selflessness and abnegation and ascendancy over one’s natural environment and a sense of complete detachment from worldly affairs and rewards. Once an individual is able to achieve this attitude of mind, there is no limit to what he might attain in the way of development of personality and spiritual strength. Allied with Faqr is the element of courage, both physical and moral.

3. Courage:

Both physical and moral courage means overcoming and combating all obstacles and hurdles with no failure of nerve, no submission to forces of evil or to desire to give in except to conviction. Iqbal calls upon the younger generation to live dangerously and courageously. He

said,

آڈگوڈی و بے بے باک سی الحق مرداں جواں بین
اھی کے شہیروں کے و آتی نہ ہیں روبلہ

The code for men of courage is spontaneous truth and fearlessness; Brave people knew nothing about cunningness.

4. Tolerance:

For other people's views and manners represents the strength of the high order and its cultivation is greatly beneficial to human society. It also sustains and strengthens the human ego.

5. Kasb-e-Halal:

In a world where selfishness and aggrandizement are playing vital part in human life, insistence on kasb-e-halal is of the utmost significance. Iqbal insists that the individuals should constantly exert him to acquire things which he wants to enjoy. He even goes to the extent of deprecating inheritance of worldly good as he feels that it hurts the ego. Even in the field of ideas, Iqbal advises avoidance of borrowing. Succinctly, lawful and rightful acquisition, anything not obtained by foul means like cheating, fraud or theft, acquiring things or ideas through one's personal efforts and struggles.

6. Creative and original activity:

Iqbal is opposed to mimicry and copying others slavishly. Blind imitation is of no avail and must be discouraged.

As against these positive factors there are certain negative forces which are constantly at work to weaken the ego and stultify the human personality. These are:

1. Fear:

Fear of persons and objects (except God) in all its different phases such as worry, anxiety, anger, jealousy and timidity is a positive danger for ego. It robs man of efficiency and happiness.

2. Beggary:

Not used in the limited sense but all that is achieved without personal effort and it is in every form inimical to ego development. All economic and social parasites which flourish on society under various high-sounding names are beggars.

3. Slavery:

It completely arrests the freedom of man, which retards the development of one's ego. Enslavement and mental torture of man, who's self prompts him for freedom. Every kind of slavery, whether physical or mental, distorts character and lowers man to the level of a beast and weakens the human ego. It stifles the growth of ego which needs freedom for its normal development.

4. Nasab-Parasti:

Races, nations, tribes, communities, castes and families take pride in their superior racial characters come to destroy the peace and tranquility of the world.

Iqbal is strongly opposed to all these weaknesses in human character. In fact these weaknesses develop due to the failure of the individual to practice or inculcate in him the positive elements for the development of character and personality.

Mr. Justice Anwar-ul-Haq says, “These basic elements in Iqbal’s concept of Khudi were explained to the younger generation of this country in which hope lies for the future. In fact humanity at large could benefit immensely by the adoption of these ideals. While man has made enormous strides in the development of scientific techniques and is on the verge of conquering space and outer space. I am not sure whether he has made progress in conquering the basic elements in his own nature. It is imperative for us, who are fortunate to have the stage of Iqbal’s philosophy, to understand this philosophy and to try to act upon it in our daily lives. Who knows that the salvation of the world may yet lie with those who imbibe the teachings of Iqbal and of the Quran which is the source of Iqbal’s inspiration?”

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