

**QUAID-I-AZAM MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH
AND MASS MOBILIZATION: A CASE STUDY
OF PUNJAB.**

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Abstract

This study analyzes the role of three social groups i.e. students, women and mystics of Punjab during the freedom movement under the theory of mass-mobilization. It examines Quaid-i-Azam's vision and techniques, ensuing which, he had activated different sectors of the Muslim community, particularly during last ten years of the British colonial rule in India. It was due to Quaid's wise leadership that the students, women and sufis (mystics) organized themselves to campaign for Pakistan. Quaid-i-Azam not only guided them towards their real destination but also encouraged them to use their abilities and strengths to achieve their foremost desire of a separate homeland. Primary sources including, Archives of the Freedom Movement, Shamsul Hassan Collection, Jinnah Paper, Files of the Gold Medalists of Pakistan movement, autobiographies written by workers of Pakistan movement and biographies of students, women and other common participants of the movement have been utilized to establish our contention. Besides, documentary sources, interviews of workers of the Pakistan movement have also been conducted by the author, which had enhanced not only the value of the study but also had strengthened the point raised in this study. In addition to it, newspapers files have also been consulted as they had greatly helped in the mass mobilization and the efforts of common Muslims of Punjab.

Keywords: *Quaid-i-Azam, Mass-Mobilization, Pakistan Movement, Punjab*

Introduction

This paper seeks to study Quaid-i-Azam's efforts to provide the Muslim League with a new effort of mass-mobilization, involvement of various sections of the Muslim society of Punjab specifically, in the Pakistan Movement and his deep concern to ensure his presence in many meetings with the students, women and mystics. It pursues how Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah had motivated and guided students and women of Punjab to make the Muslim League's creed popular among urban and rural Muslims and to make them ready to launch the Movement. How his visionary leadership attracted Muslim mystics towards activism in larger number and through them millions of their followers also became part of the movement? And how second stage of mass mobilization achieved greater success, which resulted in the promise of an independent homeland? Quaid-i-Azam struggled selflessly to spread the demand of a separate homeland among Muslim masses, who gradually got ready to respond on one call of their Quaid. That phase in the policy of the Muslim League enabled Quaid-i-Azam to bring an admirable change in the history. The study finds that the Quaid-i-Azam stimulated students and women first and then mobilized *sajjadanashins* and *Sufis*. These were the hereditary trustees of shrines and had great influence over the followers of the saint in question. They together with students, women under guidance of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah addressed that lower strata of Muslim population which were mobilized and fully participated in Pakistan movement during the last two years of the colonial rule.

1. Theoretical Framework of Mass-Mobilization

Mass-mobilization is generally meant intensive attempts of combined actions by thousands of people, who protest to achieve a common goal.¹ A mass-mobilization can be divided into three main stages: origin, protest and the outcome. In the first stage, a notable number of people become resent some dominant or evil force and this anger motivates them to protest against this disturbing element. The rise of such disconcerted elements and the motivational force to protest cannot be ignored. As the distressed element is powerful, it upsets more people and the intensity of this anger or discontent leads them to protest.² The second stage of protest starts when mass mobilization becomes visible. Thousands of people gather in one place to protest together or sometimes they organize their actions according to a given timeframe and protest in different places at the same times. Mass Mobilization and concerted actions make the movement powerful enough to achieve their political goals. The more effective the pressure, the more chances are

there for the success of the protest.³ The phenomenon of Mass Mobilization continues to achieve its final result. The last stage of the mass-mobilization is the outcome or result that could be completely in favour of the protestors or completely against it. If the outcome is positive and successful, the oppressive force could be totally wiped out while if the result is opposite then even huge mass-mobilizations can fail.

While applying the said theory on this study, it seeks to stress that consciousness of Muslim nationalism, prejudices of Hindus, pro-Congress approach of Unionist government, its reliance on district machinery to control affairs and to manage the 1946 elections, rising economic difficulties of the people, anti-masses war-time policies of the provincial Unionist government and post-war difficulties of the masses⁴ and finally, an idea of establishment of a Muslim state was spread among common Muslims with the help of students and women through their activities of holding Pakistan conferences, study circles, Pakistan libraries, celebration of important days, rural propaganda schemes and then election campaign. Once the call of the Quaid was well received by the common Muslims and they realized that they had been treated with discrimination, they were ready for the second stage. Muslim mystics however, mostly joined Quaid-i-Azam's call of Pakistan movement at this, second stage and made the movement stronger especially with their pro-Muslim League verdicts and direct involvement in Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM). Here it is pertinent to mention that the argument raised by Ian Talbot that the Muslim League approached the elites including landlords and *sajjada nashines* after initial mass contact campaign of 1944 and got strength with the joining of traditionally strong families such as Noons, Hayats and Daultanas⁵ Should be read with the argument and evidence that the Muslim League under Quaid's leadership targeted masses of urban and rural areas constantly with the help of students and women. In that way, it may be added, that the Muslim League adopted two-way approach i.e. elite-centered and mass-centered mobilization. In the later stage, that constant calling of establishment of a Muslim state mobilized people and then many elite-factions joined the Muslim League after realizing that the masses were not ready to back away from the demand of a separate Muslim country. In that whole episode, religion played a major role in the popular perception of the Muslim League campaign in the rural areas, which were under strong influence of Sufis and *sajjadada nashines*.⁶ The stage of protest, though, started earlier, mostly emerged as a forceful move with the start of the CDM and successfully convinced the colonial power to accept demand of a separate homeland, which was then claim of masses. The third stage

of the mass mobilization was of output, which was achievement of Pakistan.

2. Quaid-i- Azam and the Students

Quaid-i-Azam, after taking the responsibility of revitalizing the Muslim League in 1936, had focused on the organization of the students. Muslim students were already upset by the injustice they had to face in the educational institutions. On the call of the Quaid, they responded eagerly. In late 1930s and early 1940s, the student-wing; the Muslim Students Federation led by the Raja of Mahmudabad (1914-1973) was set up on provincial, divisional and district levels. Punjab Muslim Students Federation was founded in September 1937. Students actively used their abilities and services to promote, among common people, the importance of the Lahore session of the Muslim League, held in March 1940 to make it fully successful. In this session of the Muslim League, the Lahore resolution, later called Pakistan Resolution, was successfully passed. Thereafter, Quaid-i-Azam directed his attention towards meeting the students personally. He appreciated their efforts for the nation and sent motivational and enthusiastic letters and messages to the student conferences and to the student magazines, among which *Awakening* (English) and the *Bedari* (Urdu) were the most popular ones.⁷ In March 1941, Punjab Muslim Students Federation organized the first Pakistan Conference which was eagerly attended by Quaid-i-Azam. In this meeting, Quaid-i-Azam motivated students to struggle and to make progress. His historical words ‘Today is 1st March; my advice to you is March on’⁸ inducted a new spirit among the students. Quaid-i-Azam’s presence heightened students’ morale and they made efforts to arrange various Pakistan Conferences in the years to come. The second Pakistan Conference was held at Lyallpur on 17th July 1941. The year 1942 observed three Pakistan Conferences, one in Multan, the other in Rawalpindi and third in Jullundhar. It was due to their selfless efforts that in 1944, four Pakistan conferences were held in different cities of Punjab including Lahore, Sialkot, Rawalpindi and Amritsar.⁹ The one, held in Lahore was presided over by the Quaid-i-Azam himself. He highlighted the importance of Pakistan ideology and stressed on the urgent need to establish a separate Muslim Board and educational scholarship for Muslim students.¹⁰ Such meetings proved to be very fruitful for mass mobilization as those were a good source of spreading awareness among common Muslims regarding Muslim nationalism and encouraging them to perform their duties for the great national cause.

Student administrators of the provincial and district level student federations were at liberty to contact Quaid-i-Azam, whenever they needed to discuss their educational problems or any queries regarding the freedom movement. Quaid-i-Azam suggested that the students arrange various study circles and small Pakistan libraries in multiple areas to spread political and economic consciousness among the common people and the students regarding the current situation which the country was passing through.¹¹ Students vigorously acted upon Quaid's advice by arranging such meeting points. In this regard, the Secretary of PMSF in correspondence with Quaid-i-Azam wrote:

Punjab Muslim Students' Federation has decided to start study circles in every college. The object underlying is to educate Muslim students so that they may be able to understand political and economic problems facing our country and nation. We are also opening a Pakistan Library in our Lahore office. Literature on Pakistan will be available to our members from the library. Working Committee of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation has sanctioned a substantial sum for this object. We need help from the League home study circle in this connection. We will write to them and I hope you will be kind enough to recommend our case.¹²

In urban areas, only two or three educated Muslim families in one *Mohallah* (locality) bought newspapers. The popular newspapers were *Shahbaz*, *Ihsan* and later on, '*Nawa-i-Waqt*'. The families usually went through the newspapers till evening. In the evening, one boy-student gathered the newspapers and pamphlets of the Muslim League, if any was there, and at a fixed place, the news was read out loudly for those who could not buy or read. A Punjabi's book '*Confederation of India*' was widely read to the public in these circles.¹³ Street study circle (*thura* libraries), was another activity to propagate the Muslim League ideas. The newspapers were placed by street shop-keeper at *thura* libraries and customers read those.¹⁴ The places where no spot could be fixed for study-circle or library, students were bound to distribute printed speeches of Quaid-i-Azam or Muslim League pamphlets in the homes of Muslim families.¹⁵ In this way, the message reached to uneducated and resourceless masses and Study Circles were working effectively to spread Pakistan cause without putting any financial burden on the Muslim League.

On Quaid-i-Azam's advice, every year since 1941, the Pakistan Day was celebrated by the students on 23rd March with great enthusiasm.¹⁶ They also celebrated Iqbal Day, Tipu Sultan Day and other Days of prominence for Muslims. Celebration of such Days was counteracting the influence of the pro-Congress ulama.

Quaid assigned the students the foremost task of spreading the Pakistan ideology among the people of rural areas particularly. It was a challenge for the Muslim League to achieve political breakthrough in the countryside of the province.¹⁷ For this purpose, he advised them to work during their summer holiday but only after fulfilling their educational duties.¹⁸ At the end of the first Pakistan Conference in 1941, PMSF founded the Rural Propaganda Committee (RPC) which included Zafarullah Khan Malik, Chaudhary Nasrullah Khan, Abdus Sattar Khan Niazi and Zahoor Alam Shaheed etc.¹⁹ Afterwards, further sub-committees were opened on district-levels.²⁰ In a meeting on March 12, 1941 the RPC decided that the students of different colleges, during their summer break from May to August, might visit a large number of rural areas, approximately four thousand villages,²¹ to disseminate the Pakistan ideology and the agenda of Muslim League among the illiterate rural masses. These groups of students, while visiting rural vicinities, talked to small gatherings of people, present in the local mosques during prayer times and at other public points.²² The use of human voice to spread Pakistan ideology among rural masses proved to be an effective technique in the longer run.

In a report, by Chairman of RPC, Zafarullah Khan Malik, sent to Quaid-i-Azam, it was mentioned that the "Pakistan Committee started work at Sheikhpura on 20th June 1941, where two Committees of the students visited forty villages. Consequently, these Committees successfully founded thirty primary Leagues. Besides, the public in rural areas generally advocated the idea of having an independent separate state, but they were scared of the cruel attitude of the local lords and officials. Therefore, it was necessary to provide them confidence and warn the local administration to stop terrifying the masses."²³ The same kind of work was done by the students in other districts of Punjab including Rawalpindi, Jullundhur, Sialkot, Gujrat and Lyallpur.²⁴

Students under the leadership of the Quaid had been fully mobilized for the national cause. However, they needed formal training to be equipped with appropriate arguments and canvassing capabilities. For this purpose, a training camp, 'Summer School of Politics' was started. A large number of students from various districts of Punjab

attended this school and were trained. Muslims leaders like Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawab Mamdot and others often addressed the students, discussed the political scenario of the country with them and injected new spirit in them.²⁵ The discipline of the camp was just like military training camp, where attendance was compulsory and five times prayers were offered jointly. After one period of drill, *Dars-i-Quran* was arranged. Lectures on Islamic History, Economics and cultural difficulties of the Muslims, Education system and above all importance of Pakistan and ideology of Pakistan were delivered, by the eminent scholars like Professor Ilum -uddin Salik, Mian Abdul Bari, Abdullah Noor Baig and Dr Syed Abdullah. A small library was also opened at camp. Besides it, a lot of debating contests, dialogues, and mutual discussions took place which enhanced confidence among the students. And now they were more than ever ready to face every kind of public.²⁶ At the closing ceremony of the Camp, Quaid-i-Azam granted awards and certificates to forty students.²⁷

On the command of Quaid-i-Azam, these trained students were sent all over the province to propagate the message of Muslim League and Pakistan with new enthusiasm, energy and tactics. Under the leadership of Ahmad Saeed Kirmani, five students were sent to Jhang District; the second batch was sent under the guidance of Rafique Ahmad towards Montgomery and Multan. While, Hamid Bhatti and three other members had reached Sargodha to revolutionize the Muslim League's activities there.²⁸ These representatives approached small gatherings of forty, sixty or eighty people at different places, distributed the Muslim League literature on Pakistan, deeply and clearly explained the activities and aims of Quaid-i-Azam, delivered soulful speeches for Pakistan and convinced common people to join the Muslim League. Besides such activities, special prayers were arranged for the success of Muslim League in the elections.²⁹ Such student batches were also sent towards other districts of the province.

Keeping in view their strength and their ability to work effectively, Quaid-i-Azam asked them to campaign for the Muslim League during the elections of 1945-46. Students' spirit and extra efforts turned the impossibilities into possibilities. PMSF established an Election Board for formal campaign and Islamia College MSF opened an Islamia College Election Directorate in the college premises which served as an Electoral Office of PMSF. Syed Qasim Rizvi was chairman and Sartaj Aziz served as treasurer of the Election Directorate.³⁰ They wrote letters to the Muslim League candidates and asked about their requirement of volunteers. The Muslim League candidates from forty-five constituencies requested for help. The students were counselled to work like holy

warriors and to follow Holy Prophet's life style during their visits in the constituencies.³¹ Only in the first week of campaign, from 11th December to 18th December 1945, twelve batches of students consisting of more than hundred students visited constituencies of Lyallpur, Gojra, Kasur, Chunnia, Lahore, Tehsil Okara, Gujranwala, Montgomery, Ferozpur, Muktasar and Gujrat.³²

The students of Islamia College had adopted some effective measures to persuade the voters in favour of the Muslim League. For example, Dr Rafique mentioned that he reached at Bhale De Rathan, a strong Unionist constituency, with his batch-mates. The local landlords were strong followers of the Unionist ideology. The group of students were disguised in rural outfits and sat in a local gathering of around fifteen hundred people on the Election Day. A bearded Unionist stood up, admired Unionist candidate and directed the simple people how to mark the ballot paper on Unionist symbol. Then he started using bad names for Quaid-i-Azam and called him an infidel. He said, "Oh Muslims! He had sold Mosque of Shaheed Gunj to Sikhs."³³ All the six students stood up and uttered at once that the person was a big swindler and was speaking without any proof. They told them that they were residents of Lahore and had seen the movement. The truth was that Shaheed Gunj Mosque was sold by the British to the Sikhs. With that, all the people started raising anti Unionist slogans and the whole gathering went to caste vote for the Muslim League.

Due to their hard work, a great positive response towards the Muslim League was observed in Okara, Sahiwal, Jhang, D.I. Khan and many other remote areas. However, in Jhang and Sheikupura, seven Muslim members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly joined Muslim League in the years between 1944 and 1946.³⁴ To propagate Muslim League in Khanewal, Dasuya, Dera Ghazi Khan, students visited streets and homes on daily basis and soon their efforts turned the tables on the Unionist Party.³⁵ Students were recommended to report their activities related to election campaign to the PMSF and to Quaid-i-Azam directly. The secretary of PMSF, in correspondence with Quaid, penned down:

The students are working in right earnest, carefree of the difficulties, which they encounter in the shape of inadequate conveyance, rough weather and accidental sickness. Their determination is really praiseworthy and is a message to the idle. They have pledged not to rest till they sound the trumpet of

Pakistan in every corner of the province and convey its message to every individual.³⁶

Along with this letter, the weekly account of the students' work was also attached. It reported the numerical strength of the students, their schedule on daily basis and the names of the constituencies which they visited.³⁷

Under the strong leadership of the Quaid, the students always remained at the frontline to project the demand of Pakistan; either it was the Cabinet Mission Proposals, formation of Interim Government or the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1947 in Punjab or NWFP, they always supported point of view of the Muslim League. During CDM of thirty-four days, they took out processions on daily basis, though many of them were arrested and jailed. Students of Lahore marched the city with such a massive gathering on 10 February 1947 that the whole city was obstructed for few hours. The regime was so upset that Education Minister, Ibrahim Baig had to warn the administration of Islamia College, Lahore to keep its students away from participation in politics.³⁸ The time for such kind of warnings had, however, been over as students could not return back until reaching to the third stage of mass mobilization.

Quaid-i-Azam's farsightedness and wisdom brought awareness among the students and mobilized them and they became source of mobilizing other sections of the Muslim society. Student's rural propaganda campaign, study circles, Pakistan libraries, Pakistan conferences and above all their lively participation in election campaign paved the way for Muslim League to get success in various constituencies. Students' active participation in CDM, besides all other sections of the Muslim society of Punjab, was the hype of their mobilization for the cause of Pakistan.

3. Quaid-i-Azam and Women Volunteers

Quaid-i-Azam had motivated Muslim women to get education and organize themselves through different platforms. As the majority of Muslim women were illiterate, there was an urgent need to get rid of this evil. For this purpose, he was assisted by some educated ladies among whom the name of Fatima Begum, daughter of Maulvi Mahboob Alam, (editor of *Paisa Akhbar*) was very prominent. Fatima Begum and her father had always encouraged women education and women activism by writing different articles, novels and publishing magazines for them. By 1930's Fatima Begum was serving as Inspector of Schools in Bombay. She met Quaid-i-Azam on several occasions in Bombay and also wrote

Urdu speeches for him. In view of her educational services and passion, Quaid-i-Azam advised her to return to Lahore in 1937 and gave her the task of spreading women education and of popularizing the Muslim League and the idea of Pakistan among the women folk of the Punjab.³⁹ She whole-heartedly and ably started working for education of women. Meanwhile, different provinces of the British India were ruled by the hostile Congress Ministries and the *Wardha* scheme of education was rapidly operating in different areas. That situation was highly alarming for the Muslim community to safeguard their identity. In 1938, Fatima Begum opened the Jinnah Islamia Girls College (JIGC) at Nawan Kot on her personal property, which was inaugurated by Jinnah himself.⁴⁰ This college not only spread awareness among common Muslim women regarding Islam but also enabled them to protect themselves from Hindu and British missionaries. Later, this college emerged as a hub of women activities related to Pakistan movement.

As the education spread, Muslim women gradually became conscious about the political scenario of the country. They began to understand the needs of Muslim community and starting organizing themselves in different political and social institutions. The decade of 1930s observed the foundation of several women political organizations. In late 1930s, Muslim women, with the support of their menfolk and encouragement of the Quaid-i-Azam, established the All- India Muslim Women League (AIMWL). Afterwards its provincial branches were also opened besides establishment of Muslim Girls National Guard (MGNG) and Muslim Girls Students Federation (MGSF). It won't be wrong to say that the decade of 1930s marked the beginning of the political consciousness of the Muslim women particularly in Punjab and generally in the rest of the Muslim majority areas.

In March 1940, the PPMWL had the foremost task to assure maximum participation of women in the Muslim League's annual session of Lahore and make it successful. In this regard, it founded a subcommittee, the Women Reception Committee, to ensure accommodation and provide best facilities to the female guests coming from other cities. Lady Abdul Qadir was made its supervisor.⁴¹ To serve female guests, this committee appointed women volunteers who were mostly the students of the JIGC and women workers of the Muslim League.⁴² The JIGC had been transformed into a women-lodging house while its students selflessly made efforts to serve the guests and accommodated them.⁴³ Some women leaders of the Muslim League, like Saeeda Waheed (1917-2006)⁴⁴ and her husband, Dr Abdul Waheed hosted numerous respected guests at their own house. Quaid-i-Azam,

acknowledged the huge contributions of Muslim women and said, "...if political consciousness is awakened among our women, remember, your children will not have much to worry..."⁴⁵ Begum Maulana Mohammad Ali Johar (1885-1947),⁴⁶ only female member of the Lahore Resolution Drafting Committee, addressed the crowd with meaningful words and supported the Resolution on behalf of the Muslim ladies of India.⁴⁷

Consequently, after the end of the Muslim League's session at Lahore, Muslim Women League arranged a separate meeting for women at JIGC which was attended by Quaid-i-Azam. A notable feature of this meeting was the enthusiasm of the womenfolk and the excitement of the female students. They sang Pakistan songs and delivered speeches full of hopes and passion for a separate homeland. Quaid-i-Azam appreciated their efforts, encouraged them and motivated them to be ready for future tasks. In his speech he said:

No struggle can ever succeed without women ever participating side by side with men... It is women and women alone who can teach man how and when to wield the sword or pen when the occasion arises.⁴⁸

Quaid's words gave confidence to women and revived their spirit and enthusiasm. In February 1941, the Women Unit of the Student Federation was established by the Principal of JIGC, Fatima Begum.⁴⁹ Around five hundred students of JIGC got its membership while its small branches were also opened in other girls' colleges.⁵⁰ The students of the JIGC arranged several Pakistan Conferences to popularize the idea of Pakistan. Beside it, in November 1942, they held numerous female gatherings at different places of the province and invited prominent leaders to address and guide the upcoming young female leaders. Such meetings were occasionally attended by Quaid-i-Azam. He presided one such conference and said that no nation can ever make progress without the collaboration of its women.⁵¹ Beside Quaid, many students and women leaders of the PPMWL also delivered motivational speeches.

After these successful meetings, female students of the Punjab directed their attention towards emancipation of women of rural and urban areas, the housewives and the women of middle and lower classes. Among such women activists, the name of Khalida Rathor was very famous due to her courage. To propagate Muslim League ideology, to promote the influence of Quaid-i-Azam and to explain the Pakistan ideology, Khalida Rathor, along with her teacher Miss Siddiqui⁵² and a peon, used to visit the homes of Muslim families one by one on daily

basis. Her practice was further followed by many other students. In correspondence with Fatima Begum, Quaid-i-Azam, appreciated women efforts and their struggle. He said 'I am glad you are doing good work and that on your tour you found every encouragement.'⁵³

A notable women mobilization was observed during 1946 election campaign for the Muslim League. As the society of colonial Punjab was segregated for males and females, so the responsibility of reaching to the female folk of the society was taken by the girl students and the female leaders of the League. They were the most relevant persons of the society who could convince the women voters of urban and rural areas to cast vote to the cause of the Muslim League, which was in fact, vote for Pakistan. The task to get as many votes for the Muslim League as possible was carried out by the women workers of the League and the girl students in their own capacities and areas of influence. The women of the Muslim League had established *Mohala* Leagues and held meetings at least once a week to seek support for Pakistan.⁵⁴ They organized the female gatherings in *Mohala's* and streets of cities and villages. One such meeting was held at *Mohalah Chahal Bibian* inside *Akbari Gate* under the Presidentship of Begum Sheikh Inayat Ullah.⁵⁵ On 6th November, one grand meeting of the Muslim women was held in *Dubi Bazar* inside Lahore. The place was completely filled with the respected women. Begum Shah Nawaz (1896-1979),⁵⁶ Begum Salma Tassaduq Hussain and other women delivered speeches. Pakistan and the Muslim League anthems were sung and the women were insisted that they should cast vote for the Muslim League.⁵⁷ A number of such meetings had been held in various streets and *Mohallas* of urban areas of Punjab.

The continuous meetings and regular canvassing of females motivated them for the cause of Pakistan and to vote in favour of Muslim League. Muslim women's active participation in the election campaign in almost all areas of Punjab was a clear indication that All-India Muslim Women Subcommittee of the Muslim League, which consisted of the sisters and wives of the League's politicians in the early days⁵⁸ then had been transformed into mass-based organization which included thousands of common females of different classes. The election results showed that the women were more loyal towards Muslim League than their males and even more motivated as hundred percent female vote was cast in favour of the Muslim League.⁵⁹

The next wave of women mobilization was observed during the Civil Disobedience Movement in Punjab. To contain Muslim League's power and to crush Muslim enthusiasm, several tactics, such as banning

the MLNG and arresting several Muslim League's leaders, were adopted by the Unionist government. To protests against such cruel measures, Muslim women along with their men came forward. Muslim women left their households and came on the roads to raise their voices against injustice. The first women demonstration was observed on 25th January, 1947. Different harsh tactics, such as beating women demonstrators and tear gassing, were adopted by the police to disperse the strength of women and crush their enthusiasm. A lot of women were arrested and many were brought outside the city and left in deserted areas with no vehicle available so to force them to return home by walking. But all these barbaric acts proved to be useless as women enthusiasm increased every day and Pakistan movement also took momentum with every single day.

Quaid's effort to mobilize Muslim women can be divided into three stages. On first stage, Quaid entrusted Muslim women leaders to spread education and social awareness among other common women. At second stage, Quaid supported these Muslim women to organize themselves in various social and political organizations. While on the third stage, Quaid encouraged them to come forward and contribute to Pakistan movement. Women were asked to give their best for the said purpose. Women performed their national duties with responsibility for spreading the Muslim League's call of separate Muslim identity and Pakistan among female quarters, during election campaign for the Muslim League and in CDM. Undoubtedly, Quaid's sagacity, farsightedness and support was one of the major factors in enabling Muslim women of Punjab to get education and become active socially as well as politically. Women's active participation in the second stage of mass mobilization strengthened the movement and brought success closer.

4. Quaid and the Mystics (*Sajjadanashins and Gaddinashins*)

Mystics had great impact on the society and particularly on the people of rural areas of Punjab. Majority of the *sajjada nashins* were not politically active, though they had passively supported Unionist Party since its creation on the basis of its pro-rural ideology.⁶⁰ However, their participation was essential to strengthen the Muslim League and the Pakistan movement. In Punjab, *Sufi's* activism, on lesser scale, was observed when the Muslim League's ideology was not exactly clear. In 1936, a *Sufi figure* of *Qadriyya* order from Mianwali, Hakim Atta Mohammad Shah,⁶¹ got the membership of the Muslim League and also notably participated in the Muslim League's annual session of 1940, held at Lahore. While, *Sajjada Nashin of* Berbal Sharif, Sargodha,

Mohammad Umer Berbalvi,⁶² secured affiliation with the Muslim League since 1937. Last but not the least, in 1938, Khawaja Mohammad Qamar-din Siyalvi, *Sajjada Nashin* of Dargah Siyal Sharif established Muslim League's branch in the District of Sargodha.⁶³ Quaid-i-Azam himself had cordial relations with few *sufiis*, like Pir Jama'at Ali Shah, who had firm faith in *Sufi* creed and deep knowledge of *Sufi* rules and regulations and was very prominent among Muslim masses of the province.⁶⁴ He came out as a staunch supporter of the Muslim League, who openly preached the idea of a separate Muslim homeland. He, occasionally, corresponded with the Quaid-i-Azam and called him as *Amir-i-Millat* (Leader of the Muslims) and guaranteed him his full support in any case.⁶⁵ He motivated and exhorted his followers from other provinces to join the Muslim League. Notwithstanding the people's mentality, he regarded Quaid-i-Azam as a saint.⁶⁶ His deep affiliation with the Quaid was seen when, with the consent of his most dear and talented students, like Pirzada Mohammad Anwar Aziz Chishti, Pir Sahib presented their lives, their services and abilities to Quaid to utilize them for Pakistan Movement.⁶⁷ Quaid-i-Azam welcomed Pirzada Mohammad Anwar Aziz Chishti and nominated him as front man freedom-fighter in the district Sahiwal.⁶⁸ Quaid declared that:

If spiritual leaders of Muslims of India like Amir-i-Millat are busy for freedom of Muslims and donating the lives and capabilities of their dear ones to me, I believe that ten crore Muslims of South Asia will get independence.⁶⁹

Pir Jama'at Ali Shah's son, Pir Syed Mohammad Husain Shah Alipuri,⁷⁰ was also a strong supporter of the Muslim League and a great contributor in the freedom movement. He regularly wrote in the monthly magazine *Anwar-i-Sufia* to support the separate ideology of Muslims.

During the historical session of the Muslim League at Lahore, in March 1940, the *Sufi* leaders were eagerly present with all other companions of Quaid-i-Azam. Pir Jama'at Ali Shah, despite not being present in the meeting, sent a meaningful message to the people present there. The message said: 'the Muslim League is definitely an Islamic party for Muslims! Acquire association with it.'⁷¹ While addressing to the Quaid, it further said "Me and ninety million Muslims of India are passionately and vehemently with you. I applaud you on yours' this achievement and pray for more successes in future."⁷² After the successful meeting of March 1940, numerous *sufis*, *pirs* and *sajjada nashins* became members of the Muslim League. However, they generally diverted towards the League in the changed political scenario

after 1944 and found that Pakistan's idea of the Muslim League would protect their political and social interests in the new state.⁷³ From 1940 to 1945, the saints of Jalalpur, Jehaniyan Shah, Multan, Rajua and Shah Jiwana, obtained the membership of the Muslim League. Another mystic, Hazrat Khawaja Mohammad Qamar ud Din Siyalvi, directed his disciple, Hakim Atta Mohammad Shah to spread the Pakistan ideology in Mianwali and in the surrounding areas like Calra, the birthplace of Malik Khizer Hayat Tiwana, Unionist leader and the Prime Minister of the Punjab.⁷⁴

After the World War II, it was the power and influence of the *Pirs* and *Sajjada Nashins* that strengthened the Muslim League in the rural vicinities of the Province and accelerated its reorganization. With the failure of the Simla Conference⁷⁵ in 1945, the Muslim League under the guidance of Quaid-i-Azam, resolved to utilize more effectively the influence and power of *Pirs* and *Sufis* for the national cause. They were appealed to pray for the success of Muslim League and the achievement of Pakistan.⁷⁶ These mystics played their role to popularize the Muslim League ideology and the aim of Pakistan so enthusiastically that the whole scenario of the Punjab, particularly in rural areas, was changed. *Sufis* actively participated in provincial and national politics and founded the *Jamiat-i-Ulama-i-Islam*.⁷⁷ Afterwards, Quaid-i-Azam advised the Muslim League to establish a *Mashaikh* Committee, to facilitate the *Pir's* access to the politics of the country.⁷⁸ *Pir* Jama'at's '*Tehrik-i-Pakistan and Respectable Sufis*' issued a remarkable edict that declared the Quaid-i-Azam the unequalled advocate of the Muslims of the Sub-Continent and acknowledged the Muslim League as a sole political organization of the Indian Muslims. Therefore, all *Sufis*, *Pirs* and Muslims should actively take part in this struggle for Pakistan.⁷⁹ Many *Sufis*, like Khawaja Ghulam Sadid-ud-din, *sajjada nashin* of Taunsa Sharif, Mian Ali Mohammad Khan, *sajjada nashin* of Bari Sharif and many others were highly inspired by the effective speeches and methods of *Pir* Jama'at and gradually joined the Muslim League.⁸⁰ In a letter to Quaid-i-Azam, Mian Bashir Ahmed penned down that a huge public meeting was arranged by the Shakargarh Muslim League in January 1945. The special feature of this meeting was that, besides being attended by *Pirs* and *Sufis*, it was attended particularly by the landlords who in the past were staunch supporters of the Unionist Party.⁸¹

The elections of the 1945-46 were a real test for the claims of the Muslim League of being the one and the only representative political party of the Muslims of the sub-continent and of the essential need for a separate homeland for the Muslims of the country. The political

atmosphere of Punjab was still a difficult task to be turned in favor of the Muslim League. For this purpose, *Sufis*, *Pirs* and *Sajjada Nashins* left their monasteries, came out of seclusion and passionately campaigned for the Muslim League. Besides Urs,⁸² they arranged different conferences and meetings of mystics and worked individually as well as collectively for the national cause. Some Pirs such as Pir Mohammad Fazal Shah of Jalalpur established local political Organization, *Hizbullah* and Shah Maghfur ul Qadri established *Ihya -i- Islami* in Bahawalpur; both were used to spread message of Muslim League in their regions.⁸³ Few such as Maulana Ahmad-ud- Din Gangi established a *madrassah* in his village Gangvi, Mianwali to prepare his students for the Pakistan Cause.⁸⁴ Whereas, some of the Pirs started newspaper for the same cause i.e. Maulana Karam-ud Din who offered an allegiance at the hands of Khawaja Mohammad Din Siyalvi, served as editor of magazine *Sirajul Akhbar*⁸⁵ from Jehlum and Hafiz Khuda Bakhsh started monthly Magazine *Yad-i-Khuda* from Chiniot.⁸⁶ Both the magazines wrote against Hindu landlords and in favour of the Muslim League and idea of Pakistan. Quaid asked many *Pirs* and *Sajjada Nashins* to try to persuade the leaders of the Unionist Party to join the Muslim League. For this purpose, Pir Qamar ud Din, *sajjada nashins* of Siyyal Sharif, offered special services. He strived hard to convince the Tiwana family by presenting strong arguments to join the Muslim League. Besides it, Pir Mihr Ali Shah also advised Khizer Hayat Tiwana to join the freedom struggle but it was all in vain.⁸⁷

As Sargodha was one of the most difficult constituencies due to influence of the Tiwana family, so various pirs including Khawaja Qamar-ud- din Siyalvi⁸⁸ along with his disciple Hakim Atta Mohammad Shah, Sahibzada Mohammad Umer Berbalvi, Khan Qamar -ud- Din Siyalvi, Pir Mohammad Shah Bhervi⁸⁹ and others⁹⁰ toured several parts of Sargodha and campaigned for the Muslim League. Tiwana family used all pressure tactics against the Muslim League candidates but Muslim League was entirely successful in the district Sargodha because of hard labour of *Sufis* specifically and of other workers of the League generally. Pirs of Gillani family including Makhdum Syed Sadruddin Gilani, Makhdum Syed Sher Shah Gilani, Makhdum Syed Zain ul Abdin Gilani, Makhdum Syed Reza Shah Gilani and Makhdum Syed Willayat Hussain Gilani extended great efforts in making Muslim League successful in Multan district. In district Jhelum, many pirs, Maulana Al-Haj Mohammad Sarwar -ud- din Shaida⁹¹ Pir Mohammad Fazal Shah Jalalpuri,⁹² led by Pir Jama'at Ali Shah worked selflessly and made Muslim League successful in all areas of Jhelum Tehsil. Other prominent pirs who campaigned for Muslim League in other districts of Punjab were Shah Maghfur -ul- Qadri⁹³ in

Bahawalpur;⁹⁴ Mian Ghulam-ullah Sharaquri⁹⁵ in Sheikhpura district;⁹⁶ Maulana Ahmad ud Din Gangvi⁹⁷ and Maulana Allah Yar Khan⁹⁸ in Mianwali; Pir Syed Mihr Ali Golravi and his son Pir Syed Ghulam Muhiuddin Golravi⁹⁹ in district Rawalpindi¹⁰⁰ and *sajjada nashins* of Jhang all worked to make Muslim League successful in 1946 elections and in the final round of the Pakistan movement.¹⁰¹

To make the campaign more successful, the *Ulama* and Pirs issued some historical verdicts that proved to be very effective in attracting the attention of the Muslim masses and urging them to vote for the Muslim League. The essence of fatawa was that ‘Muslim League is the only Islamic community and that all the rest are *Kafirs*.’¹⁰² Printing media was utilized to publish such decrees in form of pamphlets and advertisements in *Nawa-i-Waqt*, *Dawn* and other newspapers. Here is an example of one such *Fatwa*, which was issued by Pir Jama’at Ali Shah:

I have issued verdict neither to pray funeral prayer nor bury such Muslim in the Muslims graveyard who will not vote to the Muslim League...¹⁰³

On 14-16 September, 1946, a session of several mystics was called in Islamia College campus, Lahore by Jamiat-i-Ulama-i-Islam¹⁰⁴ (JUI). This session was presided by Pir Jama’at Ali Shah. The essence of all the speeches, during this session, was that a separate and independent country for the Muslims of the Sub-continent was essential. Pir Jama’at Ali Shah proclaimed that the ‘Pakistan struggle’ was actually the Muslims’ struggle against infidelity and he further declared it to be a war between right and wrong. He motivated Muslims to vote for the Muslim League.¹⁰⁵ The grand support of the *sajjada nashins* made the Unionist leaders insecure and they also tried to get religious cover by getting support of their arch-rivals Jamiat-i-Ulama-i-Hind, Delhi, who could respond to the verdicts of *sajjada nashins*.¹⁰⁶ That alliance was unnatural and strange and the Muslim League projected it as an opportunist politics.

After the victory of the Muslim League in the elections, *Sufis* celebrated this success and paid tribute to the Quaid and he was declared as *Makhdam-i-Qawm*.¹⁰⁷ In a letter to Jinnah, Pir Syed Jama’at Ali Shah said:

I congratulate you on success of the Muslim League. Allah has bestowed this success of Muslim League on you out of ten crore Muslims of India. God had given success to you... even in opposition of five groups.¹⁰⁸

It was farsightedness and ability of the Quaid that made him conscious about the fact that mass mobilization, particularly in rural areas, was not an easy task without the contribution of these mystic figures. After passing the Lahore Resolution, Quaid seriously took effective steps to bring this class of society in form and utilized it for the Pakistan Movement. It was yet in the elections of 1945-46 that *Sufis* and *Pirs* truly emerged as strong political force of the Muslim League. They, along with their numerous followers made huge contributions in Pakistan movement. Their *fatawa* gave religious color to the freedom struggle. Undoubtedly, the contributions of *Sufis* made second stage of mass mobilization i.e. protest, a forceful step and masses from rural areas also became part and parcel of the CDM and that facilitated the achievement of Pakistan.

The determined and extraordinarily wise guidance of Quaid-i-Azam enabled the students, women and mystics to organize themselves in groups and work for the national cause. Inspired by the activities and enthusiasm of these groups, other classes of the Indian society, such as peasants, laborers, low cadre government employees, small businessmen and even domestic women or housewives etc. came forward to contribute in the struggle for Pakistan. The mobilization of this local leaderships was clearly observed during last two years of the Pakistan movement. Quaid-i-Azam started mass mobilization in a very dynamic way at every level of the Muslim society. His wise actions and systematic ways of gathering the people, particularly the common people, convinced the British government that the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan was one and only solution of the problems of the Indian Muslims and their foremost desire.

Conclusion:

This study finds that students and women had been mobilized by the Muslim League under guidance of the Quaid-i-Azam on the first stage, even before the passage of the Lahore Resolution. They approached other sections of the society gradually *i.e.* male quarter of the society was approached by the students and female quarter was approached by the women leadership and by female students of the colleges. However, the section of mystics had widely been included in the race on a bit later stage *i.e.* 1944 and 1945. Quaid-i-Azam strategized systematically; he supported and guided students and women to organize themselves and then to work for Pakistan cause. Involvement of both the sections *i.e.* students and women in efforts of the Muslim League and the Quaid-i-Azam proved to be a very effective and fast means of

popularizing the Muslim League in urban areas particularly and in rural areas generally. Besides it, to make Pakistan Movement more powerful and to accelerate the working of Muslim League, Quaid called *Pir* and *Sajjada Nasheens* to perform their role. Quaid-i-Azam comprehended that this mystic class had deep impact on the minds of the people, therefore, they would attract people and guide them to support the Muslim League. These religious authorities gave a sacred feeling to the whole freedom movement mostly in the middle of 1940s.

Inspired by the popularity of Quaid-i-Azam and his call of independence, the low- income workers, independent yet small businessmen and other underprivileged sections of the society like peasants and low cadre government employees also came forward and contributed in the freedom fight. They protested, supported the Muslim League in 1946 elections, observed strikes, took out a lot of processions and sit-ins during CDM and made it a success. CDM proved to be hallmark of mass mobilization in the history of the Indian-subcontinent. It was due to continuous mass-mobilization efforts of the students, women and then *pirs* that the common people, even housewives were enthusiastically participating in the CDM. They had left their home-tasks unattended for the time being. Besides it, lower class also added fuel to the movement with their participation. *Tongawala* (horse-cart) union, *Tanoorwala* (bread-makers) union and other small unions were observing strikes occasionally during CDM. That wider activism was possible only due to continuous efforts of the three targeted groups who had been mobilized first, under strategy of the Quaid-i-Azam. Their collective efforts made the freedom movement successful and achieved their goal of Pakistan.

Quaid's ability and skills inspired whole Muslim community. He not only paid attention towards the high class of the society, but equally looked after the underprivileged and secluded classes also. He nourished the grassroots leaderships and made them powerful. This local leadership played dynamic role in achieving Pakistan. On every level of the mass mobilization, a systematic rhythm can be observed. Initially, all the sections of the society got moved by the speeches and motivation of Quaid-i-Azam. They got awareness. Then these sections organized themselves, discovered their own powers and skills and made themselves strong pillars of the movement. And lastly, they actively came forward to the battle ground to play their role peacefully as well as aggressively. In case of mass mobilization in Punjab during Pakistan movement, the results were in favour of the masses, who not only achieved independence from the British colonial rule but also got a separate Muslim state.

Notes and References:

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² B. Klandermans and D. Oegama, "Potentials, Networks, Motivations and Barriers: Steps Towards Participation in Social Movements," *American Social Review*, Vol. 52, No.4 (1987): 522.

³ Ibid.

⁴ For detailed study please see I. A. Talbot, "The 1946 Punjab Elections," *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 14 No. 1 (1980): 71-76.

⁵ Ibid., 68.

⁶ David Gilmartin, "Religious Leadership and the Pakistan Movement in the Punjab," *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (1979): 514.

⁷ Mohammad Rafique Afzal, *A History of the All-India Muslim League, 1906-1947* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013), 329.

⁸ *Files of the Gold Medalists (FGM)* 1991, F/813, Pakistan Movement Workers Trust (PMWT), Lahore.

⁹ Naumana Kiran, "Punjab Muslim Student Federation and Pakistan Movement," *Pakistan Perspectives* Vol. 18, No.2 (July-December 2013): 56-63.

¹⁰ H. N. Mitra, *The Indian Annual Register, Vol. 1, 1944* (New Delhi: Gian Publishing House, 1990), 213-214.

¹¹ *Inqilab*, 29 February 1941 cited in Naumana Kiran Imran, *People's Role in Struggle for Pakistan, 1940-1947* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2021), 21 and 47.

¹² M. Ilyas; Secretary PMSF to Quaid-i-Azam-i-Azam, February 14, 1943, F/1101, *Quaid-i-Azam Papers (QAP)*, National Archives (NA), Islamabad.

¹³ Dr. Muhammad Ilyas in Interview with Zahur Alam Shaheed cited in Altaf, *Dr. Ilyas Masud*, 68.

¹⁴ Interview with Dr. Rafique Ahmed, Pakistan Ideological Foundation, Lahore, 22 February 2005.

¹⁵ Interview with Zafar Iqbal Chaudhary, 26/A PCSIR Housing Society, Lahore, 12 March 2005.

¹⁶ Imran, *People's Role in Struggle for Pakistan, 1940-1947* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2021), 26.

¹⁷ Talbot, *The 1946 Punjab Elections*, 66.

¹⁸ M. A. Jinnah to Hameed Nizami, 14 May 1943, File No. 396, *QAP*, 10-12, NA, Islamabad.

¹⁹ *Files of the Gold Medalists (FGM)* 1987, F/1731, Pakistan Movement Workers Trust (PMWT), Lahore.

²⁰ *Inqilab*, 7 March 1941.

²¹ Sarfraz Hussain Mirza, *The Punjab Muslim Students Federation, 1937-1947*, (Islamabad, NIHCR, 1991), 152-153.

²² Interview with Sadiq Naseem, House No. 24, 7th Avenue, Islamabad, 2 April 2005 and Interview with Sheikh Iqbal Ahmed Telephonic, Lahore, 10 April 2005x.

²³ Zafarullah Khan Malik to M. A. Jinnah, July 17, 1941, *QAP* cited in Rizwan Ahmed, *The Quaid-i-Azam Papers 1941-42*, (Karachi: EW Publishing Company, 1976), 47-50.

²⁴ A. M. Zaidi, *The Demand for Pakistan* (Amritsar : Chand and Company Ltd., nd), 664.

²⁵ Zafar Iqbal Chaudhary, *Yadun Ki Dhanak (Urdu)* (Lahore: Azan-i-Sehar Publications, 2000), 49-51.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ The author has seen certificates with some students whom she interviewed in 2005-06. Such certificate was with Dr. Rafique Ahmad, the then Vice chairman of Nazaria Pakistan Trust. He had displayed the said certificate in his office.

²⁸ *Dawn*, 22 August 1944.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 16 August 1944

³⁰ In the beginning, it was started with few chairs and desks. Later it was covered with tents. This office worked in a very organized manner. The Care-taker kept the record of the constituencies of Punjab, the number of students sent there, date, the name of the Muslim League and the opposition candidates, and other related issues. Sartaj Aziz in Interview with Syed Salah ud din Aslam cited in *Bun Ke Rahega Pakistan* (Islamabad: Gul Publishers, 1993), 180.

³¹ Ian Talbot, "The 1946 Punjab Elections,": 78.

³² *Dawn*, 21 December 1945. For more details please see Imran, *People's Role in Struggle for Pakistan*, 60-72.

³³ Interview with Dr. Rafique Ahmed.

³⁴ Talbot, *The 1946 Elections...*, 68.

³⁵ *Dawn*, 10 January 1946.

³⁶ Abdul Razzaq, Secretary of PMSF to Quaid-i-Azam, Students II, Document No. 79. F/399, *Shamsul Hassan Collection (SHC)*, NA, Islamabad.

³⁷ For detailed study on it, please see Imran, *People's Role in Struggle for Pakistan*, 62-62 and appendices

³⁸ Mirza, *The Punjab Muslims Students Federation*, 374-75.

³⁹ Naumana Kiran, "Fatima Begum: A Narrative of Unsung Hero of Pakistan Movement," *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan Vol. 54, No. 2* (December 2017): 269.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Her name was Anwari Begum, daughter of Sheikh Muhammad Umer. She got education of Urdu, Persian and English at her home and started writing articles for *Tahzib-i-Niswan*, Lahore in her teenage. She married to Sir Abdul Qadir in 1909 and with the support of her husband, she started famous Urdu Journal, *Makhzan*. She founded *Anjuman-i-Taraqi-i-Niswan* at Lahore for the welfare of the women of the Punjab. She was very active in arrangements of 1940 Muslim League's session. She always remained in front lines of the Muslim women's struggle for independence.

⁴² Mirza, *Muslim Women's Role in the Pakistan Movement* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1981), 233.

⁴³ *FGM*. 1987, F/1723, PMWT, Lahore.

⁴⁴ Saeeda Waheed belonged to an educated family of Gujranwala. Her father, Mir Kareem Bakhsh, was an employee in Indian Education Service. Her Husband, Dr. Abdul Waheed was son of the founder of Feroz Sons, Lahore. She served the nation even after creation of Pakistan. Her daughter, Nasira Iqbal, wife of Javed Iqbal, has completed her autobiography after her death.

⁴⁵ Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah's Address to twenty-seventh Session of All India Muslim League, March 22, 1940 cited in Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed., *Foundations of Pakistan: All India Muslim League Documents* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1990), 328.

⁴⁶ Amjadi Bano, daughter of Azmat Ali Khan and wife of Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar, was a great social worker of her time. She was always with her husband to fulfill the national responsibilities. She was an active member of Women's Central Sub-Committee of the Muslim League and promoted political consciousness amongst Muslim women.

⁴⁷ Mirza, *Muslim Women*, 47.

⁴⁸ Address of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah to the Students of Islamia College for Girls, Lahore, March 25 1940 cited in Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi, *Speeches*,

Statements and Messages of the Quaid-i-Azam Vol. III (Lahore: Bazm-i-Iqbal, 1996), 1658.

⁴⁹ Begum Shaista Ikramullah, "Women in Politics," *Quaid-i-Azam and Muslim Women*, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan (Karachi: National Foundation, 1976), 40.

⁵⁰ Hakim Aftab Ahmed Qurshi, *Karwan-i-Shauq (Urdu)*, (Lahore: Idarah-i-Tehkiqat-i-Pakistan, 1984), 229.

⁵¹ Speech of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah at the Islamia College, Lahore, November 22, 1942 cited in Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements and Messages of the Quaid-i-Azam Vol.III* and *Dawn*, 22 November 1942.

⁵² She was a Professor in Jinnah Islamia College for Girls and an active participant of Pakistan Movement. She motivated her students to work for the achievement of a separate homeland for Muslims of India. Khalida Rathor like many other students of the great teacher got inspiration and gave many sacrifices for achieving the target.

⁵³ From Fatima Begum to Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, 21st March 1942, *Jinnah Papers*, National Archives, Islamabad.

⁵⁴ *Zamindar*, 18 October 1945.

⁵⁵ She was born in Jullundhar, a prominent member of PMSF, married to Sheikh Inayat Ullah, migrated and settled in Okara after Independence.

⁵⁶ Begum Shah Nawaz was daughter of Sir Mohammad Shafi and wife of Mian Shah Nawaz. She was associated with a number of social and public work programs. She was active member of the All India Women's Conference and worked as president of Provincial Section of Women League for seven years. She was elected as member of Punjab Legislature in 1937 and 1946 elections.

⁵⁷ For detailed study, please see Imran, *People's Role in Struggle for Pakistan*, 109-118.

⁵⁸ Asghar Ali, *The Emergence of Feminism among Indian Muslim Women*, 199.

⁵⁹ Imran, *People's Role in Struggle for Pakistan*, 117.

⁶⁰ Gilmartin, "Religious Leadership and the Pakistan...", 504.

⁶¹ Hakim Atta Mohammad Shah was born in Mianwali (Moza Diwali), his genealogical line goes to Hazrat Imam Hussain on 38th generation. He got primary education from a local school and religious education from his grandfather, Hazrat Ali Mohammad Shah who was of Qadriyya *Silsila*. He formally graduated from Madrasah Dar ul Ulum Zia Shamsul Islam of district Sargodha. He pledged allegiance to the *Sajjada Nashins* of Siyal Sharif, Hazrat Khawaja Mohammad Zia ud din and participated in the Pakistan movement under supervision of his spiritual guide Khawaja Mohammad Qamar ud din. Mohammad Sadique Kasuri, *Karwan-i-Tehrik-i-Pakistan* (Karawan of the Pakistan Movement) (Lahore: Tehrik-i-Pakistan Workers trust, 2005), 183-84.

⁶² He was born in 1888 in Berbal Sharif to Khawaja Ahmad Saeed, *Sajjadanashin* of Berbal Sharif. He did bait at the hands of Hazrat Mian Sher Muhammad Sharuqपुरi. He was author of many books. Kasuri: *Tehrik-i-Pakistan*, 220

⁶³ Kasuri, *Tehrik-i-Pakistan*, 279.

⁶⁴ Syed Akhtar Hussain Shah, *Sirat-i-Amir-i-Millat* (Character-sketch of Leader of the Nation) (Alipur Sayyedana: author, 1974), 8.

⁶⁵ Mohammad Sadiq Kasuri, *Jehan-i-Amir-i-Millat* (World of Leader of the Nation) (Kasur: Markezi Majlis-i-Amir-i-Millat, 2001), 118.

⁶⁶ H. H. Qadri, Prof. of S. C. Islamia College, Agra to M.A Jinnah, 22 July 1946 cited in Waheed Ahmad, *The Punjab Story; 1940-1947: The Muslim League and the Unionists towards Partition and Pakistan Vol- V* (Islamabad: NIHCR, 2009), 207 Almost same account is given by Karamat Ali Khan, Prof. Mohammad Mazhar Mirza and Shehbaz Bakht ed., *Azadi Kai Mujahid: Tehrik-i-Pakistan Mein Hisa Lainay waley sarferoshon Kai Aiman Afroz Karnamay (Freedom-fighters of The Independence: Success-Stories of the Freedom-fighters)* (Lahore: Jang Publisher, 1989), 45.

- ⁶⁷ Khawaja Mohammad Tufail, *Tehrik-i-Pakistan Main Sialkot Ka Kirdar* (Role of Sialkot in the Pakistan Movement) (Sialkot: Idara Matbuat-i-Tehrik-i-Pakistan, 1986), 287-88.
- ⁶⁸ Interview Pirezada Mohammad Anwar Aziz Chishti cited in 'Auj, Karardad-i-Pakistan Golden Jubli No' Magazine Government Shahdra, Lahore, 1990-91, 415.
- ⁶⁹ Mohammad Sadique Kasuri, *Karwan-i-Tehrik-i-Pakistan*, 239.
- ⁷⁰ Pir Syed Mohammad Hussain Shah Alipuri was born on 14 April 1878 in Alipur, District Sialkot. Besides getting education from his father, he got *khilafat* from Baba Faqir Mohammad Chaurahi, principal of Madrasa-i-Naqsh Bandia Alipur.
- ⁷¹ Mohammad Sadique Kasuri, *Akabar-i-Tehrik-i-Pakistan*, (Gujrat: Maktab-i-Rizvia, nd), 62.
- ⁷² *Anwar-i-Sufia*, (Monthly Magazine, Sialkot), April 1940.
- ⁷³ Gilmartin, "Religious Leadership and the Pakistan...", 510.
- ⁷⁴ Kasuri, *Karwan-i-Tehrik-i-Pakistan*, 18.
- ⁷⁵ IAN Talbot, *Punjab: Ghulami Sai Azadi Tuk, 1857-1947 (Punjab: From Slavery to Freedom)*, trans. Tahir Kamran (Lahore: Takhliqat, 1999), 215.
- ⁷⁶ G.F Ansari to Jinnah, 25 April 1943, *QAP*, File No. 1101/105, NAP, Islamabad.
- ⁷⁷ Sikandar Hayat, *Aspects of the Pakistan Movement* (Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 1991), 179.
- ⁷⁸ Talbot, *Punjab: Ghulami Sai Azadi Tuk*, 221.
- ⁷⁹ Kasuri, *Tehrik-i-Pakistan Aur Mashaikh*, 68. Almost similar kind of statements were issued by Pir Jama'at in multiple speeches in different areas of Punjab and other parts of India. Mohammad Sadique Kasuri, *Jehan-i-Amir-Millat* (Kasur: Markazi Majlis-i-Amir-i-Millat, 2001), 130-136.
- ⁸⁰ Ibid
- ⁸¹ Mian Bashir Ahmad to Jinnah, 14 November 1945, *SHC, Punjab, Vol. 3*, National Archives, Islamabad.
- ⁸² Urs is a gathering of followers of one or the other *sufi* which is held at the date of death anniversary of Sufis.
- ⁸³ Qurshi, *Karwan-i-Shaouq*, 300-301.
- ⁸⁴ Niazi, *Tarikh-i-Mianwali*, 260.
- ⁸⁵ Shehbaz, *Shakhsiat-i-Jehlum*, 76.
- ⁸⁶ Dr. Mohammad Amjad Saqib, *Shehr Lab-i-Darya* (City at the Edge of the River) (Lahore: Aimi Publishers, 1993), 201-212.
- ⁸⁷ *Nawa-i-Waqt*, 5 June 1946
- ⁸⁸ He was born in Siyal Sharif on 8 July 1906, got education from local *Madrasha* and Ajmer Sharif. He became *Sajjadanashins* in 1929. Kasuri, *Tehrik-i-Pakistan*, 279.
- ⁸⁹ Pir Muhammad Shah Bharvi was born in 1890 in Bhera, district Sargodha. His genealogical line goes to Hazrat Baha ud Din Zikriya of Multan. He did bait at the hands of his father Hazrat Zia ul Millat Khawaja Muhammad Zia ud din Siyalvi. Kasuri, *Tehrik-i-Pakistan*, 116.
- ⁹⁰ Kasuri, *Tehrik-i-Pakistan* 221-22.
- ⁹¹ He was born on 10 Dec. 1906 in Rohtas, Dist Jehlum. He was *khalifa* of Qutub Zaman of *Silsila* Chishtiya got education from Jehlum and Lalamusa. He was founder of Anjuman-i-Islamia Rohtas which is still working. Anjum Sultan Shahbaz, *Shakhsiyat-i-Jehlum* (Jehlum: Book Corner, nd), 175.
- ⁹² Pir Fazal Shah was born on 3 November 1894 in Jalalpur Sharif, district Jehlum to Pir Muzaffar Ali shah.
- ⁹³ Shah Maghfur ul Qadri was born in 1322 Hijra in Syed Bokhari family in Bahawalpur. He served as a teacher in Khankah Pir Chavidi Sharif. He got permission of bait from Sheikh Salis Hazrat Abdur Rehman. Qurshi, *Karwan-i-Shauq*, 300.
- ⁹⁴ Qurshi, *Karwan-i-Shauq*, 301.

⁹⁵ Born in Sharqpur Sharif, district Sheikhpura. He did bayat at the hands of Hazrat Mian Sher Muhammad and Sajjada Kasuri, *Tehrik-i-Pakistan*, 112.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Maulana Gangvi was born in 1853 in Gangi of Mianwali district to Maulana Ali Muhammad, studied in Muzafargarh, Multan, Farangi Mehal of Lucknow and Delhi. He did bayat at the hands of Khawaja Mohammad ud din Siyalvi. He also taught in Siyal Sharif. Dr. Liqat Ali Khan Niazi, *Tarikh-i-Mianwali: Tarikh-o-Tahzebe* (Lahore: Sang-e-meel Publications, 2003), 93.

⁹⁸ Maulana Allah Yar Khan was born in 1904 in Chakrala, district Mianwali. He got education from Madrasah-i-Aminia, Delhi. He was affiliated with Naqasbandiya school of thought and then with Silsila Awaisiya. He was Sheikh of his period and wrote more than twenty books. Niazi, *Tarikh-i-Mianwali* 263-64.

⁹⁹ He was born in December 1891 in Golra Sharif, district Rawalpindi. He did bait at the hands of his father, Pir Syed Mihr Ali Golarvi. Berari, *Tarikh-i-Raftgan*, 138.

¹⁰⁰ *Nawa-i-Waqt*, 26 June 1974.

¹⁰¹ Bilal Zubairi, *Tazkira-i-Uliyay-i-Jhang* (In the Memory of Saints of Jhang) (Jhang: Adabi Academy, 1968)94.

¹⁰² From Bashir Husain, Jhelum District Organizer, to Mian Sultan Ali Ranjha, Zamindara League (Unionist Party) Secretary, 13 December 1945. *Unionist Party Papers*, File D-44 cited in Gilmartin, "Religious Leadership and the Pakistan...", 513.

¹⁰³ Mohammad Sadique Kasuri, *Jehan-i-Amir-i-Millat (World's Leader of the Nation)*, (Kasur: Markazi Majlis-i-Amir-i-Milat, 2001), 137.

¹⁰⁴ JUI not only included sufis but also those few Deobandi Ulema who were not only in favour of Pakistan but also whole sale supporter of the ML ideology of a separate nationalism and creation of an independent Muslim homeland. It was established in 1945 before elections. Shabbir Ahmad Usmani, *Roshni Ka Minar (Tower of Light)* (Multan: np, 1950). Speech in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan at the occasion of passing of Objectives Resolution.

¹⁰⁵ Aftab Ahamd Qurshi, *Karwan-i-Shauq*, 234. Almost same account is given by Kasuri, *Tehrik-i-Pakistan Aur Mashaikh*, 79.

¹⁰⁶ Gilmartin, "Religious Leadership and the Pakistan...", 515.

¹⁰⁷ From Sundhe Khan (Raecykot, Ludhiana) to Jinnah, 1 November 1946 cited in Waheed Ahmed, *The Punjab Story, 1940-1947: The Muslim League and the Unionist towards Partition and Pakistan Vol. V (Islamabd: NIHCR, 2009)*, 293.

¹⁰⁸ Pir Syed Jamat Ali Shah to Jinnah, 17 July 1946, Shamsul Hassan Collection, Punjab 11/48 Cited in Zaidi, *Jinnah Papers Vol. XIII*, 329 and in Ahmed, *The Punjab Story, Vol. II*, 204.