

**RELIGIO-POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN THE
BRITISH PUNJAB:
AN ANALYTICAL STUDY OF
MAJLIS-I-AHRAR-I-ISLAM LEADERSHIP, 1929-1947**



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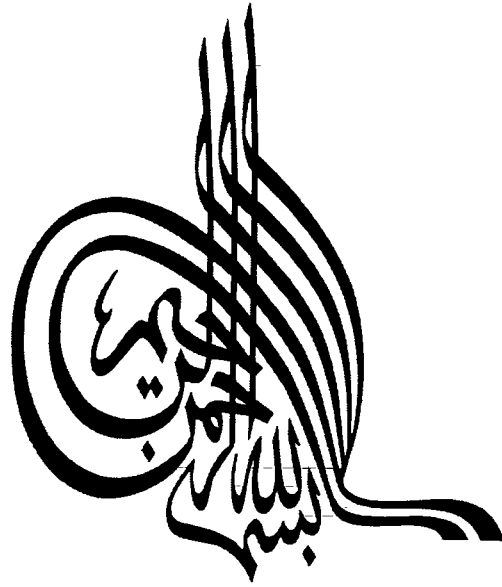
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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Discipline of History (PhD in History) at the Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University, Islamabad

**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY & PAKISTAN
STUDIES
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY
ISLAMABAD**

2023



*In the name of Allah,
the Most Beneficent,
the Most Merciful*

For
My Worthy Parents

DECLARATION

I, Farhat Nasim, hereby declare that this thesis has been written by me in its entirety on the basis of my original research work under the guidance and supervision of my supervisor Dr. Mujeeb Ahmad, Associate Professor / Chairperson, Department of History & Pakistan Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University, Islamabad. I further declare that no portion of this thesis is plagiarized and all sources used in this research have been acknowledged properly in references, footnotes, bibliography. Furthermore, prior to this submission of my thesis; no portion of it has been submitted for any degree or qualification in IIUI or any other degree awarding university or institution.



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FORWARDING SHEET

The dissertation, titled "RELIGIO-POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN BRITISH PUNJAB: AN ANALYTICAL STUDY OF MAJLIS-I-AHRAR-I-ISLAM LEADERSHIP, 1929-1947" put forward by Ms. Farhat Nasim Reg. No: 20-FSS/PHDHIS/F15 in partial fulfillment for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph. D) in History has been successfully completed under my guidance, and supervision. I am satisfied with the excellence of scholar's research work and she is allowed to get this dissertation submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) after completing all requirements as per International Islamic University, Islamabad rules.



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ABSTRACT

The Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs had been living together for centuries in the British Punjab. However, the Muslims of this province were politically, economically, and educationally backward as compared to other communities. Punjab was one of the last provinces of Indian sub-continent to come under British Rule in 1849. The communal challenge was existential threat to the Islam and Muslims which led to the emergence of many religio-political parties and leaders in the British Punjab. During the colonial era, Indian sub-continent witnessed multi-party system at national as well as at regional levels. The political parties such as Khāksār Tehrik, Hindu Mahasabha and Akali Dal developed political consciousness of common masses in the Punjab. Among them the most prominent religio-political party was the Majlis-i-Ahrār-i-Islam which was founded in Lahore on 29 December 1929. The pungent combination of religion, politics and patriotism means that the Ahrār leadership would ultimately agitate in multiple political arenas. Politically, Ahraris were supported by the middle and lower strata of the Muslim society.

The party leadership was active in cities, towns, and rural areas. The leadership played a significant role for the economic, educational, and social uplift of Muslim community. The Ahrār leadership opposed colonialism and organized masses for promoting its ideology. It used the traditional modes of mobilization such as oratory and mosque-based activism to obtain support in the name of Islam against the ruling class. The party displayed religious zeal and conviction to influence the religio-political developments of the British Punjab. This thesis has attempted to investigate the Ahrār leadership cult and its political contribution during the colonial period. The present study has discovered the historical emergence and impact of the religio-political leadership on polity of the British Punjab. It has also analyzed the rise and fall of the MAI leadership.

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Farhat Nasim

ABBREVIATIONS

AICWC	All-India Congress Working Committee
AIMAIWC	All-India MAI Working Committee
AIML	All-India Muslim League
DC	Deputy Commissioner
INC	Indian National Congress
JI	Jamā'at-i-Islāmī
JUH	Jam'iyyat-i-Ulamā-i-Hind
KP	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
MAI	Majlis-i-Aḥrār-i-Islam
MAIH	Majlis-i-Aḥrār-i-Islam, Hind
MAP	Majlis-i-Aḥrār Pakistan
NWFP	North-West Frontier Province
RTC	Round Table Conference
UP	United Provinces
WWI	World War I
WWII	World War II

GLOSSARY

<i>Aāb</i>	Water
<i>Amir</i>	Leader
<i>Anjumans</i>	Organizations/Associations
<i>Banīya</i>	Hindu Shopkeeper/Money Lender
<i>Dandy vala Pir</i>	Pir Having Wooden Stick
<i>Dār-ul-Hārb</i>	Place of War
<i>Dār-ul-Islām</i>	Place of Peace
<i>Dastur</i>	Constitution
<i>Eīd</i>	A Religious Day
<i>Fatwā</i>	A decree or verdict given by <i>ulama</i> about an issue/problem
<i>Ghāzī</i>	Successful Warrior
<i>Ḥadīth</i>	The Traditions of the Prophet
<i>Hartāl</i>	Strike
<i>Hījrat</i>	Migration
<i>Hukumat-i-Illahīya</i>	Divine Rule
<i>Imām</i>	Prayer Leader
<i>Jāgīr</i>	Rewarded Land
<i>Jāgīrdār</i>	Landlord
<i>Jāil maīn, yā Rāil maīn</i>	Either in prison or in a train
<i>Jathābandī</i>	Recruitment for Campaign on Volunteer Basis
<i>Jathās</i>	Band of Volunteers
<i>Jāyush</i>	Volunteer Force of MAI
<i>Jayush-i-Aḥrār-i-Islam</i>	Armed Cadres of the MAI
<i>Jihād</i>	Struggle
<i>Kāfir</i>	Infidel

<i>Kharismah</i>	Gift, Divine Favor, Supernatural Power
<i>Khuṭbah</i>	Sermon
<i>Lāmbardār</i>	British Administrative Officer at Local Units
<i>Lathi</i>	Thick Stick
<i>Madrasah</i>	School for Islamic Learning
<i>Majlis-i-Āmila</i>	Working Committee
<i>Mawlana</i>	Title Given to Learned Man
<i>Musāwāt</i>	Equality
<i>Pandāl</i>	A Place of Public Meeting
<i>Pīrs</i>	A Muslim Saint or Holy Man
<i>Punj</i>	Five
<i>Rāj</i>	Rule
<i>Sāhukārs</i>	Money Lender
<i>Sajjādah-nashīn</i>	Custodian of a <i>Sufi</i> 's (saint's) Shrine
<i>Sālār</i>	General
<i>Sapāsnāma</i>	Welcome Address
<i>Sātyagraha</i>	Civil Disobedience
<i>Shariat</i>	Islamic Jurisprudence
<i>Ṣūfī</i>	A Muslim Ascetic and Mystic
<i>Tablīgh</i>	Missionary Work
<i>Tehṣīl</i>	A Sub-Administrative Unit of a District
<i>Tehsildār</i>	A Revenue Officer at <i>Tehsil</i> Level
<i>Zaildār</i>	Grand <i>Jagīrdār</i>
<i>Zaildars</i>	British Administrative Officer at Local Unit
<i>Zamīndār</i>	Landowner

INTRODUCTION

The province of Punjab in British India has a rich history and culture. It remained under British rule from 1849-1947. Literally, the word Punjab is a combination of two words of Persian language i.e. 'Punj' and 'Aāb' which mean 'Five' and 'Water' respectively. There are five rivers (Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Bias, and Sutlej) flowing through the land of Punjab since the immemorial time, therefore, the whole area located on the banks and in the plains of these five rivers called Punjab (Land of Five Rivers). Historically, keeping in view its geographical location, Punjab has been a launching-pad for the invaders' adventures between the Central Asia and South Asia. Politically, it was one of the last areas in the north-west of India which came under British rule. The total area of British Punjab was 136,330 sq. miles, and its population was 28,418,819.¹ It is comprised of the present state of Punjab in India and the provinces of Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa of Pakistan. In 1901, British separated the five settled districts (Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, and Dera Ismail Khan) and five tribal agencies (Malakand, Khyber, Kurram, North Waziristan, and South Waziristan) from Punjab and named it as the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) as a separate province in April 1901, which was later on re-named as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP).²

The population of the British Punjab was comprised of a variety of ethnic and religious groups comprising of Muslims (50.6%), Hindus (35.7%) and Sikhs (12.1%). The remaining less than 2% was comprised of Christians, Jains, Buddhists, Parsis, Jews etc.³ Among them Muslim population 10% lived in urban areas and the rest of the population lived in rural settlements. They comprised more than 50% of the urban population of entire Punjab. The population apart, from its ethnic and regional classifications, was

¹ Nripendra Nath Mitra, *The Indian Annual Register* (Calcutta), Vol. I, (January-June, 1947), 3.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Census of India, 1921: Vol. XV (Punjab and Delhi)*, 87-90.

divided into different religious sects such as Sunnis, Shias, Ahl-i-Hadith, Deobandis and *Barelwis*. The Muslim population was almost 97% and belonged to the Sunni sect while two-third of the population was Shia and one-third was Ahl-i-Hadith. Whereas, Ahmedis were only 28,851 in number. Since very beginning, Sunnis have been the dominating religious sect in Punjab due to preaching of *Sufis*. Though, the British Punjab had a variety of races, tribes, castes, and religions, but it was polarized regionally. For example, in western Punjab (present Pakistani Punjab), the society and its set up based on tribal structure and the castes were hardly existed.⁴

Similarly, the Muslims were concentrated mainly in the North-Western portion of Punjab while the Hindus and Sikhs were mainly in the South-Eastern areas of Punjab. But the three communities were thoroughly mixed across the province.⁵ In Punjab the arid region housed a small village consisting of five or more families that lived under the control of local *Pīrs* and *Jagīrdārs*. Unlike the rest of the province, a relatively small number of families own most of the land. They are the predominant landowners, families such as the Shahs of Gogra and Multan, the Akbar family of Jhelum or the Tiwanas of Shahpur, whose impact continues even in today's politics of this region, now the part of Pakistan.⁶

Society of the British Punjab was overwhelmingly rural. Political power in the region depended on the control of land. The British, like their predecessors (Mughals and Sikhs), had taken this significant fact into consideration and started consolidation of their administration. But, unlike their predecessors, they had brought economic reforms to

⁴ *Imperial Gazetteer of Punjab* (1908), Vol. XX. 287.

⁵ Alan Campbell-Johnson, "Mountbatten and the transfer of power." *History Today* 47, no. 9 (1997): 34-40.

⁶ Shalini Sharma, *Radical Politics in Colonial Punjab: Governance and Sedition*, (Oxford: Routledge, 2010), 11.

develop new urban-educated elite, whose outlook and interests were at variance with the traditional holders of power. It sowed the seeds of two contrasting political traditions i.e., urban and rural within the British Punjab.⁷ The rural population consisted of five main groups: the landlords, peasant cultivator, tenants, village servants and landless labors.⁸ There were many religions in Punjab such as Islam, Hinduism, Sikhism and Christianity. The existence of these communities in this region led to a long history of violence. The British regime responded to this by attempting to encourage allegiance based on kingship and tribe which cut across or competed with communal divisions.

The early British rulers faced difficulties in controlling the scattered and turbulent population of the Punjab. This region placed under the control of a three-man Board of Administration, which was dominated by John Henry Lawrence.⁹ The most experienced civilian and military officers were dispatched to assist them. John Lawrence inherited all powers and functions that were vested in the board of administration. He controlled all departments and subordinate services that came under his administration. It also included the defense and management of the whole trans-Indus frontiers. The Board of Administration initiated many economic reforms. It abolished internal custom duties and improved the roads, thus removing barriers to the development of trade. The British government gradually made the Punjab an agrarian appendix of British metropolis.¹⁰ The board enjoyed unhindered absolute control over all matters, concerning Punjab. The board vested with the numerous powers to cope with any onslaught from within or outside and to resolve and maintain law and order in the region. The board with its clear aim was to

⁷ Ian Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj 1849-1947* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 1988), 14.

⁸ *Ibid.* 15.

⁹ P. E. Robert, *History of British India under the Company, and the Crown* (London: Oxford University Press, 1947), 345-46.

¹⁰ Bhagwan Josh, *Communist Movement in Punjab, 1926-47* (New Delhi: Anupama Publications, 1979), 2.

initiatives and strengthens the British rule and the establishment of the organization was meant to protect the government's interests.¹¹

For administrative reforms, Punjab province was divided into five administrative divisions, each division was under the charge of a commissioner. The divisions were sub-divided into twenty-nine districts. Each district comprised of around 1000 villages. The districts were administered by Deputy Commissioners (DC) drawn from Indianized provincial civil service. Each district was sub-divided into *tehsils*. Each *tehsil* was comprised of approximately 150 villages and was under the control of *tehsildars* and *naib-tehsildars* having revenue and judicial powers. At the bottom of the administrative pyramid, there were the *zāils* which were revenue or administrative sub-units' *tehsils* and *sub-tehsils* which were composed of a cluster of forty to one hundred nearby villages. Each *zāil* was under the control of a *Zāildār* who was one of the big *jādīrdārs* (landlords) of those villages. A *Zāildār* had to supervise *lāmbardārs* (headmen) of different villages located within his *zāil*. The institution of *zāildārs* reflected the British accessibility to win the support of rural notables. It was a system of indirect rule introduced by the British and supported by the pro-British influential locals.¹² When the British came to this region, they were not merely traders, they came with the idea of establishment of colonial rule. They also want to increase the trade volume by using the raw material of India.¹³ The British engineered many social and economic changes in the Punjab and the most remarkable development was the Canal Colonies. They also supported landowning groups to base their political control. The new Punjabi society which emerged towards the end of 19th

¹¹ B. S. Najjar, *Punjab under the British Rule (1849-1947)*, Vol. 3 (Lahore: Mustafa Waheed Publishers, 1974), 5 & 56.

¹² Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj 1849-1947*, 35.

¹³ Kenneth W Jones, *Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness in 19th-Century Punjab* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976), 6.

century was the result of the interaction between the indigenous population and their British master.¹⁴

In the second phase, the logic of the content of this constructed identity, i.e., the contemporary concerns of the newly emerged middle classes, asserted more emphatically than its religious form leading to a greater stress on the mundane issues and social conflicts arising out of civil society. Accordingly, the Hindu communal identity often turned at this stage into a platform for securing the largest share in benefits and facilities for which citizens belonging to different segments of society were competing. The community consciousness became a means for large scale mobilization and assertion of collective pressure in the competitive battle for these benefits. This phase is therefore marked by aggravation of tension in the realm of civil society and addition of a manifestly political dimension to the community consciousness of the Hindus.¹⁵

This shift in the community consciousness brought an important change in the attitude of the middle classes towards the British rule. In the earlier phase, the middle classes showed no ambition for political assertion of any kind in their relations with the British rule. With the strengthening of the British hegemony in India after 1857, the prevailing mood in 1860s and 1870s was of resignation and passivity. For a period of two decades or more, the only anti-imperialist perspective which seemed feasible was that of cultural demarcation within a framework of social and political quietism. The humiliating presence of the British rule had to be accepted as a harsh reality.

The sense of alienation from the British rule could find expression only through an intensified understanding of its foreignness and a proud exaltation of one's own cultural

¹⁴ Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj 1849-1947*, 10.

¹⁵ Tuteja, K. L., & Grewal, O. P. (1992). Emergence of Hindu communal ideology in early twentieth century Punjab. *Social Scientist*, 3-28.

heritage. The educated middle classes found themselves particularly attuned to this stance of political quietism and cultural demarcation. However, there was no admixture of sullenness or gloom in the general framework of adjustment accepted by them. The increased opportunities created by the British rule often made them to accept this perspective of adjustment with a positive affirmativeness.¹⁶

In the middle of nineteenth century, the establishment of the vast empire in India led the British to encourage higher Western education. John Lawrence, following the policy of the central government, took the similar initiatives in Punjab introduced the system of teaching of elements of English education and fixed vernacular as the medium of instruction.¹⁷ Since then, this system of education developed on the principle of plunging categorization. The traditional society benefited the most from this new education system under the British rule. The Indian society benefited from this literary and professional element and led the movement for representative government and the party system that followed from it.

The introduction of English benefited the children of moneylenders and traders' community. John Lawrence did not know that the peasants would not send their sons to English schools, but only that the money lenders and the traders would send their children. If Lawrence knew this, he would have not taxed the peasants for the benefits of the money lenders' community. As the 75 % of the peasants lived in the rural areas and villages of the Punjab and their children could not come to cities for education.¹⁸ Moreover, the British rule in Punjab was also marked by autocracy of the "non-regulated" provinces. The

¹⁶ K. L. Tuteja and O. P. Grewal, "Emergence of Hindu Communal Ideology in Early Twentieth Century Punjab", *Social Scientist*, Vol. 20, No. 7/8 (Jul-Aug, 1992), 9.

¹⁷ *The Punjab Administration Report*, Government of India, 1858, 55-56.

¹⁸ Edwin Arnold, *The Marquis of Dalhousie's Administration of British India: Acquisition and Administration of the Punjab*. Vol. 1 (Saunders, Otley, and Company, 1862), 279-80.

government officials showed their powers in applying the government policies in administrative as well as constitutional matters. Many scholars highlighted that Punjab was behind in constitutional matters as compared to other provinces of the British India.¹⁹

The Indian Council Act 1861 introduced Legislative Councils in Bombay and Madras. The Act also approved the similar councils in other provinces. Under the act councils were established in Bengal and United Provinces in 1863 and 1866 respectively. Thirty-six years after the promulgation of the Act a similar council was established in Punjab in 1897. The Indian Council Act 1861 did not give the representation to Indians until 1909. The next Indian Council Act, 1892, increased the number of members of the Indian Legislative Council and Provincial Legislative Councils to a maximum of 16 and 20 each, respectively. The Act introduced the element of election though in rudimentary shape i.e., an indirect election by select constituencies by public associations and municipal and other bodies.

Although every other province in British India took advantage of these provisions, none of them were ever extended to Punjab, where the council was established as late as in 1897 with its strength fixed at nine, all of whom were nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor. The Minto-Morley Reforms maintained the traditional discrimination against the Punjab. The Punjab like Assam was allowed only thirty members, in spite of the fact that population of Punjab was twenty million, while that of Assam only seven Million. Similarly, while the proportion of elected members to the total strength was 53 % in

¹⁹ S. M. Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan* (Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1997), 200-202.

Bengal, 48% in Bombay, Madras and Eastern Bengal, 42% in U. P., Punjab had only 19% elected members.²⁰

The Government of India introduced reforms in 1909 known as Minto-Morley Reforms. The act described that this “conventional discrimination, by giving only one out of 27 elected seats in the newly formed 60-member Central Legislature.”²¹ The situation at the provincial level was also similar with the strength of Punjab Provincial Legislature restricted to 24, out of which only five members were to be elected. It was extended a little later to eight members in 1912, and to sixteen in 1916. It hardly made any substantial improvement if compared with other provinces, especially with proportion to their population.²²

The electoral regulations for election to the Provincial Legislative Council were elaborate, as they were intended to secure due representations of all important interests, namely, local Bodies, landlords, chambers of commerce, Universities, special interests such as, Jute and Tea Planting. Elections to Provincial Council were partly direct and partly indirect. In the case of direct elections, franchise was restricted and fixed at a high property, qualification, and women were disqualified from voting. Communal representation was granted to Muslims for the first time in these reforms”.

In view of the political activism in India and the impact of First World War (1914-18), the British Government made a progressive realization of responsible government in India, so the Government introduced the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms 1919 which made substantial changes in the structure and functioning of the central and provincial

²⁰ Muhammad Azim Husain, *Fazl-i-Husain: A Political Biography* (London: Longmans, 1946), 75.

²¹ Husain, *Fazl-i-Husain: A Political Biography*, 77.

²² *Ibid*, 75-76.

legislatures. At the center, "a bi-cameral legislature was introduced instead of uni-cameral legislature. The bi-cameral legislature consisted of (i) The Council of States i.e., the upper House; and (ii) the Legislative Assembly i.e., the Lower House, comprising 60 (27 nominated and 33 elected) and 145 (45 nominated and 103 elected) members respectively. The Act also provided for two seats in every alternate election for the Muslims. Now Punjab got the privilege to send four directly elected members to the Council of States, and twelve to the Legislative Assembly".²³

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms brought many changes in Punjab Legislative Council. The number of the members of the Punjab Legislative Council was extended to 94 members out of which 23 members were to be selected and 71 elected. "These Reforms also extended the tasks of the legislature. The members of the council were given the right to debate on finance and taxation proposals, to move regulations on the matters of public interest and to ask questions on all matters excluding foreign relations, relations with the native states and the matters under legal adjudication". Just over 3 % population was allowed in Punjab to cast the vote due to the strict criterion of qualification. For the first time women gained the right to vote. Under this Act, functions of legislatures were classified as 'Central' and 'Provincial' subjects. The provincial subjects were divided into "reserved and transferred, to be dealt with by the Governor in Council and the Governor acting with a Minister or Ministers, respectively. Thus, the Act of 1919 introduced diarchy in the provinces which, however, in the process of its implementation, was found to be both unsatisfactory and unworkable".²⁴

The 1919 Reforms remained in function until the Government of India Act 1935 has introduced. The new act provided a unicameral legislature to Punjab. The Punjab

²³ *Indian Statutory Commission Report, 1930*, 167-68.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 167-68.

Legislative Council changed into the Punjab Legislative Assembly. Its numbers increased to 175 elected members. The direct franchise introduced with restricted number of voters in each just 12 % of the total population and 24 % of the adult population in Punjab can cast vote.²⁵

The Punjab province remained important for the imperial rule because the British army settled in this province after 1880. The British government dependent upon the army not only to maintain their grip over India but also maintained their influence in Punjab province. So, most of the peasantry related person started joining army. The soldiers from Punjab formed three-fifth of the total army in India.²⁶ In order to safeguard the quantity of workforce for employment, the government thought it vital to retain its hegemony on the rural society. If any attempt would be made to challenge the British authority it would be brutally repressed.²⁷

The British Government wanted to consolidate their rule in the rural areas particularly in west Punjab. They wanted to isolate these rural areas from growing economy and political influence of urban areas by strengthening the powers of local leaders. This strategy can be seen in the Alienation of Land Act of 1901 which, "stated in general terms, barred the non-agricultural population from acquiring land in the rural areas".²⁸ The transfer of cultivable land from agriculturists to the moneylenders was increasing over the year at alarming rate.²⁹ This was specially causing concern in the

²⁵ Vishnu Bhagwan, *Municipal Government and Politics in Haryana: A Study of Rohtak City* (New Delhi: S. Chand 1964), 235-40.

²⁶ Bakhshish Najjar Singh, *Punjab under the British Rule, 1849-1947: 1902-1932*. Vol. 2 (KB Publications, 1974), 61.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ David Gilmartin, "Religious Leadership and the Pakistan Movement in the Punjab", *Modern Asian Studies*. 13, No. 3 (1979), 493.

²⁹ Sri Ram Sharma, *Punjab in Ferment in the Beginning of the 20th Century* (Patiala University: Department of Punjab Historical Studies, 1966), 30.

British administration because army was largely recruited from the Punjab's land owning classes and the Government could not afford discontentment among them. In response to the situation, the Government passed Land Alienation Act in 1900. Malcolm Darling, "a Punjabi, was to concede later the primacy of colonial interests in the Punjab Land Alienation Act of 1900, which, being a class legislation, aimed at checking the voracity of urban *Banīya* (grocer), ended up in creating agriculturalist *Banīyas* from within the agricultural classes who maximized their holdings by resorting to the same practices as the urban *Sāhukārs* before them".³⁰

The Land Alienation Act 1900 divided the population of Punjab into two groups: "members of agricultural and members of non-agriculturists tribes. The non-agriculturists were at liberty perpetually to isolate land through sales, exchange, gifts and wills. Members of the agricultural tribes enjoyed the same liberty but only if the alien was a member of the same tribe in the same district. Permanent alienation by them to any one not belonging to this tribe (including the non-agriculturists) would require the sanction of the Deputy Commissioner".

Three major communities (including Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs) had been living together for centuries in the Punjab. The Muslims were in majority in the western part while the Hindus and Sikhs constituted majority in the eastern part of the Punjab. The majority people of the Punjab lived in the rural areas and the Muslim ratio was more than half of the population of the province. It was one of the last provinces of the Indian sub-continent to fall under the British rule in the north-west of India.³¹ By the mid of

³⁰ P. H. M. Van Dungen, *The Punjab Tradition: Influence and Authority in 19th Century India* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1972); Also see Septimus Smet Thorburn, *Musalman and Money-Lenders in the Punjab* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1886).

³¹ Farah Gul Baqai, "British Rule in Punjab: 1849-1947", *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, No. 2, (2010), 110.

nineteenth century, the challenge of both Christianity, as preached by increasing numbers of Christian missionaries, and the scientific paradigm embodied in Western education had forced indigenous Indian intellectual leaders to re-examine the bases of their traditional modes of thought. The British, in Indian Sub-continent, could not resist the emergence of new leadership and political mobilization.

The rise of the Muslim leadership in the British Punjab was comprised of social elites such as nobility, titled gentry, and landowners. The provincial leaders of the Muslim majority provinces and the ulema also shared the composition. The emergence of the religio-political leadership influenced political developments in the British Punjab.³² The Muslims of the Punjab were backward politically, economically, and educationally as compared to other Indian communities. The communal violence prevailing in the British Punjab enhanced with the advent of Christian missionaries. The existential threat to the Islam and Muslims led to the emergence of religio-political Muslim leadership in the British Punjab. Resultantly, the communal challenge brought the leadership to respond it with a strong sense of inherited responsibilities to the cause of Islam.

The British, with the passage of time, introduced political, social and religious changes within the Indian society, like introduction of western education, revenue and administrative system. The construction of canals and the development of railways were among other major works in the Punjab. To strengthen the imperial rule, the government instituted alliances with the rural elite. Subsequently, due to the politico-administrative policies and measures a new middle class emerged, which was more prosperous, literate, and influential than its predecessors.³³ Gradually, this class assumed the leadership of the

³² Sikandar Hayat, *The Charismatic Leader: Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2014), 191.

³³ Awan, *Political Islam in Colonial Punjab*, 6.

Punjab in social and political arena. The potential participation of the people in the politics of the Punjab inspired activeness in the society. The middle-class leadership had a reaction to the activities of Christian missionaries, *Hindu Mahasabah* and *Akali Dal* in the Muslim areas.

During the colonial era, Indian sub-continent witnessed multi-party system at national and regional levels. Socio-religious and geo-political conditions of India had played an important role in the formation and growth of political institutions. The main-stream political parties such as *Khāksār Tehrik*, *Hindu Mahasabah*, and *Akali Dal* developed the political consciousness within the common masses of Punjab. Among them, the *Majlis-i-Ahrār-i-Islam* (MAI) was one of the prominent religio-political parties of Muslims in British India during the first half of twentieth century. It was founded in Lahore on 29 December 1929. It had a President who was its Chief Executive. He could nominate its all other office-bearers including two Vice Presidents, one General Secretary, one Secretary *Jayush* and one Treasurer to preside over the annual Ahrār conferences/meetings. Its *Majlis-i-Āmila* (Working Committee) consisted of 14 members including its office bearers. By August 1931, many new branches of the Ahrār established in important cities of Punjab like Multan, Rawalpindi, Lahore, Sialkot, Ludhiana and Ferozpur etc. Ataullah Shah Bukhārī (1892-1961) was appointed as its central President on 3 January 1932. The provincial committee of Ahrār in Punjab decided to rename the Ahrār as *Majlis Ahrār-i-Islam-i-Hind*.³⁴

Ataullah Shah Bukhārī, Mawlana Mazhar Ali Azhar (1895-1974), Chaudhry Afzal Haq (1891-1942), Mawlana Ḥabīb-ur-Rahman Ludhianvi (1892-1956), Qazi Ahsan Ahmad Shujaabadi (1906-66) and Sahibzada Faiz-ul-Hassan (1911-84) were the frontline

³⁴ *Political Abstract, Punjab Intelligence Report*, January 9, 1932.

leaders and ideologues of the Aḥrār. The pungent combination of religion, politics and patriotism meant that the Aḥrār leadership would ultimately agitate in multiple political arenas.³⁵ The political party drew its membership from the cadres that had lost hope in the All-India Muslim League (AIML), Khilafatists and the Indian National Congress (INC). The political and religious activism of the Aḥrār was confined to urban areas with a limited scale given the thin nature of party membership.³⁶

Politically, the Aḥrār were supported by the middle and lower strata of the Muslim society. Aḥrār' leadership was active in cities and towns but, in rural areas, it was known as propagator of Islamic values. Its leadership played a significant role in the politics of the British Punjab. The party worked for the economic, educational and social uplift of the Indian Muslims in British Punjab. It tried to raise political awareness and infused the spirit of Islam among them. This thesis is related to the religio-political leadership of Aḥrār in British India generally and British Punjab particularly from 1929 till 1947.

Statement of the Problem

During the first half of the twentieth century, Aḥrār emerged as a popular religio-political party in British India generally and British Punjab particularly. Its leadership was composed of widely popular personalities who opposed colonialism and local colonial exploiters within the community who were parasitic to the Muslim community. They highlighted and addressed socio-economic and religio-political issues of the Muslims and strived for their solution. They used the traditional methods such as oratory, mosque-based activism and volunteer support obtained in the name of Islam. Their major influence came in those political scenarios where they were able to mobilize the peasantry and exploit

³⁵ Afzal Haq, *Tārīkh-i-Aḥrār* (Lahore: Maktabah Majlis-i-Aḥrār Islam, 1968), 25.

³⁶Tahir Kamran, "Activism of the Puritans: The Politics of Majlis-i-Aḥrār," *Pakistan Perspective*. Vol.13, No. 2. July-December 2008, 34.

their sentiments through a religious idiom against the existing powers of the ruling class of British Punjab. They displayed religious zeal and conviction to influence the religio-political developments of the British Punjab. The central theme of this research is how and why the leadership of Ahrār remained successful in British Punjab in stirring-up the general masses against the mighty foreign colonial power of British and landed indigenous aristocracy?

Theoretical Framework

Leadership can also be recognized as a form of behavior and individual excellence. As form of behavior, leadership is the authority applied by specific group over a larger society to coordinate or direct its endeavors towards the accomplishment of preferred goals. As a personal excellence, leadership refers the traits and cults that empower the leaders to employ influence over society. Leadership is interactive impact which is addressed through communication in the direction of objective achievement. It is important increase over and above technical compliance with instructions and orders. So, leadership is an action that triggers the group to act or react in a common direction.³⁷

Styles of Leadership

Many academics categorize leadership styles in a various type. Lewin categorizes leadership styles in three major categories: “Autocratic Leadership, Democratic Leadership and Delegative (Laissez-Faire) Leadership. Max Weber classifies leaders as

³⁷ Wan Kamal Mujani, Ezad Azraai Jamsari, et al, “Leadership Theories and Models from the Perspective of Western Scholars”, *Advances in Natural and Applied Sciences*, Vol. 6(8), 2012, 1405.

Legal Leader, Traditional Leaders and Charismatic Leaders. In 1978, Burns defined yet another classification: Transactional Leaders and Transformational Leaders".³⁸

Authoritarian Leadership

Authoritarian leaders are also known as autocratic leaders. These leaders give the clear prospects for what requires to be accomplished, when it must be accomplished, and how it should be done. Authoritarian leadership provides the obvious division between the leader and the followers. Authoritarian leaders take the independent decision without consulting their followers. This type of leaders just enforced their decision over the society.³⁹

Participative Leadership (Democratic)

Participative leadership also, has known as democratic leadership, the most influential style of leadership. Democratic leaders help the masses. The leadership of this category allows the masses to participate in decision making. This type of encouragement by the leadership helps in motivating the people so they thought that they are creative.⁴⁰

Charismatic Leadership

The term charisma means a 'gift' or 'heavenly favor' or 'paranormal power'. In earliest times, people considered that some personalities such as religious leaders have God gifted qualities. The term Charisma is also used for the extraordinary personal virtues of a leader. On the basis of their charismatic personality, charismatic leaders can easily attract the attention of their followers. Weber himself uses charisma in this sense while explaining

³⁸ K. Lewin, Lippitt, et al. "Patterns of aggressive behavior in experimentally created social climates". *Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol.10 (2) (1939), 271-299.

³⁹ K. Lewin, Lippitt, et al. "Patterns of aggressive behavior in experimentally created social climates". *Journal of Social Psychology*,

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

charismatic party leaders.⁴¹ The term "Charisma applies to a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is considered extraordinary and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. The common person could not have the supernatural and superhuman qualities as compared to charismatic leaders".⁴²

Transformational Leaders

Transformational leadership has the qualities of scholarly motivation, encouraging and personalized attention to their followers. In return the followers of Transformational leaders adapt their behavior and become loyal to the leader. By using this strategy these leaders can make significant changes or change their underlings and society. Transforming leaders always encourage their followers to achieve their goals on long term basis. These leaders at all times tried to satisfy their followers on high level. Transformational leaders have a tendency to encourage their followers to work for the interests of the group or society.⁴³ The transformational leader has the charisma to transform or to energize a group. These leaders are considered as the role model for the group.⁴⁴

Transactional Leaders

The Transactional type of leaders always guides their supporters in the direction of recognized goals by explaining the role and the task requirements. The transactional leader "follows a cost-benefit, economic exchange to meet subordinates' current material and

⁴¹ Max Weber, *Economy and Society*. (Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, ed.), Bedminster Press, 1968), 268.

⁴² Weber, *Economy and Society*, 241.

⁴³ Bernard M. Bass and Ralph Melvin Stogdill, *Handbook of Leadership: Theory, Research, and Managerial Applications* (New York: The Free Publisher, 1990), 25.

⁴⁴ J. Devito, *Essentials of human communication* (New York: Longman, 1999).

psychic needs in return for contracted services”.⁴⁵ “Transactional leadership is a leadership which deals with motivating followers by calling on their personal interests. Transactional leadership style can involve values, but those values are relevant to exchange processes such as honesty, responsibility, and mutuality. Transactional leadership is conceptualized as the exchange relationship between leaders and their followers. In transactional leadership, relationship between the leader and follower is based on contingent reward”.⁴⁶

Leadership Theories

Leadership can be understood by different theories like:

- A natural Gift
- A Political Skill

A Natural Gift

The conventional point of view of leadership stated that leadership is rare but natural gift. As Aristotle put it, “men are marked out from the moment of birth to rule or be ruled”. From this viewpoint, “leadership is strictly an individual quality, manifest in the personalities of what were traditionally thought of as men of destiny”. In brief leaders who demonstrate authentic moral authority are unique.⁴⁷

A Political Skill

The political theory of leadership depicts that it a relic that can be understood and practiced. Political leadership is art of persuasion, a most important aspect of democratic politics in an age of mass communications. “Emotional intelligence reflects the ability to

⁴⁵ B. Bass, *Leadership and Performance Beyond Expectations* (New York: Free Press, 1985), 14.

⁴⁶ Bernard M. Bass and Ralph Melvin Stogdill, *Handbook of Leadership*, 48.

⁴⁷ Michael Levin, "Natural subordination, Aristotle on." *Philosophy*. Vol.72, no. 280 (1997): 6.

draw on four key competences or skills: self-awareness (the ability to read one's own emotions), self-management (the ability to control one's emotions and marshal positive emotions), empathy (the ability to sense, understand and react to others' emotions) and relationship management (the ability to use these skills in combination to have the greatest impact in any situation)".⁴⁸

Bass Theory

According to the Bass theory, "there are three basic ways of how a person becomes a leader. These are the trait theory, great event theory and transformation theory. The trait theory explains that the personality of a person may enable him to be a natural leader. Whereas great event theory stated that when an important crisis or event occurs and causes the performance of someone to be enhanced, leading to exceptional leadership characteristics. Transformational leadership theory is the most widely accepted theory according to which anyone can choose to be a leader and can learn the skills to be an effective leader".⁴⁹

Warren Bennis has stated that "lack of a clear vision is a major reason for the declining effectiveness of a leader. No matter what the situation, leaders need to be able to communicate their ideas clearly and commit themselves to the outcome. A leader must be able to transform his vision to a more inclusive position by gaining the trust and commitment of those needed to fulfill his objective".⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Fred I Greenstein, "The leadership style of Barack Obama: An early assessment." In *The Forum*, vol. 7, no. 1, (B press, 2009):6.

⁴⁹ B. Bass & Stogdill's, *Handbook of Leadership: theory*, 28.

⁵⁰ Marilyn Vojta, "Characteristics of the effective leader." *Nursing Outlook* 21, no. 11 (2010): 721-723.

Leadership Skills

Leadership skills includes the ability to think, evaluate rationally and be productive in giving ideas, judgments and solving problems. The efficient leadership needs good communication skills vis-a-vis workers under him. Communication skills are related to other people, especially with their emotions and mindset. In adding, leadership requires to communicate the instructions clearly and efficiently concerning duties to his followers.⁵¹

Various scholars have written on the theories of leadership. The leaders of MAI fall in the category of transformational leaders. Because transforming leaders have the ability to persuade their followers to consider their goals or needs. Transformational leaders develop leaders and teams and encourage their followers to put aside their interests for the good of the group or society. The transformational leader has the charisma to transform or to energize a group. Ahrār leaders had this quality to mobilize the public for the party cause. MAI Leadership also has the quality of charismatic leadership and emotional intelligence reflects the ability to draw on four key competences or skills such as “the aptitude to read one’s own feelings, the aptitude to control one’s emotions and marshal positive emotions, the aptitude to sense, understand and react to others’ emotions and the aptitude to use these skills in combination to have the greatest impact in any situation.” This framework is applied to explain the rise of the Ahrār and to highlight its leadership cult and political contribution during the colonial period.

⁵¹ Michael D Mumford, Erin Michelle Todd, et al. “Cognitive skills and leadership performance: The nine critical skills.” *The Leadership Quarterly* 28, no. 1 (2017): 24-39.

Scope and Significance of the Study

The study explores events and causes which led to the emergence of religio-political leadership in the British Punjab. The primary focus is on the Aḥrār leadership and its framework to contest rival parties. The research also analyses the rise and fall of the Aḥrār and its leadership. Hopefully, it will be significant work for the academia in history discipline and is a source for further research in this area.

Review of the Literature

Generally, there is a plethora of literature on the history and culture of British Punjab. But, specifically, very rare has been written on the leadership of Aḥrār in British Punjab. Janbaz Mirza's *Karwan-i-Aḥrār* comprised on eight volumes. Each volume describes the struggle of MAI in detail.⁵²

Samina Awan's *Political Islam in Colonial Punjab: Majlis-i-Aḥrār-i-Islam 1929-1949* reveals the centrality of politics of personalities and issues within a broad political and ideological context. The book provides the deep insight on the formation of MAI that it was the party of middle-class urban Muslims. This party played an important role in the politics of India. MAI used religious symbols for mobilizing the masses. This party also produced the best orators of Sub-continent. MAI adopted the agitational mode of politics.⁵³ The work focuses more on Islam as a political component with reference to MAI while lacks in depth analysis of evolution, role, and dynamics of religio-political leadership in the said period.

⁵² Jan Baz Mirza, *Karwan-i-Aḥrār*. (Vols1-8). (Lahore: Maktabah-i-Tabsarah.1975-86).

⁵³ Awan, *Political Islam in Colonial Punjab*.

Wilfred Cantwell Smith describes in his *Modern Islam in India: A Social Analysis* that “the *Ahrār* leaders had authoritative qualities of wide fame, the party's positive programme and aims have been less precise. It wanted reputation and social support for the poor segments of society. According to author MAI could be regarded as kind of romantic trade-union, but actually the movement has been self-conflicting”.⁵⁴ But the writer did not focus the *Ahrār* leadership in detail.

K.K. Aziz in his book *Party Politics in Pakistan 1947-1958*, elaborates the history, aims and objectives of the parties, behavior and performance. The work is also helpful in understanding the objectives of different parties in the Punjab during the British Raj.⁵⁵

In his book *Empire and Islam: Punjab and the Making of Pakistan*, David Gilmartin explains about the British colonial policies in the sub-continent. He has discussed the utilization of Islamic theory to usurp the local communities. Gilmartin has also deliberated the basic ideology of the Muslims role in the Unionist politics, with forceful details in the wake of socio-political developments and cultural aspects of the Unionist Party leadership.⁵⁶ The main focus of the research was on socio-political developments and cultural aspects of the Unionist Party leadership but *Ahrār* leadership is not discussed in detail.

Abdullah Malik in *Punjab Ki Siyāsī Tahrikain* has discussed the political parties which established in colonial Punjab. The work gives a comprehensive analysis of

⁵⁴ Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *Modern Islam in India: A Social Analysis* (New Delhi: Ripon Printing Press, 1957).

⁵⁵ K. K. Aziz, *Party Politics in Pakistan 1947-1958* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2007).

⁵⁶ David Gilmartin, *Empire and Islam: Punjab and the Making of Pakistan* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1988).

*Rashtriya Sawak Singh, Tehrik-i-Ahrār and Khāksār Tehrik.*⁵⁷ But author did not discuss the leadership of MAI.

Abdul Hameed in *Muslim Separation in India: A Brief Survey 1858-1947* analyses “the political and social dissimilarities among the different communities in the Indian Sub-continent. The work outstandingly focuses on the political dimensions of the Muslims politics in the colonial Punjab. It is a factual and authentic study which is helpful to understand the psyche of the political parties”.⁵⁸

Khalid Bin Sayeed in *Pakistan: The Formative Phase 1857-1948* has discussed “the historical narratives and evaluated the intensity and vulnerability of the Muslim nationalist movement that ultimately climaxed in the creation of Pakistan. The writer has also discussed the main theme of the Muslim nationalist movement. The book also focused on the working and development of the British vice-regal system and argues that the vice-regal system in Pakistan congenital from the British continued Pakistan through the ongoing political and cultural tensions that it has faced ever since its creation”.⁵⁹

Imran Ali in his book *The Punjab under Imperialism 1885-1947* discussed that the “Punjab experienced significant economic growth under British rule from the second half of the nineteenth century. This expansion was founded on the construction of an extensive network of canals in the western parts of the province. The ensuing agricultural settlement transformed the previously barren area into one of the most important regions of commercial agriculture in South Asia. This comprehensive survey of British rule in the

⁵⁷ Abdullah Malik, *Punjab kī Sīyāsī Tahrikian* (Lahore: Kousar Publishers, 1973).

⁵⁸ Abdul Hameed, *Muslim Separation in India A Brief Survey 1858-1947* (Lahore: Oxford University Press, 1971).

⁵⁹ Khalid B. Sayeed, *Pakistan: The Formative Phase, 1857-1948* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1992).

Punjab demonstrates that colonial policy making led to many of the socio-economic and political problems currently plaguing Pakistan and Indian Punjab”.⁶⁰

Qalb-i-Abid and Massarat Abid in *Punjab Politics Diarchy to Partition* have “pondered on political developments as well as establishment of the political parties in the colonial Punjab. Authors have comprehensive study the nature and functioning of political parties as a part of political advancements. The phenomenon of political advancements in this work is treated as a destructive force draining the province on communal lines following in partition in 1947”.⁶¹

Shalini Sharma’s *Radical Politics in Colonial Punjab: Governance and Sedition* examined that how Punjabi communism induced in the local culture and customs of the region. Authoress discussed the formation and activities of radical groups in colonial Punjab. Furthermore, Authoress traced the influence of the colonial state’s institutions and policies upon these extremist groups.⁶²

Afzal Haq in his book *Tārīkh-i-Aḥrār* stated that without the study of MAI no one can study freedom struggle. The book provides the comprehensive detail of Khilāfat Movement, formation of MAI, Qadiani conflict and *Tehrik Madah-i-Ṣaḥābah* but did not provide the deep insight on the leadership of MAI.⁶³

Wilson John in *Pakistan: The Struggle Within* argues that Majlis- Aḥrār- i -Islam political consisted of a group of politically orthodox Muslims who were under the influence of the Congress to some extent. The working committee of the Aḥrār consisted

⁶⁰ Imran Ali, *The Punjab under Imperialism, 1885-1947* (Princeton University Press, 1988).

⁶¹ Qalb-i-Abid and Massarat Abid, *Punjab Politics: Dyarchy to Partition* (Lahore: Pakistan Study Centre and Research Society of Pakistan, 2012).

⁶² Shalini Sharma, *Radical Politics in Colonial Punjab: Governance and Sedition*. (New York: Routledge, 2009).

⁶³ Afzal Haq, *Tārīkh-i-Aḥrār* (Lahore: Maktabah Majlis-i-Aḥrār Islam, 1968).

of men who were Congressite and advocates of joint electorates. The Aḥrār party was confined to the urban middle and lower classes of Muslim in Punjab. The Aḥrār leaders failed to attract the support of decent Muslim opinion in order to satisfy their ambition to exist as an individual entity. They were of the estimation that by being absorbed in the Congress they would lose their entity and that on the termination of the Kashmir agitation against the Hindu bureaucracy their attention would be directed to the future constitution of India and to adopt means to secure a proper share in the Punjab and to fight against the British or the Hindus, wherever usurped their rights.⁶⁴

Ian Talbot in his book *Punjab and the Raj 1849-1947* explained that the British rule affected the socio-political conditions of Punjab. Author provides the deep insight on the communities of Punjab and British rule in Punjab. The book also provides the whole story of Freedom Movement.⁶⁵

Muhammad Omar Farooq's *Mawlana Gul Sher Khan Shahid Sawanah o Khidmat* is comprehensive study on Mawlana Gul Sher Khan (1875-1947) one of the pioneers of Aḥrār Party. The book provides deep insight on the early life of Mawlānā Gul Sher Khan, his political career and the services by using the platform of the MAI.⁶⁶

The Great Orator by Rafique Akhtar is a first ever biography of Syed Ata ullah Shah Bukhārī that is published in English. The book covers all aspects of his life and his

⁶⁴ Wilson John, *Pakistan: The Struggle Within* (New Delhi: Pearson Education India, 2009).

⁶⁵ Ian Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj 1849-1947* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1988).

⁶⁶ Muhammad Omar Farooq, *Mawlana Muhammad Gul Sher Shahid Sawanah o Khidmat* (Multan: Bukhārī Academy, 2007).

contribution for MAI. The book has highlighted the style of oration of Syed Ata Ullah Shah Bukhārī.⁶⁷

Janbaz Mirza's book *Hayat-e-Amīr Shariat Syed Ata-Ullah-Shah Bukhārī* provides not only the complete life sketch of Syed Ata ullah Shah Bukhārī but his services which he has rendered for MAI. According to book the study of MAI is incomplete without the study of Syed Ata Ullah Shah Bukhārī.⁶⁸

Tahir Kamran in his article "Evolution and impact of Deobandi Islam in the Punjab" examines that MAI has followed the agitation style of politics in the 1930s. "Mawlana Zafar Ali Khan, Mawlānā Daud Ghaznavi, Syed Ataullah Shah Bukhārī, Chaudhry Afzal Haq, Mawlana Mazhar Ali Azhar, Khawājah Abdul Rahman Ghazi, Sheikh Hussam-uddin and Mawlana Ḥabīb ur-Rahman Ludhianvi constituted the core leadership of the Aḥrār. Most of them were orators of extraordinary caliber who could spellbind the audience for hours. Although it was a composite organization representing all Muslim segments, yet the core ideology and principal leaders, like Syed Ata Ullah Shah Bukhārī and Ḥabīb-ur-Rahman Ludhianvi, adhered to Deobandi Islam. It had entrenched following among the lower middle-income echelon of urban Muslim populace and particularly among the artisans of Lahore, Amritsar and Sialkot districts of the Punjab. The Aḥrār' agitations for the rights of the Muslims of Kashmir, who were suffering under the oppressive rule of Maharajah has also been highlighted".⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Muhammad Rafiq Akhtar, *The Great Orator: A Biography of Amir-i-Shariat Syed Ataullah Shah Bukhārī* (Multan: Tehrik Taḥaffuẓ Khatam-i-Nabuwwat, Shubah-i-Tablīgh, 1988).

⁶⁸ Janbaz Mirza, *Hayat-i-Ameer Shariat Syed Ata-ullah-Shah Bukhārī* (Lahore: Maktabah Aḥrār Lahore, 2006).

⁶⁹ Tahir Kamran, "Evolution and Impact of Deobandi Islam in the Punjab," *The Historian*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 2012.

Tahir Kamran in another article “Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam: Religion, Socialism and Agitation in Action” focuses that “MAI came to epitomize in the Punjab during the 1930s and the 1940s are the primary focus of this article. Indelibly influenced by the Khilāfat Movement and its leadership, the Ahrār chose a different path from 1929 onwards. Ideologically, the Ahrār was influenced quite profoundly by the socialist ideal of egalitarianism in tandem with the Islamic reformism of the late nineteenth century. Therefore, the Ahrār’ popularity waxed enormously, and the lower middle of the Punjabi population became its political constituency. Artisan classes of Central Punjab were particularly its devout followers. The Ahrār leaders belonged to all sectarian denominations, but it generally subscribed to the Deobandi ideology. The Ahrār came to the political stage in 1931 when bands of its volunteers entered Kashmir to protest against the policies of the then Maharaja, which were perceived to be anti-Muslim. The Ahrār’ agitational mode of politics manifested itself with the same intensity again in Kapurthala and then in the United Provinces”.⁷⁰

David Gilmartin in his article “Religious Leadership and the Pakistan Movement in the Punjab” highlighted the structure of religious leadership and Muslim politics in the 20th century Punjab. From the time of the conversion to Islam much of the western Punjab was at the hands of *Sufis* and religious leadership in the rural areas was focused on the hereditary *Sajjādahnashīn* of the shrines of these saints.⁷¹

Shamaila Younas in her article “Party Politics in the British Punjab: A Study of the Punjab Unionist Party (1923-1937)” explores the “influence of Majlis-i-Ahrār, *Akali Dal* and *Kisan Sabhah* on Unionist Party in the rural Punjab. The strategy of the MAI was to

⁷⁰ Tahir Kamran, “Majlis-i-Ahrār-i-Islam: Religion, Socialism and Agitation in Action,” *South Asian History and Culture*, Vol.4, No, 4, 2013.

⁷¹ David Gilmartin, “Religious Leadership and the Pakistan Movement in the Punjab,” *Modern Asian Studies*, No, 03, 1979.

mobilize the Muslims masses through the emotional and sensitive topics related to the religion. Their main concern was the Sunni particularly those living in Punjab. It motivated the masses on social, religious and constitutional issues. It was the pro-Congress party and against the division of India. It became popular among the middle and lower classes of Muslim society".⁷²

Muhammad Khurshid and Muhammad Akbar Malik's article, "The Political Activities of Majlis-i-Ahrār Islam: A Critical Study" attempts to "look at the political activities of Ahrār, with special reference to Shahīd Ganj mosque issue, which created unrest among Indian Muslims generally and Muslims of the Punjab particularly. Ahrār had been established by the nationalist Muslims who had close relations with the INC. Primarily, the remnants of Khilafatists and some religious urban Muslims were its follower and it was founded under the chairmanship of Afzal Haq. Basically, it included the people who were dissatisfied with the Unionists and lost hope in Congress and League. It was probably one of the most considerable mass-based regional parties, which worked for the religious, political, economic and social uplift of the Muslims of Punjab. In 1935, the Shahīd Ganj mosque issue proved to be a test-case to judge the political maturity of the Ahrār leaders. In the beginning, the Ahrār enthusiastically participated in the Shahīd Ganj agitation, but in 1936, keeping in view the coming elections, decided to keep themselves aloof from this agitation and leave the matter entirely to the *Anjuman-i-Taḥaffuẓ-i-Masjid*. It caused a serious setback to Ahrār's reputation and incurred bitter hostility among their workers".⁷³

⁷² Shamaila Younas, "Party Politics in the British Punjab: A Study of the Punjab Unionist Party (1923-1937)," *The International Journal of History and Social Sciences*, 2013.

⁷³ Muhammad Khurshid and Muhammad Akbar Malik, "The Political Activities of Majlis-i-Ahrār Islam: A Critical Study", *Pakistan Annual Research Journal*, Vol.51, 2015.

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Renu Gosain in her article “Political Philosophy of Majlis-i-Aḥrār Party in Colonial Punjab” stated that “Aḥrār was a conservative Sunni Muslim political party which was founded in 1929. This party was a religio-sectarianist by birth, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal by ideology and nationalist by passion. Although, it died an early death but it left a great impact on major cities of Punjab like Amritsar, Lahore, Sialkot, Multan, Ludhiana and Gurdaspur”.⁷⁴

After reviewing the related literature on Aḥrār, it may be said that no specific work has been done on the multiple aspects of Aḥrār’ leadership in the British Punjab. A few writers have written on sectarian issues and the Aḥrār’ politics. The other authors have written the political activism of Aḥrār, and its role in Kashmir Movement. We cannot deny the fact that very little work has been done on the leadership of Aḥrār generally and in the Punjab particularly. This research work covers the gaps in the research on the subject. For its theme and content, it is an empirical work of seminal significant. The research discusses not only the Aḥrār as whole but also provides a deep insight on Aḥrār leadership.

Objectives of the Study

The present study has following objectives:

1. To understand the emergence of religio-political parties and their leadership in the British Punjab from 1929-47.
2. To evaluate the theory and practice of Aḥrār in British Punjab from 1929- 1947.
3. To analyze different dimensions of Aḥrār in British Punjab
4. To find out the strengths and weaknesses of Aḥrār in British Punjab.

⁷⁴ Renu Gosain, “Political Philosophy of Majlis-i-Aḥrār Party in Colonial Punjab, “*Periodic Research*, May 2015.

Research Questions

The study of MAI moves forward with the premise that:

1. What were the main reasons and objectives behind formation of the MAI?
2. Who were included in the pioneer leadership of Aḥrār and what were different dimensions of their leadership?
3. How did the Aḥrār' leadership stir-up an anti-colonial and anti-aristocracy movement in British Punjab during 1929-47?
4. How can the Aḥrār' leadership be differentiated from other religio-political parties in British India?
5. What were the strengths and weaknesses of the leadership of Aḥrār in British Punjab?

Research Methodology

This research is based on both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources include published and unpublished documents containing contemporary official and unofficial reports, party manifestos, speeches and autobiographies etc. The secondary sources include published books, articles, papers, and biographies etc. This research follows historical approach of research. Mainly, it is qualitative research in combination with quantitative data at some places. It is descriptive and analytical.

The data has been collected, analyzed, and deductions have been made out of it. Hence, this research also follows Deductive Method with approach of 'from generalization to specification. The sources have been acknowledged with reference to the context to avoid plagiarism. The Turabian Research Manual has been followed in this

research, both for references within the text at footnotes and bibliography at the end of this thesis.

Organization of the Study/Research Outlines

This research is divided into an Introduction, four chapters and Conclusion.

Introduction:

Introduction deals with the history of British Punjab and emergence of religio-political leadership in British Punjab. It also deals with the theoretical framework and theoretical framework explained the definitions of leadership, its types and theories in order to understand the leadership of MAI.

Chapter One: The first chapter deals with the formation, objectives, ideology, manifesto, and structure of Party.

Chapter Two: The second chapter begins with the definitions of leadership and provides the deep insight on the main stream leadership of Aḥrār in the context of their theory and practice.

Chapter Three: The third chapter focuses on interaction of the Aḥrār' leadership with the mainstream political parties of British India generally and British Punjab particularly such as Indian National Congress, All India Muslim League and Unionist Party.

Chapter Four: The fourth chapter is about the factors responsible for the rise and fall of Aḥrār and their leadership in British Punjab.

Conclusion: Conclusion is the summary of the history of MAI, and their contribution in British Punjab, their leadership cult and their theory and practiced.

CHAPTER – 1

MAJLIS-I-AHRAR-I-ISLAM: A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In 1849 the British annexed the Punjab after defeating Sikhs. The colonial regime ruled the region and introduced political, social and religious reforms in the society. The British administrators also constructed canals, irrigated lands and developed railways in the Punjab. Socio-religious and geo-political conditions of Punjab had played an important role in the formation and growth of political parties. The Sub-continent witnessed multi-party system at national and regional levels during the colonial era. The prominent political parties such as *Hindu Mahasabah* (1907), *Akali Dal* (1920), Unionist Party (1923) and *Khāksār Tehrik* (1931) developed the political consciousness of the common masses in Punjab. One of the most prominent religio-political parties, the MAI was founded in Lahore on December 29, 1929.¹ It was founded on the fragments of the Khilāfat Committee, as the members of the Punjab Khilāfat Committee criticized Mawlana Muhammad Ali Johar (1878-1931) and Jan Muhammad Chotani (1873-1932) on the issue of funds and the Nehru Report.²

The Indian Khilāfat Movement (1918 - 1924) was actually the result of strong pan-Islamic feelings and propaganda, supported by a century of political developments and socio-cultural awareness among British Indian Muslims.³ The Khilāfat Movement has given an account of the religious ties of Punjabi Muslims with Pan-Islamic ideology in general, and Khilāfat Movement in particular. In the First World War (1914-1919) Turkey sided with Germany. The defeat of Turkey by the Allied Forces led to widespread

¹ Samina Awan, *Political Islam in Colonial Punjab: Majlis-i-Ahrār 1929-49* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2010), 6.

² Afzal Haq, *Tārīkh-i-Ahrār* (Lahore: Maktabah Tabsarah, 1975), 24-25.

³ M. Naeem Qureshi, *Pan-Islam in British Indian politics: A study of the Khilafat Movement, 1918-1924* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 3.

concern among the Muslims about the future of Caliphate and their sacred places. The Muslims of the Punjab shared these fears with the rest of the Muslims of the World. For the Muslims of the Punjab, Turkey symbolized the 'temporal greatness of Islamic achievement', the Sultans and the *Khālifah* being the head of the Islamic World. These sentiments found expression in the Muslim League session held in December 1918 at Delhi. It was very important for the Muslim Ulema to exhibit their number and stature.⁴

The fear of handing over of the sacred places to the non-Muslims angered Muslims. The general fear among the Muslim community gave birth to two organizations namely *Jam'īyyat-i-Ulama-i-Hind* and All-India Khilāfat Committee which remained in forefront in the struggle until the collapse of the Khilāfat Movement. Both struggled to preserve the *Khilāfat* and mobilized the Muslims to pressurize the British Government to deal leniently with Turkey after its defeat. The Khilāfat Committee did not adopt the technique of submitting polite memorials and seeking concessions from the Government. Instead, it adopted the radical and aggressive techniques such as non-cooperation movement, which caught the imagination of the masses.⁵

The cause of Khilāfat was very dear to the Muslims of Punjab. Ataullah Shah Bukhārī (1892-1961) maintained that, it was claimed that the Sharif of Mecca (installed by the British) was a usurper and a rebel and it was not permissible, therefore, to perform and say prayers under his authority. The British government was called upon to cease from interfering in the functioning of the religious institutions that symbolized Khilāfat.⁶

The ulema showed great concern for *Khilāfat*. They used the mosques and *madāris* stir up Pan-Islamic passions. Syed Bukhārī, Mawlana Daud Ghazanvi (1895-1963),

⁴ A. Moin Zaidi, *Evolution of Muslim Political thought in India* (New Delhi: Indian Institute of Applied Political Research, 1975), 161-164.

⁵ Zarina Salamat, *The Punjab in 1920's: A Case Study of Muslims* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1997), 54.

⁶ *Intelligence Abstract of Punjab Police*: No 1, January 10, 1920, 30.

Mawlana Muhammad Ismail Sīlākūtī, Mawlana Sanaullah Amritsari (1864-1948) and Mawlana Nūr Muhammad from Amritsar, Mawlana Muhammad Ibrahim Sīlākūtī, Mawlana Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥmān Ludhianvi (1892-1956) and Mawlana Abdul Hay from Ludhiana were the leading supporter of this movement in the Punjab.⁷ The Indian press played a leading role in propagating the Pan-Islamic ideals. Mawlana Abū'l Kalām Azad launched *Al- Hilāl* (weekly) in Calcutta in June 1912; Meanwhile, Muhammad Ali Johar launched *Comrade* (weekly) Delhi⁸ in January 1911. Mawlana Zafar Ali Khan started *Zamindar* (daily) Lahore, in 1911 and Mawlana Shibli Numani started a newspaper *Muslim Gazette* (fortnightly) Lahore, in 1912. The writer of these Newspapers endorsed the Pan-Islamic ideology through their papers and persuaded the Muslims that the British government was no longer a reliable guardian of Islamic interests. Because of these writings Muslims of India lost their confidence in the British government towards Ottomans Empire.⁹

The issue of Khilāfat came to prominence in Punjab in January 1919 due to the *Fatwā* given by Mawlana Abdul Bari (1878-1926) that it was obligatory for Muslims to launch *Jihād* in the event of the non-Muslims control over the sacred places. The issue of *Khilāfat* was temporarily surpassed in the Punjab by the repressive policies of Michael O' Dwyer (1864-1940).¹⁰ In 1919, Montague-Chelmsford Reforms increased the anxiety among Indian National Congress (INC) and All India Muslim League (AIML). To control this agitation against Montague Chelmsford Reforms 'Lord Chelmsford appointed a committee to probe anti-government activities of Indians and suggested legislation to curb it. The committee was headed by Justice Rowlett a UK based judge and comprised

⁷ Salamat, *The Punjab in 1920's*, 56.

⁸ The paper launched from Calcutta and later shifted to Delhi.

⁹ P. C. Bomford, *History of Non-Cooperation and Khilafat Movements* (Delhi: Government of India Press, 1925), 112.

¹⁰ Bomford, *History of Non-Cooperation and Khilafat Movements*, 13.

of four other members, two were local Indians and two British officials in India.¹¹ The suggestions of the committee transformed into an Act on the March 18, 1919 as Rowlett Act.¹² The Act provided speedy trial of violations by a special Court, comprising of three High Court Judges. No right of appeal given to Indian against the decision given by High Court Judge. The Provincial Governments were also given the powers to search and arrest a suspected person without any permit and keep in isolated imprisonment.¹³

The Indians were not betrayed by this colonial legislative scheme, and they skillfully reviewed the discourteous spirit of the Bill: "No trial, no lawyer, and no appeal".¹⁴ The unjust and radical constraint of basic rights immediately provoked confrontation. On April 6, 1919, after the passing of this Bill, people of all over India responded to Gandhi's appeal to observe *hartāl* against the Rowlett Act.¹⁵ The protests became violent after the arrest of two important Punjabi Congress leaders, Dr. Satyapal and Dr Saifuddin Kitchlew, on April 10, 1919. The mass agitations in the Punjab were spreading and in Amritsar a protest meeting was called in the Jalianwala Bagh compound for Sunday, April 13, 1919.¹⁶

General Dyer, who was in charge of Amritsar, had put the banned on the public meetings. But a mob attacked on a British missionary worker, Miss Marcella Sherwood and this triggered Dyer to adopt harsh trial in order curb the Indian, as he said,

¹¹ *A History of Freedom Movement*, Vol. III, Part I, (Karachi: Pakistan Historical Society, 1961), Vol, III, 1-2.

¹² Michael O' Dwyer, *India as I knew it: 1885-1925* (London: Constable and Co, 1925), 266.

¹³ Gail Minault, *The Khilafat Movement: Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982), 23.

¹⁴ Hermann Kulke, and Dietmar Rothermund, *A History of India* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), 283.

¹⁵ John Mcleod, *History of India*, (Westport: Ct: Greenwood, 2002), 106.

¹⁶ Nigel Collet, *The Butcher of Amritsar: General Reginald Dyer* (London: Hambledon, 2002), 232.

“to give them a lesson”.¹⁷ General Dyer ordered his soldiers to fire on a crowd that had gathered in Jalianwala Bagh on April 13, 1919. The Indian were of the view that the destruction of official property and killing of European was their victory over the British government. According to Miles Irwin, the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar stated that when the masses had burnt the National Bank, they belief that government could do nothing.¹⁸ After this incident on September 21, 1919 a meeting was held to set up an All-India Khilāfat Committee with headquarters at Bombay, to form local and regional Khilāfat committees all over the India. October 17, 1919 was observed as *Khilāfat Day* for stating public support of *Khilāfat*.¹⁹ Ataulah Shah Bukhārī in a speech on November 21, 1919, said that he would not observe that Muslims should openly revolt against the government, but he would certainly suggest that they should not ruin themselves. Neither would he advise them to die like martyrs at Jalianwala Bagh, yet their deaths would lead to eternal life, the Islamic Sharia ordained obedience to the ruler as long as he did not temper with their religion. He called upon the government to abstain from doing so. He asked the Muslims whether they would wish to allow persons fed on bacon and liquor to strut about in the streets where their Prophet walked and worked.²⁰

All-India Khilāfat Conference met at Delhi on November 23-24, 1919 to decide the future course of action. The meeting was momentous when Gandhi attended it and the Conference resolution appealing to boycott the peace celebrations and British goods.²¹ The Muslims of Amritsar were the first to respond to the call of the Lucknow

¹⁷ Ian Copland, *The Burden of Empire: Perspectives on Imperialism and Colonialism in Asia* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1990), 59.

¹⁸ K. L. Tuteja, “Jalianwala Bagh: A Critical Juncture in the Indian National Movement.” *Social Scientist*, Vol. 25, No. 1/2 (Jan.-Feb 1997):46-47.

¹⁹ M. Naeem Qureshi, “The Indian Khilafat Movement 1918-24”, *Journal of Asian History*, (1978):152-68.

²⁰ Intelligence Abstract of Punjab Police, No, 46, November 29, 1919,667.

²¹ *The Indian Annual Register 1921*, Part-1 (New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House), 103.

Conference and they set up local Khilāfat Committees. In early November 1919 a committee was set up and Mawlana Daud Ghazanvi was appointed its secretary at Amritsar. The Khilāfat Committee of Lahore was established, and Fazl-i-Husain (1877-1936) was appointed as its President, and Dr. Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938) became its Secretary and Ghulām Mohyuddin Joint Secretary. By December the movement gained further momentum when Khilāfat Committees were made in Gujranwala, Sialkot and Panipat.²² Consequently, the issue of *Khilāfat* stirred up Muslims in the rural areas too.

In March 1920, the Khilāfat Movement intensified because Mawlana Abū'l Kalām Azad (1888-1958), in his presidential address at Calcutta, stressed upon Muslims to defend Khilāfat by *Jihad*.²³ The theoretician of the Indian Khilāfat Movement explained that *Jihad* did not necessarily mean a violent struggle for a cause but it is for peaceful means to achieve the desired goals. *Jihad* for God could be waged through all possible means such as money, and moral support. One could contribute with pen rather than sword to help Muslims to safeguard Islam.²⁴

The Khilāfat Conference at Calcutta decided to observe March 19, 1920 as Khilāfat Day. On March 12, 1920 Punjab Khilāfat Committee also declared Khilāfat Day in support of the cause.²⁵ The observance of Khilāfat Day was an unqualified success in the Punjab. It was a day of prayers as well as public meetings and demonstration in support of Muslim cause. Muslim communities in big cities of the Punjab observed complete strike peacefully.²⁶ During this period, the Muslim intelligentsia played a vital

²² *Police Abstract of Intelligence Punjab*, No 49, December 20, 1919, 726. *Police Abstract of Intelligence Punjab*, No 1, January 3, 1920, 18.

²³ Abū'l Kalām Azad, *Masla-i-Khilafat wa Jaziratul Arab*, February 28, 1920. Calcutta, quoted in Minault. *The Khilafat Movement*, 280-282.

²⁴ *Ibid*,

²⁵ Mushirul Hassan, *Nationalism and Communal Politics in India* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 1979), 163.

²⁶ *Daily, Paisa Akbar*, (Lahore), March, 11, 1920.

role in activating the people on a trans-regional cause in urban Punjab.²⁷ Muslim leaders Ali Brothers, Hakim Ajmal Khan (1868-1927), and Dr. Saif-ud-Din Kichlew (1883-1973), to name a few led various rallies and processions under the auspices of the Khilāfat Movement.²⁸

Hijrat Movement was another important aspect of Khilāfat agitation. Ali Brothers during their detention at Chindwara Jail suggested that due to the abysmal condition's migration is the only alternative for us.²⁹ The message suggesting *Hijrat* circulated in all over India before it was banned by all the provincial governments. The principal exponents of *Hijrat* in the Punjab were Daud Ghazanvi and Syed Bukhārī.³⁰ They already launched a campaign for *Jihad* and strongly condemned the perdition to Muslim soldiers who fought in Turkey. Since, *Jihad* was impossible and they now advocated *Hijrat* to Afghanistan in their speeches at Khilāfat meetings.³¹ They believed that British India had become *Dār-ul-Hārb* and was not safe for Islam. Turkey and the Arab countries including Persia were under the influence of non-Muslim Europeans. Afghanistan was the only independent Muslim country. So, the Muslims of India considered Afghanistan *Dar-ul-Islam* and a safe and suitable place for the Indian Muslims. Therefore they preferred *Hijrat* to Afghanistan. With the beginning of 1920 the Amir began to show increased sympathy with Indian agitation on the Khilāfat question. The first official intimation of this was a letter dated 14th January 1920, from the Amir to the

²⁷ The Muslim intelligentsia consisted on Malik Barkat Ali (1886-1946), Mawlana Mazhar Ali Azhar (1895-1975), Chaudhry Afzal Haq, Zafar Ali Khan, Dr. Allama Iqbal, Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew Ghazanfar Ali Khan and Malik Lal Khan.

²⁸ Samina Awan, "Nationalist Politics in the British Punjab: An Alliance between Muslim League Parliamentary Board and Majlis-i-Ahrār-Islam." *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, Vol, no. 2 (2009):71.

²⁹ Afzal Iqbal, *Life and Times of Muhammad Ali* (Delhi: Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-Delhi, 1978), 141-142.

³⁰ Janbaz Mirza, *Hayat-i-Ameer Shariat Syed Atta-Ullah-Shah Bukhārī* (Lahore: Maktabah Ahrār, 2006), 51.

³¹ *Police Abstract of Intelligence Punjab*, No, 19, May 15, 1920, 296-99.

king in which Amir Amanullah stated that he shared the opinions of all Mohammedans with regard to the upholding of Islamic Khilāfat. On the February 9, 1920 the Amir, at a commemoration ceremony of his father death, made a speech in which he declared himself be ready to sacrifice his life for the Khilāfat and would welcome *muhājirin* from India in Afghanistan. Copies of this speech were widely circulated in Afghanistan and created some excitement.³² Abdul Bari's *Fatwā* of emigration and declaration by King Amanullah had now brought the theory of *Hijrat* within the realm of practicality.³³

Syed Bukhārī in his speeches urged the people to migrate. At Amritsar, on May 28, 1920, he not only declared his intention to emigrate but also threatened to kill three or four British people before leaving.³⁴ The Khilāfat Committee did not take a decision regarding *Hijrat*. The moderate leaders like Saif-ud-din Kitchlew were not in favor of taking any decision on *Hijrat*, as long as it was not considered and approved by central committee. Syed Bukhārī urged Kitchlew to place the issue before central committee and thus it was concluded that *Hijrat* was not mandatory but an option for common people. This decision of the committee led to raise dissenting voices in the Punjab Khilāfat committee. Syed Bukhārī expressed his dissatisfaction and stated that it was divergent opinion by the public on views of Ali Brothers. Terming it an impractical solution he claimed that it has nothing to do with Khilāfat.³⁵

Hijrat Movement appealed to the urban class and latter it was spread to the rural areas. Special trains carrying *Muhajirin* from Sindh to Afghanistan were greeted at different railway stations in the Punjab. Thousands of people were gathered to offer

³² Abdul Ali, "The *Hijrat* of 1920 and Afghanistan", *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Vol. 43, Indian History Congress (1982):726-727.

³³ Mirza, *Hayat-i-Ameer Shariat Syed Atta-ullah-Shah Bukhārī*, 49-50.

³⁴ *Police Abstract of Intelligence Punjab*, No, 24, June 19, 1920,378.

³⁵ Salamat, *The Punjab in 1920's*, 77.

farewell to the emigrants but also to provide them with cash, food and other necessary material. A train carrying such *Muhajirin* was greeted by a huge crowd of approximately 25,000 to 30,000 people in Lahore on July 11, 1920. Similar scenes were witnessed at Multan, Gujranwala, Cambellpur (now Attock) and other places of Punjab. Around one to two million Muslims migrated from India to Afghanistan. When Afghan King refused to accommodate the refugees, these immigrants suffered a lot.³⁶

The Urdu press played a leading role in instigating innocent Muslims to leave their lands and everything behind for the sake of Islam. The editor of daily *Zamindar*, Mawlana Zafar Ali Khan won much acclaim for his emotional discourses. Addressing an audience of 30,000 on August 14, 1920 at Amritsar, he declared:

The time has come to rebuild the ruined house of Islam...The Turkish Treaty was scrap of paper. They should now perform *Hijrat* --not at all, but wealthy persons, doctors, engineers and *mistris*, especially the young and strong-- and collect money for the purpose He then declared General Dwyer to be "a yazid" and "a bastard." If they failed in non-cooperation they were all *Kafirs* themselves.³⁷

The British Government was deeply concerned at the close historical connection between *Jihad* and *Hijrat*. They were observing the situation closely with the hope that movement left alone would exhaust itself. The *Hijrat* agitation petered out soon because the efforts to keep the movement alive had lost its momentum.³⁸

On March 10, 1920 Gandhi advocated that, "non-cooperation as the only remedy left open to us." So the Central Khilāfat Committee endorsed Gandhi's non-cooperation movement on March 14, 1920, which was to begin with the returning of titles and boycott of law courts. It also stressed on withdrawal of students from educational institutions, refuse to pay taxes and revenue. In the last, an appeal was made to civil

³⁶ Ram Gopal, *Indian Muslims: A Political History (1857-1947)* (New York: Asia Publishing House, 1964), 114.

³⁷ *History of the Non-Cooperation Movement in Punjab 1919-24 with an account of the Khilafat agitation and Sikh agitation* (Lahore: Government Printing Press, 1925), 23.

³⁸ Nasreen Afzal, "Khilafat Movement and Province Sindh." *The International Journal of History and Social Sciences*, Vol, 1, No.1, (January to June 2010):13.

servants to resign and urged Muslims not to recruit in the Army voluntarily.³⁹ Gandhi emerged as the key leader of the Movement and assumed the role of a guarantor of Muslim non-violence towards the Hindus, and common Hindus adherence to the non-cooperation.⁴⁰ The Congress and Khilāfat leaders addressed meetings from common platforms to appeal for the boycott of foreign goods. An extensive campaign was launched throughout Punjab by chief agitators Syed Bukhārī, Saif-ud-din Kitchlew and Zafar Ali Khan.⁴¹

On August 1, 1920, marked the beginning of a new era of non-cooperation and mass participation in politics of the Punjab. In order to make the movement a successful Gandhi accompanied by Ali Brothers and Mawlana Azad toured Punjab and made public speeches on the issues pertaining to the Muslims. In 1921, the bonds of Hindu-Muslim unity were manifested with the development of non-cooperation. But soon differences arose between the two parties, Congress and Khilāfat Committee on the method of putting pressure on government. JUH and Khilāfat Committee took the same resolution that it was harmful for Muslim soldiers to serve in the Army.⁴²

In the daily *Zamīndār* a *Fatwā* was also published concerning the boycott of military services for government.⁴³ The banning of *Fatwā* by government stimulated its circulation on a large scale. A mass movement protest was launched against the detention of Ali Brothers and Kitchlew when they were arrested on September 14, 1921.⁴⁴ The Government had also taken a serious notice of the worsening situation of Khilāfat

³⁹ Bomford, *Histories of Non-Cooperation Movement*, 33. Also see Nisar Ahmed Isrār, (Trans). *Tehrik-i-Khilāfat 1919-1924 Turko Ki Millī Jadu Jahad main Janūbī Asia kē Muslammano kā Jazba Esar-o-Qurbani* (Lahore: Sang-i-Meel Publications, 1919), 147.

⁴⁰ Salamat, *The Punjab in 1920's*, 85.

⁴¹ Mirza, *Hayat-i-Ameer Shariat Syed Atta-Ulla-Shah Bukhārī*, 54-55.

⁴² P.C Bamford, *Histories of Non-Cooperation Movement*, 171.

⁴³ *Daily Zamindar*, (Lahore) August 5, 1921.

⁴⁴ Salamat, *The Punjab in 1920's*, 104.

Committee as far and wide protests erupted against the arrest of Khilāfat leaders. The uncertainty in the Muslim community led Abū'l Kalām Azad to emerge as the most outspoken leader of Muslims in India.⁴⁵ The Congress and Khilāfat Committee also decided to boycott the prepared visit of Prince of Wales. Their cooperation against the government was on its peak but in February 4, 1921 a violent incident occurred at Chaura Chauri, UP. The killing of 21 policemen and a watchman by a mob of volunteers and infuriated peasants, led the Gandhi to suspend the mass civil disobedience movement.

The All-India Khilāfat Committee confirmed the decision of Gandhi. The withdrawal of Hindu community from the movement believed to be a great setback to Hindu-Muslim unity. In August 1921 when the Moplahs rebelled against the Hindu landlords which resulted to a chain of Hindu-Muslim riots in the country. By the August and September 1922, Khilāfat Committee received fresh zest when Mustafa Kamal Pasha (1881-1931) succeeded in the Turko-Greek War and he had given a new lease of life to the Turk cause. The pro-Greek attitude of Mustafa Kamal was bitterly criticized by British Government and the Turkish government was praised for its stand against the duplicity of the West. In September, 1922 Turkish triumphs were celebrated throughout the Punjab.⁴⁶

Meanwhile Hindu-Muslim cooperation also faded away and Khilāfat activities were also diminished with the passage of time. On September 1, 1922 the Grand National Assembly of Turkey abolished the Khilāfat. The Muslims of India were led to believe that Turkish Caliphate was the central to the survival of Islam but on December 27 and 30 1922, All India Khilāfat Conference was organized to validate the decision taken by the Turkish parliament. The Muslim leaders realized the fact that they could not oppose the

⁴⁵ Ghulām Rasul Mehr, *Naqsh-e-Azad*, (Lahore: Kitāb Manzil, 1959), 343-345.

⁴⁶ *Isrār, Tehrik-i-Khilafat 1919-1924*, 162.

mainstream public opinion in Turkey. Consequently, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey had decided to abolish the Caliphate on March 3, 1924.⁴⁷

Over the decision of Turkish Assembly, Indian Muslims and Khilāfat leaders were divided because this decision had shocked them. To uphold the spirit and religious sentiments of Indian Muslims, Mawlana Mohammad Ali Johar tried to convince them that they have to work for the re-establishment of Khilāfat. Abū'l Kalām Azad advised Indians to leave Turkey to its own fate and concentrate on matters of Indian Sub-Continent.⁴⁸ The Turkish Government's announcement created a rift between Ali Brothers and their co-Khilafatists and the rise of communal antagonism in the provinces destroyed the Khilāfat organization. The Khilāfat and the Non-cooperation movements could not accomplish the desired outcomes.⁴⁹ It seems that the Khilāfat Movement did not achieve their objectives of the continuation of the Ottoman's Empire and the institution of the *Khilāfat*.

During the Khilāfat Movement, Punjab Khilāfat Committee could not participate in the Councils elections of 1920, and 1923 but changed their earlier position and decided to contest the elections on its own. In March 1926, it had sought permission from the All-India Khilāfat Committee to enter the Council, but the approval was futile. As a protest, the Punjab representatives left the meeting. Prominent among them were

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 169.

⁴⁸ Minault, *The Khilafat Movement*, 205.

⁴⁹ Afzal Nasreen, "Khilafat Movement and the Province of Sindh." *Journal of History and Social Sciences*. (January to June 2010):21.

Rana Ferozedin, Malik Lal Khan, M. Abdul Qādir, Muhammad Safdar, Abdur Rahman and Syed Bukhārī.⁵⁰

The Khilāfat Committee condemned Balakrishna Shivram Moonje (1872-1948) and Madan Mohan Malaviya (1861-1946) who were playing the double role. They were supporting INC and on the one side and on the other side they were supportive to the anti-Muslim movement. It was a time for Muslims to protect their own interests. In May, when the Provincial Congress Committee approached the Punjab Khilafatists to join selecting candidates for the nomination in the coming elections, they rejected the offer, saying that Muslim interests were neither safe in Congress nor in Swaraj Party.⁵¹ The Khilāfat Party decided to contest elections and won three seats. The Punjabi Khilafatists had sovereign distinctiveness within the All-India Khilāfat Committee, and their opponents vilified them by stating to them as the *Punjabi toil* (group).⁵²

The main reason behind the establishment of MAI was the disagreement among the Khilafatists in Punjab. W. C Smith stated that the Khilafatists in Punjab were divided into three main groups; one who merged in AIML, second who took refuge in the INC programme, while third comprised of those who had formed the MAI.⁵³ Shorish Kashmiri (1917-75) also stated about the formation of MAI:

Undoubtedly Ahrār were the outcome of the Khilafat Movement. the ideas of *Al Hilāl* and the pen of the *Zamīndār* put together. It was a combination of an anti-British outlook, love for Islam,

⁵⁰ Daily *The Tribune*, Chandigarh. May, 25, 1926. Also see for more detail in Rai Satya M, *Legislative Politics and Freedom Struggle in the Punjab 1897-1947* (New Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research, 1984), 141.

⁵¹ Satya Rai, *Legislative Politics and the Freedom Struggle in the Punjab 1897-1947* (New Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research, 1984), 141.

⁵² Haq, *Tārīkh-i-Ahrār*, 13, 25, 27, and 71.

⁵³ W.C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India* (Delhi: Usha Publications, 1946), 270.

patriotism, hatred of capitalism, enmity with superstition, love for sacrifice . . . ambition to bring about revolution and enthusiasm for conducting jihad.⁵⁴

The Punjab Khālifah committee from the very beginning was not in the favor of separate electorates. But the Nehru Report proposed joint electorates. However, Nehru Report faced severe criticism by the minorities Sikh and Punjabi Hindu. Both were having serious concerns over this issue. So, the minority communities especially Sikhs convinced the INC to dump the Nehru Report in its annual session held at Lahore on December 28, 1929.⁵⁵ While rejecting this report, INC leadership did not consult the members of Punjab Khilāfat committee who were close to INC. Those members ultimately decided to chart their own course of action. When the participants of All India Congress committee were disposing off the copies of Nehru Report in one corner of the same *pandal*, the leaders of the defunct Punjab Khilāfat Committee were holding a meeting to form a new party, Majlis-i-Aḥrār-i-Islam Hind (MAIH), on December 29, 1929 in Lahore.⁵⁶

The Formation of MAI

The *Majlis-i-Aḥrār-i-Islam Hind* was established in Lahore, when the Congress had adopted a resolution for the complete independence of India. Convinced by Mawlana Abū'l Kalām Azad, some prominent *Ulema* (Muslim religious scholars) of India, mostly hailing from Punjab and led by Mawlana Syed Bukhārī, Chaudhry Afzal Haq (1891-1942), Mawlana Zafar Ali Khan and Mawlana Mazhar Ali Azhar (1895-1973), established the MAI on December 29, 1929.⁵⁷ These leaders of the MAI were involved in

⁵⁴ Shorish Kashmiri, *Buoy Gul Nalaa Dil Dudad-e-Chiragh-e-Mahfil* (Lahore: Mutubat-i-Chatān, 2014), 310.

⁵⁵ Haq, *Tārīkh-i-Aḥrār*, 86.

⁵⁶ Taqī-ud-Din, *Pakistan kī sīyāsī jamatain* (Lahore: Fiction House, 1955). 176.

⁵⁷ Jan Baz Mirza, *Karwan-i-Aḥrār*, (Vol-1) (Lahore: Maktabah-i-Tabṣīrah, 1975), 86.81-84.

the Khilāfat Movement. They had many important contributions to the Muslim cause in India in educational, religious and political fields. However, their differences started with leaders of the Khilāfat Movement like Mawlana Muhammad Ali Johar on the presentation of the Nehru Report in 1928.⁵⁸

MAI was formed with the aim of establishing an Islamic state in the Sub-continent and its membership came from the factions that had lost their confidence in the AIML, the Khilafatists and the INC. Some of these people were motivated by the Soviet Revolution of 1917.⁵⁹ To some extent, “it was a party framed under the impact of October Revolution in Russia (1917) and the Communist ideas that it had disseminated.”⁶⁰ The decision of the formation of MAI was taken while Hindustan was entering into the new terminus. After the failure of Khilāfat Movement, zealous group emerged against the policies of Gandhi.⁶¹ By 1931, MAI started working separately from Congress because of disagreement with Nehru Report which called for joint electorates. MAI had liked the ideology of the Soviet Revolution because of its obvious liberation for the subjugated masses from the pressures of the capitalists.⁶²

Mawlana Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥmān Ludhianvi stated that in 1919 the people who participated in *Tehrik-i-Khilāfat* were named as “Aḥrār”. After formation of the MAI the

⁵⁸ K.K. Aziz, *The Making of Pakistan: A Study in Nationalism* (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 1977), 41-42.

⁵⁹ Afzal Haq, *Tārīkh-i-Aḥrār*, 82-83.

⁶⁰ Iftikhar H. Malik, *Sikandar Hayat Khan: A Political Biography* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1985), 47.

⁶¹ Abdullah Malik, *Panjab kī sīyāsī Tahrikain* (Lahore: Kausar Publishers, 1982), 114.

⁶² *Ibid*, 109-110.

ideology of Aḥrār was spread in the corners of Sub-continent.⁶³ In 1931, Nehru said in the All-India Congress Committee at Karachi that:

Some Muslim members of the Congress objected to name of one Muslim as the member of Congress Working Committee. Perhaps they also felt slighted because no one of their group had been chosen. In an All-India Committee of fifteen it was manifestly impossible to have all interests represented, and the real dispute, about which we knew nothing, was an entirely personal and local one in the Punjab. The result was that the protestant group gradually drifted away from the Congress in the Punjab, and joined others in an Aḥrār Party or Majlis-i-Aḥrār.⁶⁴ Afzal Haq narrated the details of the Nehru comprehensively and contrarily too.⁶⁵

1.1. The Aims and Objectives of MAI

The MAI was formed with these aims and objectives. First, to preserve the religious, educational, economic and social interests of the Muslims by providing them proper political guidance and second, to ensure complete independence for India through peaceful means. Thirdly, it also aimed to make sure right guidance for Muslim community in the Indian politics.⁶⁶

The party followed different ways and means for the achievement of its aims and objectives such as the establishment of branches of the MAI throughout India and the

⁶³ *Punjab Aḥrār-i-Islam Conference Lahore kē Khutbat aur Karadadain*, (Lahore: Inqalab Steam Press, July, 11, 12, 1931), 11-12.

⁶⁴ Nehru, *Jawaharlal Nehru: An Autobiography*, 269.

⁶⁵ Dr Muhammad Alam was nominated to the All India Congress Committee instead of Afzal Haq at the recommendation of Abū'l Kalām Azad and Abdul Qādir Qasuri. That nomination caused a stir among the people gathered in the *pandal* and some voices of dissent in particular were raised from amongst the members of the Working Committee.

⁶⁶ Mirza, *Karvan-i-Aḥrār*, Vol, I, 148-150.

organization of *Jaish-i-Ahrār-i-Islam*. It also organized peasants and laborers on economic principles and made efforts for development of indigenous industries, and propagation of the Swadeshi Movement. The party collected funds and adopted other means as may be considered necessary from time to time for the stability of the MAI.⁶⁷ Huttenback while commenting on the aims and objectives of the Ahrār observed that “its manifesto supported Indian nationalism, secular democracy, representative institutions and communal harmony”.⁶⁸

1.2. *Majlis-i-Markazia Ahrār-i-Islam Hind*

All-India Ahrār Conference of MAI was held during the Easter Holidays. The decision regarding the date and place of the conference was taken by the working committee. The working committee had authority to hold extraordinary meetings of the Ahrār conference. For giving effect to the resolution passed at the All-India Ahrār Conference, a committee was elected at the conference and was named as “*Markazia Majlis-i-Ahrār-i-Islam, Hind.*”

The members of the Central Majlis-i-Ahrār-i-Islam Hind (whatever belonging to British India or the Indian States) was elected from the elected members of the MAI of every district and every such Majlis shall be entitled to elect two representatives to the central committee. The branches of MAI Lahore, Amritsar, Sialkot, Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi were entitled to elect representatives as follows: Lahore 10, Amritsar 7, Sialkot 7, Bombay 5, Calcutta 5, and Delhi 5 members respectively.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Abdul Qayyum Popalzi, *Ahrār Kea Chahtay Hain* (Kanpur:1931) and also see *Dastur-ul-Amal Majlis Markazia Ahrār-i-Islam Hind* (Lahore: Saheli Printing Press,1934),3-4.

⁶⁸ Robert A. Huttenback, *Kashmir and the British Raj 1847-1947* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2004), 140.

⁶⁹*Dastur-ul-Amal Majlis Markazia Ahrār-i-Islam Hind*, 4.

1.3. Membership and Fee

Every sane Muslim who had attained the age of maturity and accepted the aims and objectives of the MAI and made the payment of an annual subscription of eight *annas*, be eligible for enrollment as a member of the MAI and required to sign or affix his thumb impression on the prescribed form.⁷⁰ The MAI attracted diverse groups to its ranks, came from the educated lower and middle classes, small shopkeepers, artisans, and urban Muslim youth, being motivated by the Khilafatists and *Ulema*.

1.4. Office Bearers of MAI

The office bearers of the *Markazia* MAI were comprised of a president and a vice-president, two secretaries, one treasurer and one *Salar-i-Jaish*. The office bearers and members of the central body can hold office for a term of one year but would be eligible for re-election. There was a working committee of the *Markazia* MAI consisting of 14 members in addition to the office bearers. These members were elected in the first meeting of the central MAI.⁷¹

1.5. Funds of Working Committee

Subject to the approval of the working committee the funds of the Central Majlis had been deposited in a reputable bank in the name of the central MAI. The treasurer had kept an amount Rs of 2000 with him as advance. The funds of the Majlis were deposited in fix or current account as occasion demands.⁷²

⁷⁰ *Dastur* (Multan: Markazi Shu'bah Nashreat Majlis-i-Khudam-i-Shu'bah Pakistan, 1966), 55.

⁷¹ *Dastur-ul-Amal Majlis Markazia Ahrār-i-Islam Hind*, 5.

⁷² *The Ahrār Movement in the Punjab (1931-38)*, (Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing Punjab, 1939), 8.

1.6. Working of Provincial Organization

By August 1931 central provincial organization had been formed with these as office bearers: President Syed Bukhari, Vice President Ghulam Murshid, Muhammad Amin, Dr. Abdul Qazi, Secretary Daud Ghaznavi, Mawlana Mazhar, Sheikh Muhammad Hayat, Financial Secretary Muhammad Din and auditor Shafaat Ullah Khan. In addition to these Afzal Haq and Ghazi Abdul Rahman formed the Executive Council of the party.⁷³

By the early 1930s, the MAI had become an important religio-political party in British Punjab due to its mobilization on socio-religious and political issues in Kashmir and Kapurthala. Besides this, the MAI also played an important role in the political developments of British India. The MAI political career can be divided into two segments first, MAI's response to political and constitutional issues and second its performance in electoral politics.⁷⁴

1.7. Meetings of MAI

First meeting of MAI was convened in March 1930 under the president ship of Chaudhry Afzal Haq. In this meeting Syed Bukhārī in his addressed and asked the public for co-operation for religious rights and national unity.⁷⁵ Ata-ullah-Shah Bukhārī, Sheikh Hussamuddin, Ḥabīb-ur-Rahman, Mazhar Ali Azhar, Syed Daud Ghaznavi and Khawājah Abdul Rahman Ghazi, Haq decided to re-energize the MAI. For this purpose, MAI organized a political conference on July 1931 in Lahore. On July 11 and 12 1931 the political conference was held at Habibia Hall Islamia College Lahore under president ship

⁷³ *Dastur*, 65-66.

⁷⁴ Samina Awan, "Mobilization in British Punjab: Anti-Colonial and Anti-Imperialist Politics of Ahrars." *South Asian Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 1, (January 2009): 96-118.

⁷⁵ Syed Kafeel Bukhārī, *Majlis-i-Aḥrār-i-Islam, Tārīkh o T'āruf Khidmāt o Ahdaf* (Multan: Shu'bah Taḥaffuẓ-i-Khatam-i-Nabuwwat Majlis-i-Aḥrār-i-Islam, 2014), 12.

of Mawlana Ḥabīb-ur-Rahman Ludhianvi. There were six sessions of conference. Mawlana Mazhar in the inaugural speech, explained that MAI will work for the rights of the poor, and condemned the British capitalist system, which has burdened the deprived.

⁷⁶Mawlana Ghazanvi presented the resolutions. Chaudhry Afzal Haq, Sheikh Hussamuddin and Syed Bukhārī delivered speeches in favor of the resolutions.⁷⁷

Addressing the audience, Mawlana Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥmān declared:

I want to tell all the nations of Hindustan in clear words that the Aḥrār do not want to do any injustice to any other nation. However, they are not prepared to live as a scheduled caste. The Muslims are equally entitled to the share in the Indian affairs.⁷⁸

Sahibzada Faiz-ul-Hasan in his speech said that socialism is a reformist ideology that is better than capitalism, fascism and other ideologies, it is better for the poor. He also demanded an equal circulation of wealth and possessions among the people.⁷⁹ Sheikh Hussamuddin enlightened the economic backwardness of Muslims and encouraged the Muslims for material progress and social uplift. Many issues were discussed in the conference.⁸⁰ In the concluding session, Mawlana Mazhar Ali Azhar moved the most important resolution which demanded “the retention of separate electorates until the Hindus abandoned their negative attitude towards the Muslims”.⁸¹

1.8. Establishment of *Jaish-i-Aḥrār*

The red color⁸² flag with a white crescent and a star in the middle was approved in 1930 by the working Committee of MAI. The Aḥrār leaders decided a red-color uniform for the

⁷⁶ Haq, *Tārīkh-i-Aḥrār*, 156-158.

⁷⁷ Ghulām Nabī Bakhsh, *Mir-e-Karvan* (Lahore: Maktabah Tabsarah, 1975), 120-121

⁷⁸ Iftikhar H. Malik, *Sikandar Hayat Khan (1892-1942)*, 55.

⁷⁹ *Daily Inqilab*, (Lahore), July, 15 1931.

⁸⁰ *Police Abstract Intelligence*, 11 July 1931, vol, 3, no. 29, 455.

⁸¹ *Daily. Inqilab*, (Lahore), July, 15 1931.

⁸² The decision to wear red color was made in the memory of those Khudai Khidmatgars who died in an armed clash with the British in Qissa Khawani Bazar, Peshawar on 23 April 1930.

Ahrar's volunteers who regularly drilled with a band and a drum and carried hatchets. The tasks which were assigned to *Jaish-i-Ahrār* were to provide political, social and welfare services. Because of these efforts MAI became the popular party among the masses of the Punjab.⁸³

1.9. The MacLagan Engineering College Agitation and Ahrār

The MacLagan Engineering College was located in Lahore, which taught science education to students in Punjab. The MacLagan Engineering College trouble arose when series of articles were published in the *Muslim Outlook* criticizing Captain Whittaker, the Principal of the college and the administration of the institution.⁸⁴ On May 12, 1931 Professor Siddique of the college who was thought to be the person who had inspired the articles, told another Professor in the presence of students of the college that principal had misused Rs 30,000. This was reported to Captain Whittaker who suspended Professor Siddique. A delegation of Muslim students met the Principal on May 13, 1931 and asked the principal to think over his decision but Principal openly expressed his hatred against Muslim community and affirmed himself as to be steadfast opponent of Islam.⁸⁵

On May 28, 1931, 59 Muslim students strike against the principal of college by alleging that he showed hostility towards Muslims students. The Rasul Engineering College students also went on strike on the same day against their Hindu Principal. All the Muslims press and *Anjumans* protested against the principal's attitude towards Muslims.⁸⁶ A meeting was held at the residence of Allama Iqbal, some students of the

⁸³ Bukhārī, *Majlis-i-Ahrār-i-Islam, Tārīkh o T'āruf Khidmat o Ahdaf*, 13.

⁸⁴ *The Ahrār Movement in the Punjab*, 8.

⁸⁵ Daily, *Inqilab*, (Lahore), June, 2, 1931.

⁸⁶ Muhammad Rafique Afzal (eds), *Gufar-i-Iqbal* (Lahore: Idārah Tehqīqat-i-Pakistan, 1969), 122.

college also attended this meeting.⁸⁷ MAI launched a movement against Principal; the Muslim press supported the MAI stance.⁸⁸ MAI gained the support of public and protested against the Punjab Government. After the considerable resentment against the Principal amongst Muslim urban circles and on June 19, 1931 an official committee was appointed to inquire into the matter. Government endorsed these views, but added that before being taken back, the students should express regret for their actions.⁸⁹

Officially MAI stepped into this protest on September 10, 1931. Muhammad Daud Ghaznavi called for public meeting and it was addressed by Syed Bukhārī, Ahmed Ali Lahori, and Lal Din Kaiser, they advised the students not to appear in entrance examinations planned for September 17, 1931. MAI also invited *jathas* from the other towns of Punjab for this purpose. Police started *lathi* charge to disperse the crowd. Syed Bukhārī, Daud Ghaznavi and Ghulām Murshad were arrested.⁹⁰

On September 22, 1931 a deputation including Mawlana Mazhar went to Simla for dialogue with Punjab Government. As a result of this dialogue Government of the Punjab agreed that protestors students should return to college after signing apology and all cases against concerned persons will be withdrawn. Principal Whittaker will remain as Principal. The agreement resolved the issue and it increased the prestige of MAI.⁹¹

1.10. Round Table Conference and Gandhi-Irwin Pact

The British Government sent a statutory Commission under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon (1873-1954) to investigate the working of diarchy system in the provinces and to

⁸⁷ Daily *Inqilab*, (Lahore). 2 June, 1931.

⁸⁸ Afzal, *Guftar-i-Iqbal*, 124.

⁸⁹ *The Ahrār Movement in the Punjab (1931-38)*, 7-8.

⁹⁰ Mirza, *Karvan-i-Ahrār*, Vol I, 163.

⁹¹ *The Ahrār Movement in the Punjab (1931-38)*, 8.

prepare future constitutional recommendation. In 1928, INC convened All Parties Conference committee to prepare constitutional recommendations, known as Nehru Report, which encompassed joint electorate and 1/4th representation for Muslims that was totally intolerable for Muslims. Consequently, Jinnah had presented his famous 14 points as the Muslim demands in March 1929 containing the future recommendations for constitution.⁹²

In October 1929, Lord Irwin (1881-1959) made an announcement of holding the of Round Table Conference (RTC) in London. In this conference British Government would meet with the representatives of India and Princely States for the agreement on constitutional suggestions.⁹³ At that time INC was busy in Civil Disobedient Movement.⁹⁴ The Civil disobedience movement was started against authoritarian policies of British Government under the leadership of Gandhi. The movement continued for four years from 1930 to 1934. MAI leaders took an active part and cooperated with Congress in the movement with zeal.⁹⁵

In 1929, INC passed resolution of "Complete Independence" at Lahore, where Gandhi declared January 26, 1930 as 'Independence Day'. Gandhi enlisted many demands in his resolution such as : prohibition of intoxicants, to change the ratio between the Indian Rupee and 50% reduction in the rate of land revenue, abolition of salt law,⁹⁶

⁹² Safdar Mahmood, *Pakistan Political Roots and Development 1947-1999* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), 12.

⁹³ Q.D Aziz, *Quaid e Azam Jinnah and the Battle for Pakistan* (Karachi: The Islamic Media Corporation, 1997), 50.

⁹⁴ K. Punniyah, *The Constitutional History of India*. (Allahabad: East Publishers, 1938), 313.

⁹⁵ Ram Gopal, *Indian Muslims: A political History, 1858-1947* (Lahore: Asia Publishers, 1976), 224.

⁹⁶ Taxation of salt has occurred in India since the early times. However, this tax was greatly increased when the British East India Company began to establish its rule over provinces in India. In 1835, special taxes were imposed on Indian salt to facilitate its import. This paid huge dividends for the traders of the BEIC. When the Crown took over the administration of India from the Company in 1858, the taxes were not replaced. The stringent salt taxes imposed by the British were vehemently condemned by the Indian public. In 1885, at the first session of

reduce the expenditure of military affairs, reduce the expenditure of civil administration, impose custom duty on foreign clothes, accept the postal reservation bill, abolish the C.I.D. department or give its control to the citizens, release all the political prisoners, issue licenses of arms to citizens for self-protection.⁹⁷ He wrote a letter to Lord Irwin, the Viceroy of India on March 2, 1930 requesting him to acknowledge his demands or otherwise he had to face the Salt *Satyagraha*.⁹⁸

Lord Irwin did not accept the demands of Gandhi. Then Gandhi started the Salt *Satyagraha* March on March 12, 1930 to break the salt law at Dandi from Sabarmathi Ashram with 87 Satyagrahis.⁹⁹ Gandhi and his fellow satyagrahis reached Dandi on April 5, 1930 Gandhi who himself broke the salt law by picking salt lying on the Dandi beach on April 6, 1930.¹⁰⁰ Gandhi also requested his countrymen to start this movement in their areas also. The people all over India responded to the appeal of Gandhi. The movement affected Indian markets because Indians boycotted British clothes and liquor. This movement got support from all over the Sub-Continent.¹⁰¹ This movement was different in nature from non-cooperation movement and Civil Disobedience movement.¹⁰² The core theme of this movement was to pressurize British.

the INC in Bombay, a prominent Congress Leader, S. A. Swaminatha Iyer raised the issue of the salt tax. There were further protests throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries culminating in Gandhi's Salt *Satyagraha* in 1930.

⁹⁷ Sharma LP, *Indian National Movement* (Agra: LNA Publication, 2010), 147.

⁹⁸ The word *Satyagraha* is a compound of two Sanskrit nouns, *Satya* which means "truth" and *Agraha* which means "grasp".

⁹⁹ G. Venkatesan, *History of Freedom Struggle in India* (Coimbatore: VC Publications, 1980), 290-91.

¹⁰⁰ V. Venkatraman, "Salt March at Madras: Indian Press on the Repressive Measures of the British on Satyagrahis of Marina Beach *Satyagraha* in Tamilnadu, 1930-1931" (August 28, 2019): 8. Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=3444444>.

¹⁰¹ Anthony Parel and M. Brown Judith (ed), *The Cambridge Companion to Gandhi* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 53.

¹⁰² S. K Majumdar, *Jinnah and Gandhi: Their Role in India's Quest for Freedom*, (Lahore: People's Publishing House, 1976), 120.

After this British Government started giving response to Civil Disobedient Movement and Gandhi-Irwin pact was signed. It declared in this pact that INC will participate in the second session of RTC the INC would halt the civil disobedience movement, withdrawal of all ordinances that curbed the activities of the Congress, withdrawal of all prosecutions except those involving violent crimes, release of those who were arrested for taking part in the civil disobedience movement, removal of the salt tax.¹⁰³

The MAI leadership was greatly disheartened by the Gandhi-Irwin Pact in 1931. Their main grievance centered on two points: firstly, they were not being consulted before conclusion of the pact and secondly, their leaders did not get any political relief as most INC political prisoners were released after the pact while MAI's members remained in jail. Therefore, MAI decided to adopt totally independent course of action and in this regard, they organized its first conference in Lahore on July 11, 1931.¹⁰⁴ Later, Gandhi released from jail and the civil-disobedience movement was ended. In 1931 Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed, in return Congress decided to attend the second session of RTC which disappointed the MAI leadership.¹⁰⁵

1.11. Communal Award in 1932

The Award was an inevitable necessity for removing the communal deadlock, which had been blocking progress at the second session of RTC. The Prime Minister Ramsay Macdonald gave repeated warnings that if parties failed to agree, he would have to decide because even the communal deadlock could not be allowed to stand in the way of the

¹⁰³ Stanley Wolpert, *Gandhi's Passion: The Life and Legacy of Mahatma Gandhi* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 149.

¹⁰⁴ Mirza, *Karvan-i-Ahrār*, Vol, I, 150.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*, 186.

RTC proceeding with its deliberations for making its report. The Prime Minister warned the parties that his own decision might not be satisfactory. The three sessions of RTC ended with an announcement of communal award. The British government published communal award on August 4, 1932, which gave the Muslim community a thin majority in the Punjab and Bengal legislature. In Punjab, where the proportion of Muslims, Hindus, and Sikh was 57.10%, 27% and 13% of the total population respectively; they were given 49%, 27% and 18% of the provincial seats in the assembly. Similarly, in Bengal where the percentage of Muslims and Hindus was 55% and 43% respectively, they were given 48% and 43% of the total seats in legislature.¹⁰⁶

The Communal Award completely split the electorate by giving statutory recognition to minorities not only on the basis of religion but also on the basis of community, class, and caste divisions. The Award considered the Muslims, Sikhs and Christians as minorities. It also created new classes such as the commercial and industrial classes, landholders' classes, labor classes. The communal Award also included provision for the 'Untouchables' that they had the right of separate electorate.¹⁰⁷

The communal award was not popular among any communities. The Muslims League was also disappointed. The MAI criticized the Award as it did not consider the demand of Muslims of 33 % representation in the central legislature. In December 1932, the MAI formed a sub-committee to suggest a formula for the communal award issue.¹⁰⁸ It was to be discussed at the Allahabad conference in March 1933. No agreed formula could be worked out in the session and the MAI left with no option but to accept the Communal Award.

¹⁰⁶ Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, *The Struggle for Pakistan*. (Karachi: Karachi University Press, 2000), 54.

¹⁰⁷ Sujay Biswas, "Gandhi, Ambedkar and British policy on the communal award," *Studies in People's History*, 5, 1 (2018): 50.

¹⁰⁸ *Indian Annual Register*, January-June, 1933, Vol, 1,267.

1.12. Kashmir Movement and Ahrār

On Kashmir Movement front, the MAI fought and rendered exemplary sacrifices. The state of Jammu and Kashmir was one of the larger princely states as its geographical location was strategically important. The Muslims of the region were deprived of basic human rights and were barred from public offices. Muslims faced limitations and ban was imposed on some of religious ceremonies. The restrictions were spread even on the mosques and graveyards of the Muslim community.¹⁰⁹ Kashmir was unfortunate land which was enchained in poverty as well as slavery of the tyrant Maharaja rule.¹¹⁰ Kashmir movement started in 1930, in which the Ahrār took an active stand against the policies of the Maharajah of Kashmir in the state. On April 29, 1931 when an *Imam* was reciting the *Khuṭbah* of Eid prayer, a Dogra sub-inspector ordered him to stop the *Khuṭbah*. Since it was a clear intervention in the established Islamic practices, the Muslims of Jammu were infuriated.¹¹¹

On August 9, 1931 a soldier of state police was reading Quran in his barrack, when a head constable Ludhuram snatched Quran from him and threw it on the ground. This sad incident enraged Muslims.¹¹² Abdul Qādir Pathan, a servant of British Army official who came to the valley as a cook of a European Major, was arrested by the state authorities for delivering stirring speeches on June 25, 1931. It further enflamed the situation and during the trial Abdul Qādir, the frantic Muslims mob at Srinagar clashed

¹⁰⁹ *The Ahrār Movement in the Punjab (1931-38)*, 9.

¹¹⁰ Rafiq Akhter, *The Great Orator: A Biography of Amir-i-Shariat Syed Ataullah Shah Bukhārī* (Multan: Tehrik Tahaffuẓ Khatam-i-Nabuwwat, Shu‘bah-i-Tablīgh, 1988), 52.

¹¹¹ Mirza Shafique Hussain, *History of Kashmir: A study in Documents 1916-1939*, (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1992), 17.

¹¹² *Daily Inqilab*, (Lahore), June, 9, 1931 and Ikram Ali Malik, “Pakistan Resolution and Unionist Party”, in K. F. Yusuf et al. (eds), *Pakistan Resolution Revisited* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1990), 347-66.

with the police in July 1931. The police opened fire and killed 21 Muslims and injured many more. After the firing the matter took a grave turn. The Muslims public opinion was by then convinced that Dogra Government and the Hindus were acting in collusion with each other.¹¹³

The Muslims of the Punjab could not remain silent over such massacre. They proceeded to form a committee for resolving the grievances of Muslims in Kashmir and helping them to get out of their downtrodden state. The Kashmir agitation in the Punjab was spontaneous expression of sympathy with the Kashmiri Muslims who were being subjected to ruthless oppression by the Hindu Maharaja. A campaign in the press against the Muslim grievances led to a communal riot in Srinagar, the capital of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, on July 13, 1931.¹¹⁴

Under these circumstances, All India Kashmir Committee was formed on July 25, 1931 and Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Amir Jamā'at-i-Ahmediyah was appointed as its president while, Abdur Rahim Dard also an Ahmedi became its general secretary. Allama Muhammad Iqbal, Nawwāb Sir Zulfikar Ali Khan, Khawājah Hassan Nizāmī and Nawwāb Ibrahim Ali Khan were also nominated as its member.¹¹⁵ MAI informed Iqbal about the Qadiani conspiracy that these people wanted to grab the leadership of the Muslims of Kashmir at the behest of the British.¹¹⁶ So Iqbal resigned from committee. Another Kashmir Committee was formed, and MAI was given the responsibility to head it. On August 18, 1931 the executive committee of Ahrār decided to run Kashmir movement in a well-organized manner.¹¹⁷ "Kashmir Day" was observed throughout the

¹¹³ Hussain, *History of Kashmir: A study in Documents 1916- 1939*, 16.

¹¹⁴ *The Ahrār Movement in the Punjab (1931-38)*, 7.

¹¹⁵ Daily, *Inqalab*, (Lahore), July, 31, 1931.

¹¹⁶ *The Ahrār Movement in the Punjab (1931-38)*, 9.

¹¹⁷ Akhtar, *The Great Orator*, 53.

Punjab and at Lahore 10,000 people attended the public meeting organized by the Aḥrār. Mawlana Mazhar was appointed as 'dictator'. It was decided that a delegation would be sent to Srinagar under the leadership of Mawlana Mazhar in September to inquire into the matter and to hold talks with the Maharaja of Kashmir.¹¹⁸

The Aḥrār party played an important role in creating awareness among the Muslims in Kashmir State, and British government against the mistreatment of Dogra. MAI adopted the method of demonstrations, strikes, agitations, and finally the civil disobedience movement was launched to achieve the party's goals.¹¹⁹

On September 4, 1931, Aḥrār delegation was allowed by the State authorities to enter in Kashmir.¹²⁰ Maharaja offered them to stay as a state guest in a well-furnished house boat. The offer was readily accepted by the Aḥrār leaders.¹²¹ It was a blunder on the part of the Aḥrār because while the talks were in progress between the Prime Minister and the Aḥrār leaders, there were rumors in the city that the Aḥrār leaders were even ready to neutralize the anti-Kashmir movement in Punjab against a heavy amount which they needed very badly to promote their organization against AIML and Khāksār movement.¹²² However, the Aḥrār delegation returned from Kashmir without any achievement because of non-cooperation of Kashmiri leaders.

The working committee of the Aḥrār met on 1 October, 1931 and decided to launch civil disobedience movement.¹²³ On October 3, 1931 a band of about 119 Aḥrār volunteers led by Mawlana Mazhar were arrested by the Sialkot authorities. The *Jathas* of

¹¹⁸ Daily, *The Tribune*, August, 18, 1931.

¹¹⁹ Muhammad Iqbal Chawla, "Role of the Majlis-i-Aḥrār Islam in the Kashmir Movement of 1931. *Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies*, (2011):90.

¹²⁰ Mirza, *Karwan-i-Aḥrār*, Vol, 1, 185-187.

¹²¹ *Ibid*, 46.

¹²² Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah, *Aitish Chinar* (Srinagar: Shaukat Publication, 1985), 139-140.

¹²³ Mirza, *Karwan-i-Aḥrār*, Vol, 1, 193.

the Aḥrār volunteers were constantly being sent to the border of Kashmir, where they were arrested by the state authorities. Within three days, 1500 volunteers had been arrested by the Kashmir state authorities. Maharaja withdrew his restriction on Muslims religious observance and released all political prisoners on October 5, 1931 on the occasion of his birthday. Consequently, such positive actions led the Aḥrār to stop the civil disobedience movement temporarily. On October 9, 1931 Mawlana Mazhar visited second time Srinagar along with Chaudhry Afzal Haq, Hussam-ud-Din and Ghulām Muhammad. Mawlana Mazhar negotiated with the Prime Minister and Governor of Jammu but these negotiations could not satisfy the former and the Aḥrār re-mobilized the volunteers after coming back from State ¹²⁴

One of the reasons behind the MAI leadership being unhappy was the presence of the representatives of the Kashmir committee who were paid more attention by the local Kashmiri leaders like Sheikh Abdullah (1905-1982) and others.¹²⁵ As in case of their first visit to the Kashmir state, the members of Aḥrār delegation accepted the honor of being state guests again and their activities were limited to the houseboat. On the other hand, the representatives of the Kashmir committee were working for the people giving economic and legal assistance to the workers being trailed by state, visiting the houses of the martyrs and prisoner helping and consoling them. In this situation it was natural that people of Kashmir were attracted towards the Kashmir committee. Secondly the Kashmir committee was dominated by the Ahmedis, and the memorial being prepared for submission to the Maharaja by the Kashmir leadership was comparable to what the Kashmir Committee suggested. This annoyed the MAI leadership.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ *The Aḥrār Movement in Punjab*, 12.

¹²⁵ Abdullah, *Aitish Chinar*, 141.

¹²⁶ *Ibid*, 142.

Mawlana Mazhar conversation with the Prime Minister and Governor of Jammu left him convinced that they are playing with Ahrār against the All-India Kashmir Committee and that none of its promises were to be relied upon. He and his followers returned to the Punjab and the bands of volunteer's were gathered at Sialkot from the different cities of Punjab. Muhammad Daud Ghaznavi, Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥmān, Chaudhry Afzal Haq and Syed Bukhārī upsurge the enthusiasm by their speeches and on October 30, 1931 Mawlana Mazhar along with hundred followers again entered Jammu territory and were arrested. He was punished for two years, and rest of his followers was awarded one-year punishment. After the arrest of Mawlana Mazhar, Sheikh Hassam-u-din was appointed as the next dictator.¹²⁷

Kashmiri Muslims given a memorial to the Maharaja setting out their grievances and demanded that MAI leaders and volunteers should be released otherwise they will start civil disobedience movement. From the beginning of November onwards the agitation gained momentum. The situation in Kashmir further aggravated by the firing of police on November 3 at Jammu killing at least nine persons including Sheikh Illahi Bakhsh, a MAI volunteer.¹²⁸ The corpse of this volunteer was paraded at Gujrat, Gujranwala and Lahore and finally he was buried in Jhang district in the presence of 12000 people.¹²⁹

1.13. Glancy Commission

The Glancy commission was appointed under the orders of Maharaja Hari Singh on November 12, 1931 to investigate the grievances of the Muslims community. On April 10, 1932 this commission presented its report to Maharaja. After the presentation of this

¹²⁷ Mirza, *Karvan-i-Ahrār*, Vol, 1, 209.

¹²⁸ *Indian Annual Register 1931*, II, 23.

¹²⁹ *The Ahrār Movement in the Punjab (1931-38)*, 12.

report Ahrar's activities in Kashmir came to an end. The British government in India had also imposed restrictions on political activities. The Ahrār also suffered from such political constraints. On the recommendations of the Glancy Commission, Maharaja announced certain reforms in Kashmir. Because of the agitation of Ahrār in Kashmir their leaders were arrested and imprisoned in Punjab, Kashmir and other provinces. At this stage, the Ahrār party also began to realize that they had played their role long enough for the cause of the Kashmir state.¹³⁰

The enthusiasm of this movement came to respite because of Ramzan. Mawlana Kifayatullah and Ch. Afzal Haq met Sikandar Hayat, the Revenue Minister of Punjab government, in connection with Kashmir agitation but the talks could not prove fruitful.¹³¹ Meanwhile the agitation continued to die away. The attempts of raising funds and collection of volunteers also met with a little success.¹³² The position of Ahrār was further affected by the mutual squabbles between the Lahore district branch and the central MAI regarding misappropriation of funds.¹³³

1.14. MAI Women Wing

MAI wanted to raise the feelings of women for the arena of politics. So at the residence of Mazhar Ali Azhar on March 5, 1930 in Lahore the meeting of women was held and *Khawateen-i-Ahrār* was established. Begum Chaudhry Abdul Sattar commissioner Ferozpur was appointed as President, Begum Mawlana Mazhar Ali Azhar, Begum Mawlana Abdullah, B A Kasur and Begum Sheikh Abdul Hameed as Vice President and Begum Khawājah Ghulām Muhammad Lahore as *Nāẓim-i-Ala*. The meeting passed some

¹³⁰ Chawla, "Role of the Majlis-i-Ahrār Islam in the Kashmir Movement of 1931," 16.

¹³¹ *Police Abstract of Intelligence Punjab*, January, 9, 1932.

¹³² *Ibid*, January, 16, 1932.

¹³³ *Ibid*, January, 23, 1932.

resolutions through which the MAI women wing invited all Hindustani women to establish MAI branches in their respective areas to struggle against the Dogra rule in Kashmir and to give permission to their husbands and brothers to work for MAI. The meeting also viewed that if the men will not continue their struggle against the oppressive rule of Dogra then women will work for Kashmiri Muslims.¹³⁴

After the arrest of Chaudhry Afzal Haq on April 18, 1932 during Kashmir movement, Aḥrār women also presented themselves for arrest on Sialkot front. So, a caravan of women went to Sialkot under the leadership of Begum Chaudhry Abdul Sattar commissioner Ferozpur along Begum Mawlana Ubaidullah, Begum Azeem Khan, Begum Moulvi Ali Muhammad Headmaster, Begum Moulvi Abdul Raḥīm and sister of Mawlana Ubaidullah. The caravan was equipped with daggers. After visiting same villages of Ferozpur, the caravan reached Sialkot and all women were arrested and imprisoned for six months.¹³⁵

1.15. MAI and Kapurthala State Issue

The MAI leadership was also involved in a powerful agitation in the Sikh princely state of Kapurthala.¹³⁶ This state was situated on west of the River Beas. and although it had a Sikh ruler, Maharaja Jagjeet where 57% of the population was Muslim. Mostly, the Muslims were poor farmer. The poor farmers were paying the taxes to state, but the state spent Rs. 8440 on poor Muslims as stipends and charity whereas Rs. 68,338 was allocated for the welfare of non-Muslims.¹³⁷ The agitation in Kashmir aroused the feelings of

¹³⁴ Mirza, *Karwan-i-Aḥrār*, Vol, 1, 223-224.

¹³⁵ Mirza, *Karwan-i-Aḥrār*, Vol, 1, 273.

¹³⁶ *Ibid*, 324-9.

¹³⁷ Haq, *Tārīkh-i-Aḥrār*, 165.

discontentment among the Muslim Rajputs who resided in the Begowal area of Kapurthala who endured mistreatment at the hands of Hindu moneylenders.¹³⁸

The MAI formed a deputation comprising Abdul Ghaffar Ghaznavi and Abdul Ghaffar Akhtar on April 27, 1934 to investigate the matters of Phagwara, Begowal and Sultanpur. The deputation find out that it is the negligence of state authority. The central committee of MAI had announced that it would memorialize 11 May as the Sultanpur day.¹³⁹ The state government also published its report on June 7, 1934 that inspector general of police, Major Kothewala, was guilty for the massacre and he was immediately dismissed. Nevertheless, this hardly brought any satisfaction to the MAI. Its leadership demanded far severer action and claimed that the state authorities had enacted a mockery of justice.¹⁴⁰ The Kapurthala Movement was a very important link in the chain of events that enhanced the credibility of the MAI.

1.16. MAI and Qadianiat

The founder of the Ahmediyya community Mirza Ghulām Ahmed of Qadian (1835-1908), belonged to a Mughal family of Samarkand which migrated to Punjab in 1530 and settled in Gurdaspur district. This family kept the offices of decency under the royal government. During the regime of Ranjit Singh, Mirza Ghulām Ahmed's father, Ghulām Murtaza, received it back into favor and with his brothers performed efficient services in the army of Maharaja on the Kashmir frontier and at other places.¹⁴¹ After the annexation of the Punjab by the British, Jagirs of the family were returned to them and pension was also granted to Ghulām Murtaza and his brothers, and they preserved their exclusive

¹³⁸ Qāsimī, *Mufaker-i-Ahrar*, 174-5.

¹³⁹ Abdullah Malik, *Panjab Ki Sīyāsī Tahrikain* (Lahore: Kausar Publishers, 1973), 203-4.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 204.

¹⁴¹ Freeland Abbott, *Islam and Pakistan* (New York: Cornwell University Press, 1968), 148-62.

rights in Qadian and the neighboring villages. This family also provided their services during the War of 1857.¹⁴²

In 1876, Mirza Ghulām Ahmed claimed that he received revelations in 1876. In 1883 he published revelations mentioning himself as messenger and prophet. In 1891 he has declared himself to be the promised Mehdi and Messiah of the Muslims. So, *Ulema* issued *Fatwā* against him and declared him as an infidel. His followers were being known as Ahmedis or Qadianis.¹⁴³ After his death, Hakim Nūr-ud-din¹⁴⁴ (1841-1914) became Khālīfah. His important book is '*Fazl-ul-Kitāb* in which he has highlighted the dissemination of the Ahmediyya tenets and doctrine. After the death of Nūr-ud-din, the Ahmediyya sect was divided into two groups: one follows Mirza Ghulām Ahmad as their prophet and was known as Qadianis and the other group comprised more educated Ahmedis they consider Mirza Ghulām Ahmad as reformer not as prophet known as Lahori group. Both had different newsletters; *Al Fazl* represented Qadianis and *Paīghām-i-Sulah* Lahori group.¹⁴⁵

Since 1914, they maintained their loyalty to the British government. During the riots of 1923-27, they were against *Shuddhi* movement. When Hindu-Muslim communal relations began to improve, they lost their political influence. In 1930, a group hostile to Mirza Bashir-ud-Din started a newspaper called *Mubahila* to conduct anti-Qadian propaganda and it attracted the MAI's attention.¹⁴⁶ On October 19-20, 1931 *Mubahila* conference was organized by the disillusioned Ahmedis, activated by the MAI,

¹⁴² *The Ahmadiyya Sect: Notes on the Origin, Development and History of the Movement*. 1.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ He was born in Bhera in 1841. He has studied Islamic theology, logic and philosophy. He went to Mecca and Medina and spent his time under the *Ulema* of the country.

¹⁴⁵ Spencer Lavan, *The Ahmadiyya Movement* (Delhi: Manohar, 1974), 125.

¹⁴⁶ Awan, *Political Islam in Colonial Punjab*, 80.

with the object of enhancing the influence of MAI among the Muslim community. This conference has enhanced the anti-Ahmedis feelings in the several parts of the province.¹⁴⁷

During the years of 1932 and 1933, MAI remained socially and politically inactive and confined its activities to occasional denunciations of the Ahmedis on the platform and in the press. On March 4, 1933 the working committee of MAI met in Lahore and approved a number of resolutions in the presence of Syed Bukhārī, Afzal Haq and Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥmān. To accelerate the campaign against Qadianis MAI formed a separate department *Da'wat-o-Irshad*. MAI also started fund raising for starting a newspaper and organizing a volunteer corps of 100,000 people.¹⁴⁸ Throughout the summer of 1933, this campaign became more aggressive, and suggestions were given for the removal of Ahmedis from schools, colleges, and other Muslim institutions.

MAI also reinforced a social boycott, to prevent Ahmedis entry into the central and provincial assemblies, municipal committees and local bodies. In October, 1933 MAI decided to occupy the building of *Mubahila* newspaper and also used it for conducting anti-Ahmedis campaign. Ahmedis demolished the building and built toilets on the site and later they attached some small houses to these toilets.¹⁴⁹ On March 5, 1933 was declared by Ahmedis as 'Tablīgh Day' and twelve days later Aḥrār leadership staged 'Tablīgh Day' in Lahore and Batala where Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥmān and Syed Bukhārī spoke against Ahmedis.¹⁵⁰

On October 22, 1933 Aḥrār started parade on the streets of Lahore and also chanted anti-Ahmedis slogans. In the public meeting, they promoted a social boycott of

¹⁴⁷ *The Ahmadiyya Sect*, 14.

¹⁴⁸ *The Ahmadiyya Sect*, 15.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 15.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid*, 35.

the Ahmedis. The year of 1934 showed that there was a move towards a greater exercise of autonomy, and the establishment of a separate religio-social set up for Ahmediyya community at Qadian. Some of its local manifestation was existence of, a body of volunteers who were allowed to use arms for musketry practice. Second, Ahmediyya courts known as “*Idārah-i-Faujdari*.” A doctrine purporting to be a “summons” a “defendant” in a Qadian “court” came to notice. Mirza Bashir-ud-Din “established a parallel government” in Qadian by introducing the “Mahmudia Penal Code” which was openly contrary to British Laws. Third, the *Sīyāsī Anjuman-i-Ahmediyya*, apparently a body interested in political welfare of Ahmedis.¹⁵¹

This movement gained momentum in September 1934 when MAI arranged a big procession called *Aḥrār Tablīgh* conference, held at Qadian. Syed Bukhārī led the conference. This conference attracted 12,000 people.¹⁵² The level of public interest and hostility towards Ahmedis increased, with the legal trial of Syed Bukhārī by Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud in court. The Punjab Government provided security to the head of Ahmediyya community.

In November 1934 Mawlana Ḥabīb-ur-Rahman started a campaign to register at least 100,000 volunteers for the anti-Ahmedis propaganda and 14 December was observed as an ‘anti Qadian Day’ and well attended meetings were held in many centers after Juma prayers against pro-Ahmedis policy of government.¹⁵³ MAI also continued their press campaign against Qadians in *Zamīndār* and *Aḥrār*. From the winter of 1933-34 *Aḥrār*-Ahmedis tensions became more and more severe.

¹⁵¹ Lavan, *The Ahmadiya Movement*, 116.

¹⁵² *The Aḥrār Movement*, 36.

¹⁵³ *The Ahmadiyya Sect*, 19.

The MAI was planning to buy land in Qadian in order to build a worship place and for this purpose they started fund raising campaign and it resulted in bringing more tensions between the MAI and Ahmedis. In the meantime, several anti-Ahmedis pamphlets, including *Khanchvan Nabī*, *Panj Tang Pak* and *Hansi Kā Gol Gappa* appeared and were officially banned.¹⁵⁴ The situation grew worse, when during an Ahmediyya meeting at Qadian on January 23, 1935; the crowd used abusive language for the police and district officials. Orders were issued under Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code, prohibiting the MAI political conference within the small town and revenue estate of Qadian.¹⁵⁵ The Ahrār publication *Mazhabi Daku*, aroused considerable resentment among the Ahmedis community and the book was duly banned. In various MAI meetings, resolutions were passed forbidding the burial of Ahmedis in Muslim graveyards.¹⁵⁶

MAI took the full advantage of rising resentment against Ahmedis and continue their campaign. The energies of MAI dissipated because of the other fronts that they had opened against the Unionists and British, who skillfully fanned the difference between the leading Ahrār. In 1935 Fazl-i-Husain avoided the MAI and developed close relationship with Ahmedis. This relationship has upset the Ahrār leadership.¹⁵⁷ Ahrār fire bands like Syed Bukhārī, Afzal Haq, Shorish Kashmiri and Mawlana Mazhar began to denounce Mian Fazl-i-Husain in public speeches and won considerable popular support for their position.¹⁵⁸ The subsequent conflict between the MAI and the Ahmedis was

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 20.

¹⁵⁵ *The Ahmadiyya Sect*, 19-20.

¹⁵⁶ Awan, *Political Islam in Colonial Punjab*, 85.

¹⁵⁷ Afzal Haq, *Tārīkh-i-Ahrār*, 177-78.

¹⁵⁸ Waheed Ahmed, (ed), *Diary and Notes of Fazl-i-Husain* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1977), 141.

largely due to the mutual hostility arising from there having been opposite camps during this Kashmir agitation too.

1.17. *Shubah Tablīgh Tahaffuz-i-Khatam-i-Nabuwat*

MAI decided to establish the department of *Tablīgh Tahaffuz-i-Khatam-i-Nabuwat* with an aim to engage the people in this department who are not taking part in political activities. So, the working committee of MAI in his meetings on July 21-23, 1934 at Amritsar laid the foundation of *Shubah Tablīgh*.¹⁵⁹ The aims and objectives of *Shubah Tablīgh* were to perform the religious tasks as it would have no concern with politics of country, to stop the apostasy in Islam, work for the safeguard of *Aqedah-i- Khatam-i-Nabuwat* and develop the interest of Muslims in preaching Islam and to establish the group of preachers.

The organizational structure of *Shubah Tablīgh* was as such; President: Mian Qamar-ud-din (*Raees Ichchra*, Lahore), vice president: Chaudhry Afzal Haq (Member Punjab Legislative Assembly) and general secretary was Mawlana Abdul Karīm (editor weekly *Mubahilah*, Lahore). The head office of *Shubah Tablīgh* was established at *Ichchra*, Lahore. This department developed awareness among Muslims and created disturbance among the Qadianis.¹⁶⁰

1.18. *The Madah-i-Şahābah Agitation*

The *Madah-i-Şahābah* controversy had been continued since early 20th century in Lucknow, UP. Before the year 1904 both the communities Shias and the Sunnis took part

¹⁵⁹ Syed Muhammad Kafeel Bukhārī, *Majlis-i-Ahrār-Islam. Tārīkh-o-Tāruf, Khidmat-o-Ahdaf* (Multan: Maktabah Ahrār, 2014), 21.

¹⁶⁰ Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrār*, Vol, II, 55-58.

in Muharram processions in Lucknow, but Sunnis started taking out separate Muharram processions and *tazias* after introducing and insisting upon purely Shia customs and traditions by Maqbūl Ahmad of Lucknow and other Shia.¹⁶¹ So Sunnis went to the District Magistrate that Sunnis will not follow the pure Shias customs. The District Magistrate given the permission to Sunnis that you could arrange separate Karbala. Sunnis of Lucknow selected the place 8 km out of city and named this place as *Phol Katora* and the name of old Karbala was *Tal Katora*. The District Magistrate selected the separate routes for two processions to avoid the conflict between Shias and Sunnis. During the processions of Muharram Sunnis started a new practice of reciting poetry in the praise of four *Khālifah* and *Ṣaḥābah* and carrying *charyari* flag, on the other side Shias started *tabbrāh* openly.

During 1907-08 conflicts between the Shias and Sunnis started increasing. The UP government appointed a committee under the chairmanship of the T.C Piggott on October 8, 1908 to look into the matter after receiving complaints from Shia community.¹⁶² The committee submitted its report, that *Madah-i-Ṣaḥābah* must be banned in Lucknow during three days of *Ashura*, *Chehlum* and 21st of Ramzan.¹⁶³ The Sunnis of Lucknow protested against this ban. The banned continued till 1937. Sunnis began to take out regular procession on every day from a local mosque (*Tilawali Mosque*), which worsened the law and order situation in Lucknow. Again an inquiry commission was appointed under the chairmanship of Allsop and Ross, when negotiations between UP Government and the two rivals groups failed.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ Haq, *Tārīkh-i-Aḥrār*, 219.

¹⁶² K. K. Aziz, *A Chronology of Muslim India: 1700-1947* (Islamabad: National Documentation Center, 1977), 165.

¹⁶³ Haq, *Tārīkh-i-Aḥrār*, 222-235.

¹⁶⁴ *Report of Madah-i-Ṣaḥābah Committee*, 1938, 6.

MAI involved in the affair and number of arrests was made in 1936, following a Shia-Sunni riots.¹⁶⁵ The MAI launched a civil disobedience movement on July 10, 1936 and its provincial branch in UP was made in charge of the campaign. The educated class of Lucknow appointed *Madah-i-Şahābah* committee to remove the banned on three days. But government did not lift the ban. By November 1936 more than 1000 volunteers had been courted to arrests and were sentenced to jail.¹⁶⁶

In 1937, MAI pressurized the INC to establish its Ministry in UP to solve this dispute of arrests in Lucknow. Abū'l Kalām Azad reached Lucknow, and formed a committee headed by the chief minister. So, the committee decided to ban *Madah-i-Şahābah* during *Muharram*, whereas they could exercise this right on other occasions. MAI decided to conduct *Mahfil-i-Milād* but police reached on the spot and banned this *Milād* by imposing Section 144. By the end of July 1939, the movement lost its momentum though the Aḥrār leaders tried to keep the agitating movement alive till July 1941 by holding public meetings and arrests.¹⁶⁷

1.19. By-election of 1933

MAI decided to participate in the electoral process in 1930s, because they wanted to influence the constitution-making and law-making process. MAI was the party of urban lower- and middle-class people and they supported the Communal award. The other parties like *Hindu Mahasabah* and *Akali Dal* were against Communal award, so for countering their pressure MAI decided to participate in elections.¹⁶⁸ In June 1933 the working committee of MAI took the decision to participate in by-elections for Punjab

¹⁶⁵ Haq, *Tārīkh-i-Aḥrār*, 212-213.

¹⁶⁶ Awan, *Political Islam in Colonial Punjab*, 91.

¹⁶⁷ Haq, *Tārīkh-i-Aḥrār*, 234.

¹⁶⁸ Awan, *Political Islam in Colonial Punjab*, 107.

Assembly. MAI leaders such as Afzal Haq from Hoshiarpur and Ludhiana of East Punjab participated in three by-elections of the Punjab Assembly. He had been elected in Punjab legislature in the 1924-27 and 1927-30. Mazhar Ali Azhar contested from Gujranwala and also remained member of Punjab legislative council from 1924-1930. Chaudhry Abdur Rahman contested from Ludhiana, Gurdaspur, and Jalandhar areas.¹⁶⁹ MAI participated in the by-elections for the welfare of the poor and deprived Muslim masses.¹⁷⁰

With a strong anti-feudal stance, MAI promised to reform the society in a way that would ensure an equitable social and economic environment for the poor Muslim community of India. MAI believed in direct interaction with masses for their election campaign. They used mosques for their election campaign, converting them into main centers for publicity. They also used corner meeting and organized rallies for their campaign. Afzal Haq was of the view that “newspapers are the tools in the hands of capitalist,” but MAI was blessed with great orators who were a source of publicity.¹⁷¹ MAI won all three seats. Afzal Haq got 1800 votes,¹⁷² Mazhar Ali Azhar obtained 2920 and Chaudhry Abdur Raḥmān obtained 1500 votes.¹⁷³

1.20. The 1934 Election's

The elections of 1934 were held under the Government of India Act 1919 in January-February 1934. Two Aḥrār candidates participated in the elections for the Indian Legislature. Khalid Latif Gauba (1899-1981) a newly converted to Islam supported MAI

¹⁶⁹ *Indian Annual Register*, January-June, 1933, Vol, 1, 217.

¹⁷⁰ Mirza, *Karavan-i-Aḥrār*, Vol. 1. 358.

¹⁷¹ Shorish Kashmiri, *Khuṭbāt-i-Aḥrār* (Lahore: Maktabah-i-Mujahidin, 1944), 74.

¹⁷² Mirza, *Karavan-i-Aḥrār*, Vol, 1, 358.

¹⁷³ *Indian Annual Register*, July-December, 1934, Vol, 1, 28.

during their agitation in Kapurthala state. He has contested for central Assembly from the district Lahore, Ludhiana and Amritsar. Qazi Muhammad Ahmad Kaẓimī was advocate by profession. He contested for central legislature from Meerut and United Provinces.¹⁷⁴ MAI again used the mosque for their election campaign and for fund raising. The election campaign was based on the *muballighs* instead of print media. The fire band of Aḥrār orator like Syed Bukhārī, Sheikh Hussamuddin and other leaders campaigned vigorously in the main cities of Punjab. MAI promoted K.L. Gauba and his book on the life of Prophet (PBUH) as magnificent achievement. They mobilized the urban Muslims to vote for him.¹⁷⁵ Aḥrār party has used its *Shubah-i-Tablīgh* for Gauba's election campaign. Both Aḥrār candidates won the elections.¹⁷⁶

1.21. Government of India Act, 1935

On August 2, 1935 the British Parliament passed the Government of India Act 1935, which provided federal political system for the sub-continent. The important aspect of the Act was that provinces were given the separate legal entities. Three lists of subjects were given in this Act: the federal list, the provincial list and the concurrent list. The division of financial resources was designed to strengthen provincial independence. Sind was separated from Bombay and given the status of a separate province. The full provincial autonomy was given to North-West Frontier Province. Provincial franchise was enlarged by lowering property qualifications. Diarchy was fully abolished from the center. The Council for the Secretary of State for India was abolished and replaced by a body of

¹⁷⁴ Mirza, *Karavan-i-Aḥrār*, Vol, I, 95.

¹⁷⁵ Waheed Ahmed, (ed), *Diary and Notes of Fazl-i-Husain* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1977), 242.

¹⁷⁶ Mirza, *Karavan-i-Aḥrār*, Vol, II, 59.

advisers, not less than three and not more than six. The cost of the Indian office was now to be charged to British revenues.¹⁷⁷

The MAI and the AIML a similar point of view on the federal part of the constitution, MAI preferred to wait and watch. The similarities between the two parties over the constitutional matter brought them closer to each other. In 1936, MAI allied itself with AIML and its leadership accepted the membership of central Muslim league parliamentary board, although this alliance was short lived.¹⁷⁸

1.22. Issue of Shahīd Ganj Mosque

MAI attained a key position in Punjab politics. Punjab always remained in the firm grip of landlords and the lackeys of British Empire. The Shahīd Ganj mosque was constructed during the Sikh rule, and it was located in the *Landā Bāzar*, outside Delhi gate, Lahore.¹⁷⁹ In the same compound, there was a Gurdwara, which was built after the Sikh's possession of Lahore. During their rule over the Punjab, the Sikh seized the mosque and used it for the residence of the Sikh priest. After British occupation of the Punjab in 1849, Shahīd Ganj became a bone of contention between the Muslims and the Sikhs. The Gurdwara was used by the Governors of city during Mughal rule as hall of justice and many Sikhs were executed there.¹⁸⁰ When Sikh occupied Lahore, they devoted this building to the memory of executed Sikhs. As a result of Gurdwara Reform Movement, Gurdwara Act, 1925 was passed by placing all the Sikh Gurdwara under the management of a Sikh

¹⁷⁷ Qureshi, *The Struggle for Pakistan*, 56.

¹⁷⁸ Samina Awan, "Nationalist Politics in the British Punjab: An Alliance between Muslim League Parliamentary Board and Majlis-i-Aḥrār-Islam." *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, Vol, no. 2 (2009):74,

¹⁷⁹ Ashiq Hussain Batalvi, *Iqbal Kay Akhri Do Saal* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1960), 547.

¹⁸⁰ Ganda Singh, *History of the Gurdwara Shahid Ganj Lahore: From its Origin to November 1935* (Lahore: S. Ganda Sing, Khalsa College Amritsar, 1935), 58.

central board known as the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC). This Act declared Shahīd Ganj to be a scheduled Gurdwara and its management was transferred to the local SGPC of Lahore.¹⁸¹

The mosque was converted as source of communal issue between the Muslims and the Sikh. When all the claims of Muslims were rejected by the courts, the Shahīd Ganj communal issue led to a series of violent riots, which greatly disturbed the Sikh-Muslim population of the Punjab, during 1935-36. The tension reached to its extreme when, in 1935, the Sikhs decided to demolish the mosque.¹⁸² On July 1935 Sikhs destroyed the mosque. It became a great shock to the local Muslims and on July 14, 1935, Mawlana Zafar Ali Khan formed the *Majlis-i-Ittihād-i-Millat*, to recruit the volunteers for the agitation against the move to convert the mosque into Gurdwara.¹⁸³

This mosque agitation had its impact on rural as well as on urban areas and prominent Pīrs like Jamā'at Ali Shah (1834-1951), Pir Fazal Shah of Jalalpur, Pir Ghulām Mohy-ud-Din of Golra (1891-1974), Sayed Zain-ul-Abedin Shah Gilani (1885-1960) from Multan and Barelwi Ulema of *Anjuman-i-Hizab-al-Ahnāf*, at Lahore gave their blessings to this campaign.¹⁸⁴ Zafar Ali Khan had developed differences with MAI and joined Shahīd Ganj campaign on his own and stayed away from the conflicts between the MAI and Unionists. Zafar Ali Khan used *Zamīndār* for promoting his ideas. Fazl-i-Husain advised the Muslims to stay calm until a legal settlement of the issue could be arrived at, but the Muslims were bitterly disappointed with MAI.

¹⁸¹ Ibid,3. For details see, Mujeeb Ahmad and Safi Ullah Marwat, "Politics through the Pulpit: The 'Ulamā' and the Cawnpore, Shahid Ganj and Manzil Gah Mosques Incidents", *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, Jan.-June 2021, Vol. XLII. No.1.

¹⁸² *The Ahrār Movement*, 45.

¹⁸³ Awan, *Political Islam in Colonial Punjab*, 86.

¹⁸⁴ *Daily, Zamindar*, (Lahore), September 8, 1935.

Syed Bukhārī announced a separate organization a few days earlier, named the *Anjuman-i- Tahaffuz-i-Masjid*, including Zafar Ali Khan, Muhammad Alam, Syed Ḥabīb and Malik Lal Khan (1890-1976), to deal with the Shahīd Ganj affairs. Actually, it was formed to find legal means for the protection of the mosque, and for a peaceful settlement of the issue.¹⁸⁵ The MAI considered it desirable to leave the matter entirely to the new body and not complicate the position by interfering as an organization.¹⁸⁶ In September 16, 1935, the working committee passed resolutions demanding the Aḥrār restoration of the Shahīd Ganj Mosque but decided that Aḥrār as body should take no part in the demonstrations.¹⁸⁷

MAI joined the mosque agitation in 1937 because the political cost of not joining the Shahīd Ganj campaign had been substantial. MAI has started conducting regular public meeting for the restoration of Shahīd Ganj Mosque. The British regarded it as 'a pure political campaign demanding the restoration of the place to the Muslims.'¹⁸⁸ MAI enjoyed popular support in rural areas for the mosque campaign.

1.23. The Elections of 1937

Under the Government of India Act, 1935 elections of provincial legislative assemblies were held in 1937. MAI also contested in elections for the Punjab provincial assembly. The MAI leadership wanted to extend its electoral platform in the Punjab because it realized that it could not face the Unionist Party alone. It looked towards Muhammad Ali Jinnah and the Muslim League as its natural allies. Quaid-i-Azam visited the Punjab in

¹⁸⁵ David Paul Gilmartin, *Tribe, Land and Religion in the Punjab: Muslim Politics and the Making of Pakistan*. (Berkeley: University of California, 1979), 147.

¹⁸⁶ *The Aḥrār Movement in the Punjab 1931-1938*, 5-46.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 53.

¹⁸⁸ Secretary of State to the Viceroy, Linlithgow, March 8, 1938, Vol.3, IOR, F/1/125.

search of partners and held talks with the Aḥrār leaders. He knew that the MAI was a popular religio-political force among the urban and rural areas. Due to ingenuousness of both MAI and AIML, the alliance between two parties could not last for more than five months.¹⁸⁹

MAI alliance with AIML was short lived because conflicts started over the selection of candidates for the central parliamentary board. It was the requirement of the Punjab parliamentary board that applicant would have to pay 500 as non-refundable contributions and 150 for tickets. MAI leaders were unable to pay this amount.¹⁹⁰ So Aḥrār leader did not take part in the activities of parliamentary board. Unionist Party tried that MAI review its alliance with AIML but MAI insisted that AIML candidates should take this oath that they would struggle against the expulsion of Ahmedis from the Muslim community was a major point of disagreement.¹⁹¹ On August 25, 1936 AIML broke the alliance with MAI and decided to take part in elections from their own platform.¹⁹²

The All India working committee of MAI has authorized the provincial branches to select their own candidates. The Punjab MAI appointed a fifteen-member parliamentary board, which included its three members of the legislative council.¹⁹³ On November 23, 1936 Aḥrār nominated 24 members from Punjab but they did not show their names.¹⁹⁴ After consultation MAI selected 10 members including 1 female member from Punjab. The remaining members were Sheikh Hussamuddin from Amritsar, Chaudhry Afzal Haq from Garh Shankar District Hoshiarpur, Mawlana Mazhar Ali Azhar

¹⁸⁹Rafiq Akhter, *Aḥrār Aur Muslim League kā Ittihad o Ikhtalaf Tārīkh kē Ainay Main* (Multan: Maktabah-i Maviyah, 1985), 10.

¹⁹⁰Batalvi, *Iqbal Kay Akhri Do Saal*, 227-28.

¹⁹¹*Ibid*, 226.

¹⁹²Mirza, *Karvan-i-Aḥrār*, (Vol, II), 367.

¹⁹³*Daily Inqilab*, (Lahore), November 23, 1936.

¹⁹⁴Mirza, *Karvan-i-Aḥrār*, (Vol, II), 470.

from Sialkot, Chaudhry Abdul Raḥmān from Rahun District Hoshiarpur, Khawājah Ghulām Husain Advocate from Jhang, Chaudhry Ghulām Haider from Ferozpur and Jalandhar, Chaudhry Muhammad Shaḥī from Chunia District Kasur, Khan Mazhar from Multan and Khawājah Muhammad Yūsuf from Ludhiana.¹⁹⁵ MAI decided to support Syed Ḥabīb from Rawalpindi constituency against Dr Alam a Unionist candidate. After the announcement of Aḥrār candidates, daily *Inqalab* has started propaganda against MAI leaders.¹⁹⁶ These candidates were the dictator and *sālars* of MAI. Aḥrār also took part in the elections from UP, Bombay and Bihar.

In 1936 MAI issued its election manifesto comprising to uplift the lower and middle class socially and economically. The election programme was determined to reduce the remunerations of highly paid government servants and to abolish *zamindari* and *Jagīrdāri* systems. It also promised to establish Islamic courts and to abolish caste and creed systems. The Manifesto also promised the mess of improving health and educational system and to introduce police reforms. It was not salient on domestic animal rights but promised to establish dispensaries for their treatment.¹⁹⁷ MAI leaders did not use press for their election campaign, they used oration for the propagation of their election manifesto. They held long procession having MAI *Jayush* dressed in their uniforms carrying sword and hatches. In 1937 elections, 3 members of MAI were elected to the Punjab Assembly, 2 in the UP assembly and 3 in the Bihar Assembly. The results of elections show the pitiable performance of MAI. But MAI members made their presence felt in the assemblies on the several economic, political, and social issues. They

¹⁹⁵ Mirza, *Karvan-i-Aḥrār*, (Vol, II), 473.

¹⁹⁶ Shorish Kashmiri, *Buoy Gul Nalaa Dil Dudad-e-Chiragh-e-Mahfil* (Lahore: Mutubat-i-Chatān Limited, 2014), 148.

¹⁹⁷ Mirza, *Karavan-i-Aḥrār*, Vol. II, 447-50.

voiced their opinion through questions, sponsored bills and motions of adjournment and also participated in budget debate.¹⁹⁸

1.24. Recruitment in the British Indian Army

In September 1938, the British government introduced an amendment in the Defense of India Bill and later it became an act on September 15, 1938. According to this amendment, no one could do propaganda against recruitment in the British Indian Army but MAI was the first political party that passed a resolution on September 13, 1939 and launched anti-recruitment campaign in the rural Punjab.¹⁹⁹ The defense secretary of Government of India endorsed that two years imprisonment will be awarded to those who would do the propaganda against army recruitment. But Aḥrār volunteers wearing red uniforms with black stripes on their shoulders and carrying flag in their hands demonstrated in the streets of Lahore against the war effort. The president of MAI Sheikh Hussamuddin was arrested from *Mochi darwazah* in Lahore on, September 22, 1939. This further annoyed the MAI. Consequently, British government arrested almost 75000 MAI volunteers in December 1939.²⁰⁰ By the end of December 1941 most of the MAI leaders and volunteers were released after completing their imprisonment.

1.25. Second World War and Aḥrār

In 1939, Germany started WW II and it had increased the importance of the Punjab, a recruitment base and food basket for entire India. Human resource and food were key factors to secure victory in a battlefield. The MAI was the first party in India that

¹⁹⁸ Awan, *Political Islam in Colonial Punjab*, 115.

¹⁹⁹ Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *Modern Islam in India: A Social Analysis* (London: Ripon Printing Press, 1957), 275.

²⁰⁰ Awan, *Political Islam in Colonial Punjab*, 123.

condemned the outbreak of the war because according to its identity it was purely imperialistic struggle and passed resolution against the recruitment for the British Army. MAI working committee proposed suggestions against war. Sheikh Hassam-u-din was appointed as President and Shorish Kashmiri as general secretary of Movement against WW II. After the formation of this movement British Government started arresting MAI leaders.²⁰¹

1.26. MAI and Lahore Resolution

The AIML adopted the Lahore Resolution on March 23, 1940 that embodied the principle of separate independent homelands for Muslims. The main theme of the Lahore Resolution is as under:

...no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute Independent States... That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.²⁰²

The MAI leadership openly opposed the Lahore Resolution because Ahrār leaders strongly believed in territorial nationalism and were against the division of India.²⁰³ According to Mawlana Mazhar MAI was against 'the vivisection of India', and openly criticized the 'idea of Pakistan'.²⁰⁴ On March 1, 1940 an important Ahrār conference was convened by Hafiz Ali Bahadur at Delhi. Wherein the working committee

²⁰¹ Aziz-ur-Rahman, *Raees-ul-Ahrār Mawlana Ḥabīb-ur-Rahman aur Hindustan Ki Jang-i-Azadi* (Delhi: Talimi Samaji Markaz. n. d).214.

²⁰² Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed., *Foundations of Pakistan*,340-41; also see Kaniz F. Yusuf, Dr. M. Saleem Akhtar and S. Razi Wasti. *Pakistan Resolution Revisited*. (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1990) and Latif Ahmad Sherwani, ed., *Pakistan Resolution to Pakistan, 1940-1947* (Karachi: National Publishing House Ltd., 1969).

²⁰³ Awan, *Political Islam in Colonial Punjab*, 126.

²⁰⁴ *Police Abstract of Intelligence Punjab*, 1941, para, 121.

of the MAI on March 3, 1940 resolved and endorsed. The Congress demanded complete independence and look with disfavor on the Pakistan and such allied schemes. Moreover, the action of the Government of India in arresting the Aḥrār leaders was condemned and Aḥrār workers were urged to get prepared to take part in the struggle for Independence.²⁰⁵

In the Youth Conference which was held at Lahore on April 19, 1940, Aḥrār leaders delivered anti-Pakistan speeches and anti-Pakistan Resolution was passed.²⁰⁶ The Aḥrār *Tablīgh* Conference was held at Samundri, District Lyallpur, on June 30, 1940 Syed Bukhārī speaking on this occasion condemned the Pakistan scheme.²⁰⁷ The MAI anti-Pakistan approach brought them closer to INC. Mawlana Daud Ghaznavi, the general secretary of the party, in a press statement on November 29, 1940 declared his party's full support to the INC in its opposition to the idea of Pakistan. He also asserted that the MAI did not plan to merge itself into Congress.²⁰⁸

The MAI members joined INC Satyagraha campaign individually in 1942.²⁰⁹ But soon Aḥrār leaders decided to revise their policies towards INC. Afzal Haq the vice president of MAI decided to co-operate with AIML. The series of speeches of the Aḥrār orators in UP seemed that Aḥrār have finally decided to amalgamate with AIML under the guidance of Jinnah. But the death of Afzal Haq did not give the opportunity to the party to decide its course of future.²¹⁰ Mawlana Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥmān Ludhianvi criticized the Hindus approaches towards Muslims for the last hundred years. He has also criticized

²⁰⁵ *Police Abstract of Intelligence Punjab*, March 9, 1940 No, 18, Vol. LXI, para, 115.

²⁰⁶ Javaid Haider Syed, "Pakistan Resolution and Majlis-i-Ahrar".408.

²⁰⁷ *Police Abstract of Intelligence Punjab*, 1940, para, 313.

²⁰⁸ *Police Abstract of Intelligence Punjab*, 1941, para.20.

²⁰⁹ Shorish Kashmiri, *Syed Ataullah Shah Bukhārī Sawanah-o-Afkār* (Lahore: Chatān Publications, 1973), 112.

²¹⁰ Javaid Haider Syed, "Pakistan Resolution and Majls-i-Ahrar,"410.

Gandhi ²¹¹ So, with the passage of time MAI changed their stance and they became more interested in the future system of Government in the proposed Pakistan.

1.27. The Cripps Mission 1942

In early 1942, the British government, sent a mission on March 29, 1942 under the supervision of Sir Stafford Cripps, "the mission released the draft proposal brought from his Majesty Government, the text of which read as (a) immediately, upon the cessation of hostilities, step shall be taken to set up in India, in the manner described hereafter an elected body charged with the task of framing a new constitution. (b) After the war an Indian Union would be set up with Dominion Status. (c) Provision shall be made, as set out below, for the participation of the Indian States in the Constitution-making body. (d) Elections for the Constituent Assembly would be held immediately after the war".²¹² Soon after the announcement of the mission's purpose the MAI rejected its proposals because the Mission did not encompass a clear commitment to independence. MAI was of the view that independence must be the first priority in the proposals. Later the other major political parties such as AIML and INC also rejected proposals of the Mission. The WW II had greatly changed the Indian political spectrum. Following the failure of the 1942 Cripps Mission, Congress passed its "Quit India" resolution, inspired by Gandhi, in August 1942.

1.28. *Hukumat-i-Illahīya* Resolution by MAI

The MAI passed the *Hukumat-i-Illahīya* Resolution, which meant the formation of a government based on Islamic Sharia, where people would be treated with dignity and

²¹¹ Mirza, *Karavan-i-Ahrār*, Vol, V, 118-127.

²¹² Qureshi, *The Struggle for Pakistan*, 174.

respect. *Majlis-i-Aḥrār-i-Islam-i-Hind* explained the concept of *Hukumat-i-Allahīya*, its annual meeting held at Saharanpur on April 26, 1943. Mawlana Mazhar put forward this scheme. It aimed at the creation of a classless society with full religious and cultural freedom, abolition of bureaucratic form of government, employment, food and free education for all. This plan was designed to overshadow the League and its demand for Pakistan. It was announced at the meeting of the MAI working committee held at Lahore, on May 29, 1943.²¹³

Syed Bukhārī was a leading promoter of this form of government. The idea of *Hukumat-i-Allahīya* was disseminated through speeches and pamphlets. In a mass meeting, Bukhārī described the AIML nonreligious party.²¹⁴ After the initiation of *Hukumat-i-Allahīya*, the MAI did not contribute to national politics. They vowed to continue their policy of unification of all Muslims, except Ahmedis.²¹⁵ Mawlana Mazhar Ali's intellect was behind all anti-Muslim League schemes at that time. He had attacked on the Jinnah's life and called him selfish, scrupulous, discourteous, cowardly, arrogant, self-spirited, and arm-chair politician.²¹⁶ In every important speech MAI criticized the ML leadership, including the Quaid-i-Azam for whom they had little love and who in those days had come to be regarded as the sole and undisputed leader of the Muslim nation.²¹⁷

²¹³ *Police Abstract of Intelligence Punjab*, 1943, para, 197.

²¹⁴ Awan, *Political Islam in Colonial Punjab*, 130.

²¹⁵ *Indian Annual Register*, January-June, Vol, 1,293.

²¹⁶ *Police Abstract of Intelligence*, 1943, para, 317.

²¹⁷ Muhammad Munir, Report of the Court of Inquiry Constituted under Punjab Act II of 1954 to Enquire into the Punjab Disturbances of 1953. (Lahore: Supt, Government. Printing Punjab, 1954), 17.

1.29. The Simla Conference 1945

Lord Wavell (1883-1950) had invited Indian political leaders of INC, AIML, scheduled castes Sikh and other groups to Simla to propose an Executive Council to govern the country under the present constitution until a new constitution would be framed. AIML and INC rejected Wavell proposal. MAI was not invited by Lord Wavell to attend this conference. MAI claimed that AIML was not the sole representative party of all Muslims and Mazhar Ali Azhar depicted Jinnah as:

Ik kafira kē waste Islam ko chhora

*yeh Qā'id-i-Azam hai kē kafir-i-Azam*²¹⁸

1.30. The 1946 Elections and MAI

The Simla Conference failed to find the solution of Indian problem. So, on August 21, 1945 Viceroy of India announced that the elections of central and provincial legislatures would be held in the coming winter and he would shortly be going to London for consultations with the British Government.²¹⁹ MAI decided to contest the 1946 elections without imitating the coalition with any other political party. Its campaign was based on an anti-AIML and an anti-Qadiani stance. Mostly, Aḥrār candidates were from urban constituencies and their nominations were due to their individual popularity. Despite propaganda against the idea of Pakistan by the MAI, it was not able to gauge the political mood of Muslim India.²²⁰

²¹⁸ *Ibid.* p.17. Also see Zahid Hussain Chaudhry, *Pakistan Ki Sīyāsī Tārīkh: Muslim Punjab Kā Sīyāsī Irtāqa*, Vol, V, (Lahore: Idārah-i-Mutliya-i-Tārīkh, 1994), 381.

²¹⁹ Qureshi, *The Struggle for Pakistan*, 201.

²²⁰ Awan, *Political Islam in Colonial Punjab*, 132.

MAI nominated 30 members for central and provincial legislatures. They nominated 15 members for the Punjab Legislative Assembly, 9 members contested from North-West Frontier Province. From Sindh, Bihar, Assam and Orissa MAI did not win a single seat for central and provincial legislatures. In 1946, MAI showed a poor performance in the electoral contest. The MAI leaders, however, did not take long to realize that they had lost their votes. Syed Bukhārī on March 18, 1946 asked the MAI at Rawalpindi to prepare for the day when they might have to co-operate with the Congress to obtain independence.²²¹

1.31. The Cabinet Mission and MAI

Soon the result of the elections heralded to the Cabinet Mission to discuss the future constitution of India. In March 1946 the British made their final effort to settle the differences within India. On February 19, 1946 Attlee announced that "Cabinet Mission" would be sent to New Delhi to seek to resolve India's constitutional problems. The mission was to consist of Lord Pethick-Lawrence (1871-1961) Stafford Cripps (1889-1952), president of the Board of Trade; and A. V. Alexander (1885-1965), first Lord of the Admiralty. The recommendations of Mission were announced by Attlee at the House of Commons on February 19, 1946, that they are trying to find agreement on principles and procedures which could lead to the setting up of the machinery by which the Indians themselves could draft the constitution of an independent India.²²² The mission would leave at the end of March. Attlee's statement was certainly not very clear as to the purpose of the Mission. On the eve of the Mission's departure to India, he tried spell out its aims and objectives. On 15 March, he stated in the House of Commons that the Mission was

²²¹ *Police Abstract of Intelligence Punjab, 1945*, para, 163.

²²² K. Harris, *Atlee* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1982), 367.

going in a “positive mood,” looking to the future rather than the past. He added: “My colleagues are going to India with the intention of using their utmost endeavors to help her to attain that freedom as speedily and as fully as possible. What form of Government is to replace the present regime is for India to decide but our desire is to help to set up forthwith machinery for making that decision”.²²³

The Mission issued its own ideas on the basic form which the new constitution should take. The recommendation was in essence a three-tiered Indian Union in which provinces would be free to form sections and to determine what subjects should be under the jurisdiction of a section government. “A constituent assembly would be formed of representatives drawn from the existing provincial assemblies, which would immediately divide a section A Including Madras, Bombay, the Central Provinces, the United Provinces and Bihar, a section B including the North-West Frontier Province, Punjab and Sind, and a section C which would include Bengal and Assam. The Indian states would join the groups of their choice and communal and minority interests would be protected at central level by a special voting system. Each section would decide both upon the constitution of each of its provinces and upon a constitution for the section as a whole. In a subsequent statement the Cabinet Mission laid down that no province could opt out of its section before the provincial and sectional constitutions had been drawn up. In effect, the proposed sections B and C would have given the Muslim League two semi-autonomous “big” Pakistan, within a minimal federation in which there would be strong barriers to encroachment by the Union authority upon the powers of the sections. This constitutional plan was coupled with the Cabinet mission's short-term plan for an interim government at the center. Bar the Viceroy and the Commander-in Chief, it would consist

²²³B. K. Shrivastava, *The United States and the Cabinet Mission to India* in M. S. Rajan (Ed.), *Studies in Politics: National and International* (Delhi: Vikas Publications, 1971), 420.

of Indians; five Muslim League nominees, five Congress nominees and four representatives of other parties".²²⁴

The AIML and INC first accepted the plan and then rejected the entire proposal suggested by Mission. The MAI working committee decided to continue its anti-Pakistan standpoint and expressed it to the Mission. These political policies left the leadership in political wilderness. Moreover, Ahrār started a defamation campaign against the AIML and Lahore Resolution which further discredited it among Muslims. Ahrār tried to control the damage and regain its old glory but failed to attract the masses. Resultantly, the defeat in 1945-46 general elections compelled the party leadership to revisit its policies and ideology.

All the nationalist leaders of the India met with the Cabinet Mission individually. Sheikh Hussamuddin, the MAI president stressed the need to establish an interim government, before any transfer of power to the representatives of India would take place.²²⁵ When Mission failed to convince the mainstream political parties, the Viceroy invited the majority parties to form interim government. It was claimed by MAI that INC had invited us to join them in the interim government and AIML refused to join interim government. MAI also refused to join Interim Government and finally MAI decided to stop blocking the League's demand for Pakistan when British declared its decision to quit India.

²²⁴ Shrivastava, *The United States and the Cabinet Mission to India*, 424, 427-8.

²²⁵ *Daily Zamindar*, (Lahore). April, 19, 1946.

CHAPTER – 2

MAJLIS-I-AHRAR-I-ISLAM'S MAINSTREAM LEADERSHIP

Leadership is a technique of human communication in which leaders influenced the masses.¹ In leadership, leaders persuade the followers to act for certain goals that represent the values and the motives, the wants and needs, the ambitions and beliefs of both leaders and followers.² All sorts of manipulative techniques may come into play at this stage, but reasoned argument also has a place in the process. In some cases, the qualities that make for effectiveness in the mobilizing of support are not combined in one and the same person with those that are requisite for policy-devising tasks. In leadership, leaders give directions to collectives regardless of their size and kind.³ Leadership flourishes mostly in problematic situation. The British, in Indian Sub-continent, could not resist the emergence of new leadership and political mobilization. The rise of the Muslim leadership in the British Punjab was comprised of social elites such as nobility, titled gentry and landowners. The provincial leaders of the Muslim majority provinces and the Ulema also shared the composition. The emergence of the religio-political leadership influenced political developments in the British Punjab.⁴

At the start of the 20th century, the new religious and political parties attempted to mobilize a growing educated class on the issues of communal competition for jobs and

¹ R. C Tucker, *Politics as leadership* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1995), 20.

² James MacGregor Burns, *Leadership* (New York: Harper & Row, 1978), 19.

³ Cecil A Gibb, "The principles and traits of leadership." *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, Vol.42, no. 3 (1947):211.

⁴ Sikander Hayat. *The Charismatic Leader: Quaid-I-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan*. (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2014), 191.

elections to the municipal committees in British Punjab.⁵ These political parties included the urban Muslim leaders' including ulema, popular orators, and journalists. These leaders used new techniques of popular communications to challenge the urban landlords, who were tied to the administration. Some of these leaders controlled the 'vernacular press' and had thus developed a wider access.

The 1919 Jalianwala Bagh holocaust and the fragmentation of the Khilāfat Movement in 1922 gave birth to numerous organizations not only in the Punjab but also in the NWFP, Bengal, UP, Bihar and Kashmir. After some shifts and jerks in 1920s, the Khilāfat Committee and the INC disintegrated into numerous territorial and ethnic factions. The origin of the MAI can be traced back to the Khilāfat Movement which was aimed at the protection of the Ottoman's Empire, the symbol of the unity of the *Ummah* for the Muslims of India. MAI was founded by the remnant of Khilāfat Committee in Lahore on December 29, 1929.⁶

The MAI provided logical political focus for those who were dissatisfied with the religious leadership provided by the Unionist Party. The MAI, having emerged to a large extent out of the religious concerns of the reformist viewpoint, were largely cut off from the politics and the religion of the rural areas. Mostly the leadership of the MAI were reformists, primarily urban in composition and represented socially the urban lower and middle class.⁷ Many of its leaders had humble origin which was believed as a source of strength. The main asset of the party was their dedication and zeal of its members and the leaders that showed a great eloquence to the participants. Some of them could cast

⁵ N.G. Barrier, "The Punjab Government and Communal Politics", *The Journal of Asian Studies*, No.27, Vol.3, May 1968, quoted in David Gilmartin, *Empire and Islam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988),78.

⁶ Abdullah Malik, *Panjab Ki Siyāsī Tahrikain* (Lahore: Kousar Publishers, 1973), 85-102.

⁷ Y. B. Mathur, *Muslims and Changing India* (New Delhi: Trimurti Publications, 1972), 110.

spell binding influence upon their audience. In spite of a lack of material resources, the MAI, within a short period, became one of the strongest political parties in the Punjab.⁸

Politically, the MAI was supported by the middle and lower strata of the Muslim society. Aḥrār leadership was active in cities and towns but in rural areas it was mainly known as propagator of Islamic values. Its leadership played a significant role in the politics of the British Punjab. The party worked for the socio-economic, educational and religious development of the Muslims. It tried to raise political consciousness and infused the spirit of Islam among them.

From the very beginning, it had a number of leaders, parliamentarians such as Mawlana Mazhar Ali Azhar, Chaudhry Afzal Haq, and orators like Ata-ullah-Shah Bukhārī, Sheikh Hassam-ud-Din, Mawlana Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥmān Ludhianvi and Master Taj-ud-Din Ansari. According to Chaudhry Afzal Haq, “MAI had *Sunnis, Shias, Barelwis, Deobandis* and *Wahābīs* in it”, yet their over-emphasis on anti-Ahmedi politics restricted them to a sectarian framework. Islamic socialism was their alternative slogan.⁹ The leadership of MAI was the combination of religion and politics, communism and patriotism mean that the MAI would ultimately agitate in multiple political arenas. The key leadership qualities like self-confidence, sincerity, charisma, vision, emotional intelligence was present in MAI’s leadership. Max Weber categorized leaders as Legal Leader, Traditional Leaders and Charismatic Leaders whereas; Burns defined additional

⁸ Tahir Kamran, “Majlis-i-Aḥrār-i-Islam: religion, socialism and agitation in action,” *South Asian History and Culture*, 4, no. 4 (2013): 467.

⁹ Afzal Haq, *Tārīkh-i-Aḥrār* (Lahore: Maktabah Majlis-i-Aḥrār-i-Islam, 1968), 65.

categories i.e. Transactional and Transformational Leaders.¹⁰ Some leaders of the MAI fall in the category of charismatic and some in the transformational leadership.

2.1. Syed Ata ullah Shah Bukhārī: A Biographical Overview

Syed Bukhārī was born on September 23, 1891 in Patna, Bihar India. He was called by two names. His maternal side named him as Syed Bukhārī and paternal side called him Sharif-u-Din Ahmad. His father Hafiz Syed Zia-ud-Din Bukhārī was *Vasneek* of Nagrian of District Gujrat but for the trade purposes he frequently visited Patna and also married in a religious family of Patna. Syed Bukhari's mother died when he was four years old. In these days religious scholars considered getting English education as a crime. Syed Bukhārī learnt Persian and Arabic languages from grandfather and grandmother. His father wished that his son learn Quran by heart. So, his father spent most of his time in teaching Quran to Syed Bukhārī. He learnt Quran in two years.¹¹

After getting early education he moved to Amritsar to complete his religious education under different *Ulema*. From Mawlana Noor Ahmed he learnt *Tafsīr* of Quran, *Fiqh* from Mawlana Ghulām Mustafa Qāsimī and *Hadīth* from Mawlana Mufti Muhammad Hassan.¹² He learnt the recitation of Quran from Qārī Syed Muhammad Qāsim.¹³ In 1915 he was married to his cousin and returned Amritsar to complete his remaining study of *Fiqh*. Mawlana asked Syed Bukhārī to lead *Juma* prayers so that he

¹⁰ K. Lewin, Lippitt, et al. "Patterns of aggressive behavior in experimentally created social climates". *Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol.10 (2) (1939), 271-299.

¹¹ Janbaz Mirza, *Hayat-i-Ameer Shariat Syed Ata-Ulla-Shah Bukhārī* (Lahore: Maktabah Ahrār, 2006), 21.

¹² Shorish Kashmiri, *Syed Ata-Ulla-Shah Bukhārī Sawanah o Afkār* (Lahore: Matbuat-i-Chatān, 2012), 43.

¹³ Qārī Syed Muhammad Qāsim was teacher of Abdul Majeed (Turk Sultan). Due to Khalifa's anger he went to Hindustan and stayed in Patna and started teaching Quran at Khawājah Amber Mosque.

learnt how to make speech. This was his first step towards oration. His style of recitation was becoming popular that the people asked Mawlana Ghulām Mustafa Qāsim to give permission to him to recite and delivered his speeches in public.

So, he delivered his first speech at *Ghuvali Darvaza Bazar Khumharan* and second speech at *Basti Sultan Vand*, Amritsar.¹⁴ He remained busy in receiving religious education, *Imam* of mosque and undertaking jihad against unreligious customs. On April 2, 1919 British forces opened fire on common masses at Amritsar Railway Bridge where the people were protesting against Rowlett Act (1919) and many Muslims and Hindus were killed. Their dead bodies were moved to Mosque *Khair-u-Din* and Syed Bukhārī was student of this seminary. He had given the bath to the corpse of Muslims. This was the start of his public welfare service.¹⁵

2.1.1. Political Career

Syed Bukhārī did not speak on the political themes in his early career as he was engaged in religious activities. The British promised that soon after the WWI they would give freedom to Indians. After the end of the war British government forgot all the help and sacrifices of Indians. The Muslims were promised that all their sacred places would not be touched but Arab lands were distributed between France and Britain.¹⁶ Then on April 10, 1919 Jalianwala Bagh incident and the cruelty of General Michel Dwyer left deep imprints on the people of Amritsar. The happening created sentiments of hatred against the British Government. This incident influenced him, and he joined Majlis-i-Khilāfat.

¹⁴ Mirza, *Hayat-i-Ameer Shariat Syed Atta-Ulla-Shah Bukhārī*, 35.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, 40.

¹⁶ Muhammad Rafiq Akhtar, *The Great Orator: A Biography of Amir-i-Shariat Syed Ata ullah Shah Bukhārī* (Multan: Tehrik Tahaffuz Khatam-i-Nabuwwat, Shu'bah-i-Tablīgh, 1988), 35.

Mawlana Daud Ghaznavi¹⁷ wrote in his article that, I have laid down the foundation of Khilafat Committee at Amritsar and started domestication of people against the cruelty of the British. People pledged Syed Ata Ullah Shah Bukhārī against me and I came to know that Bukhārī did not have enough understanding of country's situation and national politics. He is just being used by the people. Then I decided to meet Bukhārī. After conversation with him I have explained the Khilafat issue. Then, he came to know what the real issue was and after this he has started reading newspaper for latest news.¹⁸ Syed Bukhārī admitted that *Al-Hilāl* of Mawlana Abu-ul-Kalām Azad and *Zamīndār* and *Sitārah Subah* of Mawlana Zafar Ali Khan changed his views.¹⁹ So, he left education and joined politics.

In September 1919, Khilafat Conference was held at Amritsar and Syed Bukhārī has delivered his maiden political speech. In this conference he was familiarized with Mawlana Muhammad Ali Johar, Mawlana Abū'l Kalām Azad and other leaders.²⁰ His first speech made him an all-India orator. Because of Bukhari's efforts Lahore Khilafat Committee was established and Syed Ḥabīb was appointed as the President and Mian Feroz-ud-din as General Secretary of the Khilafat Committee. Bukhārī asked public for donation public donated abundant amount and women also donated their jewelry.²¹ In February 1921 for the first time, he delivered speech outside of Amritsar and participated in the meeting of INC at Calcutta. He spoke there in the favor of *Turk-i-Muvalat*.²² On March 14, 1921, he was arrested because of his fiery speeches against British at Amritsar

¹⁷ Mawlana Syed Muhammad Dawood Ghaznavi was a great political and religious leader of the Indian Sub-continent. He was first secretary General of Majlis-i-Aḥrār.

¹⁸ Mirza, *Hayat-i-Ameer Shariat Syed Atta-Ulla-Shah Bukhārī*, 43.

¹⁹ Kashmiri, *Syed Atta-Ullah-Shah Bukhārī Sawanah o Afkār*, 47.

²⁰ Jan Baz Mirza, *Karwan-i-Aḥrār* (Vol-1), (Lahore: Maktabah-i-Tabṣīrah, 1975-86), 136.

²¹ Mirza, *Hayat-i-Ameer Shariat Syed Atta-ullah-Shah Bukhārī*, 46.

²² In this movement, children left the English Schools, students left the colleges and lawyers boycotted the courts.

and prisoned for three years in Mianwali Jail.²³ In 1923 Swami Shraddhanand started *Shuddhi* Movement to convert the Muslims into Hinduism. Syed Bukhārī devoted his life to save the Muslims from the Hindu and British conspiracies as 1926 was the busiest year in his life. He was fighting on four different fronts i.e. the British, the Hindus, the Qadianis and the *Pīrs* of the Punjab. There was hardly a day when he did not deliver a speech.²⁴

2.1.2. Joined The MAI

He was the founding father of MAI. On 29 December 1929 he was appointed as the first President of MAI. In his first Presidential address he said that:

It is my earnest desire that Muslims of India have turned out to be the leading contingent of Independence. The credit of winning the independence should go to Muslims of India.²⁵

He also said that:

I want Muslim youth of India to act as the vanguard of the freedom of this country. We must prove that youth would gain freedom from this land.²⁶

In March 1930 Syed Bukhārī was given the title of *Amir-i-Shariat*. On July 11 1931 MAI conference has organized its first session under the President ship of Mawlana Ḥabīb-ur-Rahman Ludhianvi. Syed Bukhārī, Chaudhry Afzal Haq, Mawlana Zafar Ali Khan, Khawājah Abdul Raḥmān Ghazi, Sheikh Hussamuddin, Mawlana Daud Ghaznavi, Mawlana Mazhar Ali Azhar and other Muslim leaders also attended the gathering. It was resolved by MAI and its supporters to work more for the achieving of separate electorates. The session concluded that new MAI offices and branches will be opened in

²³ Muhammad Rafiq Akhtar, *The Great Orator*, 37.

²⁴ *Ibid*, 39.

²⁵ Afzal Haq, *Tehrik-i-Ahrār*, 71.

²⁶ Rahim Bakhsh Siyal, *Yadgar-i-Bukhārī*, (Multan: Maktabah Rahimia, 1965), 13.

the different parts of the Punjab. Syed Bukhārī was tasked with the assignment of establishing offices in the province.²⁷

2.1.3. Maclagan Issue and Ata-ullah-Shah Bukhārī

On the issue of Maclagan College Muslim students started strike against principal. Some students met Iqbal who advised them to seek advice from MAI leadership. A group of students contacted Syed Bukhārī at MAI office in Lahore and narrated the incident. After listening the students MAI leadership also joined the protest and gained public support and transformed this momentum into political protest against the Punjab government. The provincial authorities constituted a committee to investigate the issue on June 19, 1931.²⁸ The committee submitted its report. MAI protested against the report and demanded the retention of the principal. On September 11, 1931 Mawlana Daud Ghaznavi called for public meeting outside of Mochi Gate.²⁹ Syed Bukhārī, and Ahmed Ali Lahori and Lal Din Kaiser delivered speeches and asked the students not to appear in the examinations. MAI invited the *Jāthās* from the other towns to close the entrance and exist of the college. Police used *lathi* charge to disperse the crowd. Syed Bukhārī was arrested along Mawlana Daud Ghaznavi and Mawlana Ghulām Murshad.³⁰

On September 19, 1931, Mawlana Mazhar Ali Azhar reached Lahore and decided to negotiate with Punjab government and from there he went to Simla. The financial member of Punjab Henry Craiger refused to discuss the matter of Maclagan College. Mawlana Mazhar Ali Azhar sent a telegram to MAI office Lahore about the disappointment of

²⁷ Mirza, *Hayat-i-Ameer Shariat Syed Atta Ullah Shah Bukhārī*, 143.

²⁸ Muhammad Rafique Afzal (ed.), *Gufar-i-Iqbal* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1969), 124.

²⁹ Mirza, *Hayat-i-Ameer Shariat Syed Atta-ullah-Shah Bukhārī*, 144.

³⁰ Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrār*, (Vol-1), 163.

meeting. But the telegram was taken by Punjab Government. And when he returned to Lahore, he was welcomed by Lala Natho Ram, Magistrate of Lahore City and asked him to solve the issue at his residence. At the end, it was decided that all prisoners will be released, students will get the admission in the college again and Principal will take his words back.

2.1.4. Gandhi-Irwin Pact and Syed Bukhārī

After the signing of the Gandhi Irwin Pact on March 5, 1931, Gandhi decided to attend the second session of Round Table Conference (RTC), MAI leadership felt that Gandhi has by passed them. So, Syed Bukhārī and Mawlana Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥmān rushed to Bombay to convince Gandhi not to attend RTC and discussed that the nationalist leaders should not engage in the constitutional discussions with the British because it would be ineffectual exercise.³¹ However, they were failed to convince Gandhi and RTC resulted in the parting of ways between MAI and INC.

2.1.5. Kashmir Movement and Syed Bukhārī

The state of Jammu and Kashmir was a princely state having 80 percent Muslim population ruled by Hindu Dogra family. In 1846, British sold the state to Gulab Singh for 7.5 million. The new ruler assumed the title of Maharaja established a tyrannical administrative system in the Muslim majority state.³² His successors also followed the similar policies towards Muslim population. The state owned all the landed property and rulers could impose taxes at their free will. Kashmiri Artisans and agriculturists were

³¹ Aziz-ur-Rahman, *Raees-ul-Aḥrār Mawlānā Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥman aur Hindustan Ki Jang-i-Azadi* (Delhi: Talimi Samaji Markaz, 1961), 179.

³² Alastair Lamb, *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy 1846-1900* (Hertingforbury: Oxford Books, 1991), 69.

suppressed by new taxes. Kashmiri Muslims also faced discrimination in recruitment to the services of the state, particularly in and army employment.³³ Maharaja imposed many restrictions on the observance of religious ceremonies and slaughter of cow was banned.³⁴ Many Kashmiri families faced state discrimination and bore financial losses and ultimately migrated to Punjab for better economic opportunities.³⁵ The turning point in the struggle of Kashmiri Muslims was 1931, when two major incidents occurred first the blasphemy of Quran by a Hindu named Khem Chand and second the interruption of *Eid Khutbah* by state authorities.³⁶ Kashmiri Muslims protested against policies of the Maharaja.

Muslims of the Punjab became restless as the press had hurt their sentiments and some Indian Muslims gathered at the residence of Nawwāb Zulfikar Ali Khan³⁷ in Simla, on July 25, 1931. They laid the foundation of All-India Kashmir Committee (AIKC) and Mirza Bashir-u-Din Mahmud Ahmad was appointed as President and Abdul Rahman Dard became secretary.³⁸ The President of AIKC drawn the plan to propagate the cause of Kashmiri Muslims. MAI was against the appointment of Mirza Bashir and asked for his expulsion because the party considered them as collaborators of the British. On August 15, 1931, MAI leadership had decided to launch Kashmir movement. Syed Bukhārī had raised the awareness and sympathy for Kashmiri Muslims that MAI *Jayush* was ready to

³³ 'Kashmir Conference kī Chothe Sālānah Jalse kī Ruidad.' 26-27 April 1913 (Gujranwala: *Kashmir Magazine*, Lahore: June), 1969.

³⁴ Sumit Ganguly, "Explaining the Kashmir insurgency: political mobilization and institutional decay." *International Security*. Vol.21, no. 2 (1996):234.

³⁵ Mirza, *Hayat-e-Ameer Shariat Syed Atta-ullah-Shah Bukhārī*, 145.

³⁶ Memo by the British Resident, 6 October 1931, IOR, R/1/29/779.

³⁷ He was Prime Minister of Patiala State 191-13 and vice President of All India Muslim League 1910-16.

³⁸ *Daily Inqilab* (Lahore). July 31, 1931.

sacrifice their lives for the cause of Kashmir. He was arrested on October 15, 1931, under 144 Section and put behind the bar for half year in Multan.³⁹

2.1.6. Syed Bukhari's Confrontation with Sikh Community

Syed Bukhārī was released from Multan jail on October 26, 1932. A new struggle waits for him as the British Prime Minister Ramsay Macdonald (1866-1937) agreed upon joint electorates for whole country. Punjab and Bengal were recognized as Muslim majority provinces. This agreement by Prime Minister quite annoyed the Sikh community as the Sikh leader Master Tara Singh challenged it and rejected Muslim majority over Punjab and threatened to shed streams of blood. Even the other major and minor leaders followed similar inflammatory remarks. After Bukhari's release from jail, he announced to make speech in Amritsar, a city dominated by Sikh community. The Muslim community responded Bukhari's call and reached in great number to listen to him on the issue in the city. He addressed to a massive meeting and made his points in the following words:

Where is the Muslim youth, which has condensed the whole of this Subcontinent from one end to another? Today the Sikhs frightened us with blood streams. We are quite used to galloping our horses across oceans of blood. We have trampled areas between Oxus to Nile under our feet and have always sought life under the shade of sabres. Death was sought by us like a beautiful damsel. Sikhs must come to their senses. They are depending on the Hindus who were under our thumbs for more than ninth centuries.⁴⁰

Par Bandhak⁴¹ committee Lahore clarified,

Our Muslim friends had some misunderstanding. Our fight was only against Government and Congress. We have no dispute with Muslims.... Sikhs will only clash for their rights against the British Government.⁴²

³⁹ Mirza, *Hayat-i-Ameer Shariat Syed Atta-ullah-Shah Bukhārī*, 146-47.

⁴⁰ Akhtar, *The Great Orator*, 55-56.

⁴¹ A member of Gurdwara committee Lahore.

⁴² Akhtar, *The Great Orator*, 56.

2.1.7. Syed Ata Ullah Shah Bukhari's Confrontation with Qadianis

In 1876, Mirza Ghulām Ahmad of Qadian claimed that he was messenger and prophet and later in 1891 declared himself the Mehdi and messiah of Islam.⁴³ This was against the basic principles of Islam, according to which Prophet (PBUH) is the last messenger of God and Quran is the last Book of God. The *Ulema* issued *Fatwā* against him and declaring him as an infidel.⁴⁴ In 1930 a group in Qadian, hostile to Mirza Bashir-u-din Mahmud Ahmad, started a newspaper called *Mubahila*. The objective of this newspaper was to conduct anti-Qadiani propaganda, it attracted the MAI party. Several MAI leaders including Syed Bukhārī spoke against them. MAI decided to establish its office at Qadian in 1933 to counter the Qadiani designs. But no one was ready to give his house on rent. There were some local workers who had given the place for office, but Qadianis have beaten the MAI volunteers and burnt the office. He said to Qadianis that

O Qadianis If you want to make a new Nabī, then make Jinnah as your Nabī. He is determined person. Nobody can change his determination. You have spent your life in the feet of British. I have spent my life without taking any benefit and title from British but your Nabī is sending the applications to British and filled the fifty cupboards.⁴⁵

MAI decided to hold three-day conference in Qadian on 21, 22, and 23 October, 1934. He delivered his speech at Qadian *Tablīgh* Conference in which he stated that:

He is son of Nabī (Mirza Mahmood), I am nawasa of Nabī. I invited him to argue with me in Urdu, Punjabi and Persian. Let him be dressed in velvet and I would wear coarse cloth according to the tradition of my grandfather. You would drink wine I would have Barley bread and will follow the Sunnah of Nabī (PBUH) and eat barley bread. Let the world decided who is a true prophet.⁴⁶

⁴³ Masum Bagh, *Prophecies of the Promised Messiah* (Lahore: Ahmadiya Anjuman-i-Ishaat-i-Islam, 1967), 32.

⁴⁴ Awan, *Political Islam in Colonial Punjab*, 80.

⁴⁵ Hakeem Muhammad Zafar, *Shah Ji Ki Batian*. Monthly, Naqeeb-i-Khatam-i-Nabuwwat (Multan: Tehrik-i-Khatam-i-Nabuwwat. Majlis-i-Aḥrār-i-Islam, 1995), 196.

⁴⁶ Kashmiri, *Syed Atta-Ullah-Shah Bukhārī Sawanah o Afkār*, 206.

This conference paved the way for the poor Muslims to gain confidence and to understand the real design of Qadianis and took up this religio-political sect more seriously.⁴⁷ Syed Bukhārī was arrested and sentenced to imprisonment for six months under Section 153-A Indian Penal Code because of his speeches in the conference.

2.1.8. Syed Bukhārī and Masjid Shahīd Ganj Movement 1935

A mosque near Gurdwara Shahīd Ganj was demolished in 1935. This mosque was occupied by the Sikhs for a long time, and they were not prepared to admit that it had ever been a mosque. When the demolition of Mosque took place, there was natural flare up of Muslims emotions and Muslims looked towards MAI on this occasion. The situation was created in a way that if MAI took part in it they should lose their political weightage, which was the real aim. MAI leaders were not present in Lahore in those days. Syed Bukhārī also clarified in his speech at Shahi Mosque that confrontations with Sikhs as well as British were inevitable and that was not proper occasion for that.

2.1.9. *Madah-i-Shaba* Movement and Syed Bukhārī

Syed Bukhārī had delivered a speech at Lucknow in 1936 at UP. During his speech he mentioned the companions of Prophet (PBUH) and added the blessings, when someone from the crowd loudly said Syed Bukhārī, it is crime here to bless the holy companions. Syed Bukhārī was astonished to know that the praise of companions could be declared as unlawful. He openly said:

It would be crime to abuse, but how come that praise of anyone could be termed as criminal offence. Government does not impose any restriction on gambling, drinking and prostitutions but the praise of *Khulāfā-i-Rashdīn* is an offence. Government must consider the legality of its position.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Akhtar, *The Great Orator*, 61.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 82.

The British government did not pay any attention to the warning of Syed Bukhārī. He and his colleagues went again to Lucknow and at that time twenty-five thousand Muslims offered themselves for arrest. Mawlana Mazhar Ali Azhar was the dictator of this movement. Finally, the law was annulled in July 1937.⁴⁹

2.1.10. Construction of Cinema by Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee

Syed Bukhārī arrested on December 6, 1935, while going Qadian after the declaration of *Mubahila* by Mirza Bashir-ud-din Mahmud. A railway magistrate sentenced him to three months' imprisonment. He was released on April 15, 1936.⁵⁰ At that time country was preparing for fresh elections. All parties were active at that time, and he was not in the favor of elections but on the insistence of his colleague he had agreed. Elections activities were in progress and parties were campaigning when the news reached that Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee started the construction of cinema hall in rear of Jamia Masjid Rawalpindi. All the agitations of Muslims were in vain. Despite all engagement he went to Rawalpindi and called a meeting of all important Hindu, Sikh and Muslim notables as well as local officials including Deputy Commissioner to Jamia Masjid. He made a speech on the question of the sanctity of places of religious importance and appealed that the Sikhs should not indulge in the sacrilegious act of constructing Cinema next to the Masjid. Sikh leaders were impressed by the speech and promised not to construct the Cinema.

The meeting was held at night but in the morning, Sikh refused to accept the decision and announced that the construction would be continued. He again warned the Sikhs as well as the local officials. He delivered a short speech in which he said:

⁴⁹ Mirza, *Hayat-i-Ameer Shariat Syed Atta-ullah-Shah Bukhārī*, 194.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, 196.

Dear brothers we are not at war with anyone. If a community tends to be unreasonable, we should not be afraid. Let us work in a way that the problem is solved in an amicable way. You must promise according to my dictate.⁵¹

The whole crowd supported Syed Bukhārī. He told them to adhere strictly according to his instructions and that if there was any breach of discipline, he would leave and become extremely unhappy. The whole crowd ran towards the cinema. In the morning there was not a single brick in the whole vicinity. One thing is worth mentioning here that the police as well as youth were standing next to the construction site of the cinema, but none dared to interfere in crowd affairs.

2.1.11. Boycott Movement for Military Recruitment (1939)

In 1939 Europe seemed to prepare for war and army bill was under discussion in assembly. MAI decided to give a serious blow to the British imperialism. They decided to start a movement against the recruitment in army from Bombay to Peshawar. MAI demanded that British should quit Asia, Africa and give independence to India. As a result, the MAI leaders were arrested. Cases of 124-A, 121-A and 302/117 were registered against Syed Bukhārī and eight thousand active workers of MAI were sent behind the bars throughout India. He made many speeches in the summer of 1939.

2.1.12. Imprisonments of Syed Bukhārī

He spent his energies in setting the whole India ablaze against the British. He made about ten thousand speeches all-around India. He claimed that he spent half of his life either on

⁵¹ Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrār*, 236.

rail or in jail. He had to grind wheat and work like labors in jail despite this he led life like a brave soldier.⁵²

Khilafat Movement and *Tehrik-i-Muvālāt* were running parallel. At that time Syed Bukhārī left Amritsar started promoting hatred against British rule. He also laid down the foundation of Gujrat High School and appealed people for cooperation. On March 27, 1921, he was arrested from Amritsar because of his speech and on April 7, 1921, magistrate sentenced him three years' imprisonment he was shifted to Mianwali Jail. He spent a tough period with great courage and fortitude in jail. In October 21, 1923 when he was released from jail at that time the situation of Hindustan was changed. The Hindu-unity during Khilafat Movement developed came to an end.⁵³

In January 1925, he was arrested in Delhi and the reason behind this was his speech which was delivered against *Hindu Mahasabah*. The British government put all the blame of Hindu-Muslim conflict on him and imprisoned him for six months and fined Rs,500. After his release from Jail the issue of Raj Pal was on its peak in the Punjab. He delivered fierce speech on April 2, 1929⁵⁴ against Raj Pal⁵⁵ and Raj Pal was killed by Ghazi Ilam Din on blasphemy. He was imprisoned for one year. MAI leaders wanted to prove this to British government that from onward nobody would dare to disrespect the religious authority of any religion. If someone will disrespect any religious authority he will be punished, and laws should be made to prevent Blasphemy.

On May 3, 1930 he delivered speech for 17 hours in a procession at UP. In this procession it was decided that either *Jam'iyat-e-ulama-i-Hind* should be the part of INC

⁵² Akhtar, *The Great Orator*, 38-55.

⁵³ Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrār*, 136.

⁵⁴ Zahid Munir Amir, *Syed Atta-Ullah-Shah Bukhārī aur Pakistan* (Sargodha: Khatam-i-Nabuwwat Academy, 1983), 58.

⁵⁵ Raj Pal was a proprietor of Lahore Book Store and he published pamphlet *Rangela Rasul*.

Freedom Movement or not. In the wake of INC Freedom Movement, he visited the entire Hindustan and rose up the sentiments of people against British government. During his visits of the country his arrest order was issued, and two murder attempts were made on him in Agra and Bombay. Ultimately, he was arrested in Bengal and imprisoned for 6 months in Dam Dam jail. He also taught Quran to a Bengali Social Worker Kumar and learnt English from him. In January 1931 he was released because of Gandhi-Irwin Pact.⁵⁶

In 1933 Kashmir movement was launched and again he was arrested and imprisoned for two years. In Qadiani confrontation he was arrested for two times. For the first time D. G. Khosla a session judge of Gurdaspur freed him and wrote a historical decision against Qadianis. Second time he entered into city of Qadian and was punished for three months. In 1933, during Khizar Hayat Tiwana's (1900-75) Ministry he was arrested under 153, 124, 121 and 117/3 sections and released after six months. On February 27, 1953, he was arrested against due to *Tehrik-i-Khatm-i-Nabuwat* in Karachi and remained in different jails of Sindh and was freed after one year.⁵⁷

2.1.13. Murder Attempts on Syed Bukhārī

His resistance against the British rule was not ordinary. Many murder attempts were made on him. The first murder attempt was made on him at Agra in the course of the *Namkeen Satiagirah* Movement where the butchers were gathered by keeping knives and axes with them. They protested against Syed Bukhari's procession. But he was not willing to withdraw his decision at last he delivered his speech after *Fajar* prayer and butchers renounced their decision. Once at Bombay a person had thrown a poisoned knife at him,

⁵⁶ Kashmiri, *Syed Atta-Ullah-Shah Bukhārī Sawanah o Afkār*, 78.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 78.

but a young man named Noor Khan saved his life and the poisoned knife stiffed in his chest and he died.⁵⁸

In May 1942 he was invited at Madrasah Arabia Shujaabad (Multan). He wanted to eat the *Pan*⁵⁹ and was provided by one of MAI volunteer when he ate the *Pan* he cried that there was poison in it and had spitted it. Dr. Lahchman Das treated him when this issue was inquired MAI volunteer said that when he bought the *Pan* the shopkeeper given him the already prepared one. He was not aware that *Pan* was poisonous. Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Khālifah Qadian engaged many people to kill him, but nobody had courage to kill him. At last, Mirza planted Rajendar Singh to kill him and get five thousand in advance and promised to give five more after murder, but Rajendar revealed his intension and the plan to Syed Bukhārī.⁶⁰

2.1.14. *Danday Vala Pīr*

In the villages of Punjab, he was known as *Danday Vala Peer* when MAI volunteers used to keep axes he also kept an axe latter he had used to keep sword and in the last days of his life he used a wooden stick.⁶¹

2.1.15. Style of Oration

Tehrik-i-Khilafat and Non-co-operation movement given rise to the oration and brought a group of orators. Public oration was the product of political movements. Syed Bukhārī simultaneously spoke in all dialects. Urdu was his mother tongue but one who heard him speaking Siraiki, Punjabi or other vernaculars of the Punjab could ever imagine that he

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 65.

⁵⁹ Mirza, *Hayat-i-Ameer Shariat Syed Atta-ullah-Shah Bukhārī*, 143.

⁶⁰ Syedah Umme Kafeel Bukhārī, *Syedi o Abbi* (Multan: Bukhārī Academy, 2013), 95.

⁶¹ Bukhārī, *Syedi o Abbi*, 63.

was born and raised in Patna. His Urdu had all the cultural richness which he had attained through his grandmother.⁶²

Mawlana Muhammad Ali Johar and Mawlana Abū'l Kalām Azad are good orators, but Syed Bukhārī was matchless. He did not adopt the style of oration of anyone, but he was God gifted with this unique style. He used to quote the Quranic verses and Muslim history in his speeches and his greatest achievement of life was his style of oration. By using this style, he shattered the *Shuddhi* and *Sanghtan* movements. By his style of oration, he inspired millions of people and they listened to him quietly for many hours. During his speech he always created a magical spell and people followed him blindly. Moti Lal Nehru said about Shah Bukhārī that the elements of Mawlana are not water, soil, air and fire but the elements of Mawlana are knowledge, intellect, wisdom and meditative.⁶³

W.C Smith stated about Syed Bukhārī that

This remarkable man might well lay claim to being India's most effective demagogue. He used to apt poetry and Islamic appeal. He can repeatedly does hold with his oratory and audience of thousands inspired and unflinchingly attentive for hours.⁶⁴

He spent most of his nights in public oration. He served for religion, politics and language. He never let his listeners to think and always carried all his listeners with him; he loved the public and always tried to evoke the sentiments of masses with his compassion voice and an electrifying effect on the audience.

⁶² Akhtar, *The Great Orator*, 48.

⁶³ Kashmiri, *Mawlana Abū'l Kalām Azad*, 421.

⁶⁴ Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *Modern Islam in India: A Social Analysis* (New Delhi: Ripon Printing Press, 1957), 271.

2.1.16. Death

In 1953, he had been suffering from diabetes and he received paralysis attack on January 2, 1961 which crucially damaged him. He was admitted into Nishtar Hospital Multan for one and half month after his discharge from hospital he went to home. But soon he seriously ill and shifted to Lahore by his *murīd* named Moulvi Akram and Muhammad Aslam. Col. Zia Ulla and Dr. Yūsuf treated him. But he did not recover and shifted to home at Multan on July 27-28, 1961. He breathed the last on August 21, 1961 in Multan. Radio Pakistan announced the news of his death and approximately two hundred thousand people attended his funeral ceremony. His son Syed Abu Zar Bukhārī offered his *Janazah* prayer and was buried at graveyard Bagh Langay Khan near Jalal Baqri Multan.⁶⁵ The main purpose of his life was to reclude British from Hindustan and to exterminate Qadianis. He led a simple life and ruled people's heart and mind worked for public welfare. He was known as honest, sincere, man of principal and public leader.

2.2. Sahibzada Sayyīd Faiz-ul-Hassan Shah (1911-84): A Biographical Overview

Sahibzada Faiz-ul-Hassan (1911-84) born in Alu Mahar, Sialkot and he was a poet and orator. He got his early education from Senior Model High school and passed his B.A from Islamia College, Lahore. He was distinguished student at college due to his participation in extra-curricular activities.⁶⁶ After the death of his father on October 21, 1933 he had joined Freedom Movement and also become the hero of *Khatm-i-Nabuwat* and India was under his influence of oration. In every corner of the Subcontinent, he

⁶⁵ Bukhārī, *Syedi o Abbi*, 190.

⁶⁶ Saeed Ahmad Mujadadi, *Tazkara Mashā'ikh Alu Mahar Sharif* (Gujranwala: Tanzīm-ul-Islam Publication. n. d), 532.

spread his ideology. He had two main objectives of his life first confrontation against the British and second, redeemer of *Aqīdah Khatm-i-Nabuwat*. For half a century he has struggled against Qadianis along with other ulema.

2.2.1. Qadianiat as his First Front

In July 1930 Kashmir Movement started and All India Kashmir Committee was formed. Mirza Bashir-u-Din Mahmood became the president of this committee. Allama Iqbal was also the member of this committee. Faiz-ul-Hassan was known as front line of *Mujahid* of *Tehrik-i-Khatm-i-Nabuwat*. He has declared that any claimant to Prophet Hood or Khilafat after the Prophet of Islam was liable to assassination.⁶⁷

2.2.2. Joined the MAI

Faiz-ul-Hassan joined the MAI in 1934.⁶⁸ He was of the view that MAI given him the opportunity to awake the youth politically and explore their capabilities⁶⁹ and Sahibzada Faiz-ul-Hassan observed that socialism was in accordance with Islam's concept of *Musāwat*:

The unjust distribution of the product is the real root cause of all the maladies and social injustice. To control it properly will be the actual cure of a big problem faced by human beings. Such control can be called *Musāwat* (equality) too. Socialism is an ideology brought out after a thorough research and to me, is better than Capitalism, Fascism and other contemporary ideologies. But it is not totally scientific yet, since its

⁶⁷ Awan, *Political Islam in Colonial Punjab: Majlis-i-Ahrār 1929-49*, 85.

⁶⁸ Monthly *Zia-i- Haram*, *Khatīb-ul-Islam kī Khudnovishat*, Number April-May (1984):92.

⁶⁹ Presidential Address Ahrār Conference May, 21st 1937, Multan.

merits have been discussed only in the books and gatherings, and thus it needs to be analyzed in the context of the practical realities of life.⁷⁰

2.2.3. Faiz-ul Hassan and Kashmir Movement

Kashmir was one of the important princely states of Sub-continent. The population of Kashmir was 4 million and 77% of population was Muslim, but the ruler of Kashmir was Dogra Hindu and annexed with India. On 10th October 1947 *London Times* published that Kashmiri Muslims are murdered ruthlessly. Consequently, Kashmiri refugees started pouring in the Western Pakistan and Sardār Abdul Qayyum Khan had declared *Jihād* against Indian forces.⁷¹ In such circumstances, Faiz-ul-Hassan established an organization named *Anjuman Mujahidin Kashmir* in Gujranwala. He had trained 25000 *Mujahidin* and sent them in Kashmir and played an important role in giving donation, food items and weapons to Kashmiri Mujahidin.⁷²

2.2.4. Faiz-ul-Hassan at Qadian

Qadianis were strong and effective under the British rule when Faiz-ul-Hassan confronted with them. On September 3, 1935 in *Alfazal* Mirza Bashir-u-Din invited MAI leaders for *Mubāhlāh*.⁷³ At that time Qadian was considered as the center of Ahmedis. MAI leaders were of the view that it is not appropriate time to held meeting there but Faiz-ul-Hassan said that I would visit Qadian alone. So Mawlana Mazhar Ali Azhar, Mawlana Muhammad Hayat, Master Taj-ud-din Ansari and Haji Abdul Raḥmān visited Qadian

⁷⁰ Afzal Haq, *Tārīkh-i-Aḥrār* (Lahore: Maktabah Majlis-i-Aḥrār Islam, 1968), vii.

⁷¹ Muhammad Saeed Ahmed Mujajjadi, *Maqalat Khatīb-ul-Islam* (Gujranwala: Al Mujadid Academy, n. d), 35

⁷² *Ibid*, 564-65.

⁷³ Ghulām Nabī Bakhsh, *Mir-i-Karvan* (Lahore: Maktabah Tabsarah, 1975), 71.

with Faiz-ul-Hassan. Thousands of people reached at Qadian and welcomed the MAI leaders. Faiz-ul-Hassan offered Juma prayer at railway station and Mawlana Mazher Ali Azhar delivered Friday Sermon there.⁷⁴ Qadians were of the view that British Government is in our favor and they will stop the Muslims to arrive at Qadians.⁷⁵ Faiz-ul-Hassan delivered his enthusiastic speech. He said that:

Oh Ahmedis...Listen I am here to give you the Answer of your challenge. I am the son of Husain. For the respect of *Khatm-i-Nabuwat* I will make small Karbala there.⁷⁶

He was appointed as the *Sālār* of Punjab by MAI and *Askari* responsibility was given to him.

2.2.5. Faiz-ul-Hassan and Shahīd Ganj Mosque Movement

On 9th July 1935 Shahīd Ganj Mosque incident took place and British soldiers started killing the Muslims who wanted to cross Delhi gate of Lahore.⁷⁷ On 13th July 1935 at Badshahi Mosque a public meeting was held under the president ship of Faiz-ul-Hassan. He delivered fierce speech there. On the day of Action, there was a huge procession in Ram Talai at Sialkot. Syed Bukhārī, Qazi Ahsan Ahmed Shujaabadi and Shorish Kashmiri were at the stage, thousands of people were gathered there, and Faiz-ul-Hassan addressed that "Oh Angraiz scoundrel's leave Hindustan". After this statement Faiz-ul-Hassan was arrested and imprisoned for six months.⁷⁸

On December 14, 1940, in Gujarat, addressing a huge procession Syed Bukhārī had openly criticized the British Government. Premier of Punjab Sikandar Hayat (1992-1942)

⁷⁴ Saeed Ahmad Mujadadi, *Tazkara Mashā'ikh Alu Mahar Sharif* (Gujranwala: Tanzīm-ul-Islam Publication, n. d), 550.

⁷⁵ Bakhsh, *Mir-i-Karvan*, 71-72.

⁷⁶ *Khatib-ul-Islam* Conference, Gujranwala: Publication, 8

⁷⁷ Raees Ahmed Jafri, *Quaid-e-Azam aur en kā Ahd* (Lahore: Maqbūl Academy, n. d), 385.

⁷⁸ Mujadadi, *Tazkara Mashā'ikh Aluv Mahar Sharif*, 555.

declared the speech of Syed Bukhārī as rebellious and ordered to hang him. Ludhah Ram in charge of C.I.D took the notes of speech; he said to Lala Lakshmi Dar additional District Magistrate Gujrat that the speech which was presented in the court is fake. This speech was written by Sikandar Hayat. Syed Faiz-ul-Hassan had taken the responsibility of custody of Ludha Ram. On April 1, 1941, Ludha Ram was presented in Gujrat court and recorded the statement and court given the decision in the favor of Syed Bukhārī.⁷⁹

Because of his oration he was considered as the famous leader of Punjab. He participated both in freedom movement and *Tehrik-i-Khatm-i-Nabuwat*.⁸⁰ By using the platform of MAI, he contributed to Pakistan Movement, and he was staunch supporter of Pakistan. MAI was divided into two groups. One group was led by Syed Bukhārī that stood against the creation of Pakistan and the second group was headed by Chaudhry Afzal Haq who supported the Pakistan movement. He was in the favor of creation of Pakistan for establishment of *Sharia Nizam*.⁸¹ When Quaid-i-Azam arrived in Gujranwala, Faiz-ul-Hassan was one of the prominent persons who warmly welcomed Quaid-i-Azam.⁸² He was also acknowledged in Muslim League circle and was of the view that demand of Pakistan was unpretentious. He was against the nationalist Muslims who thought that first British should leave the Sub-continent and then it should be divided.⁸³

2.2.6. Style of Oration

The style of oration of Faiz-ul-Hassan was quite different from other leaders of MAI because it was not copied from others, and nobody can copy it. In 1934's party election's

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 558-559.

⁸⁰ *Weekly Chatān* (Lahore), February 27, 1984.

⁸¹ Ikram Raza, *Shahrah-i-Khatabat* (Gujranwala: Idārah Tanzeem-ul-Islam, 1985), 120.

⁸² Mujadadi, *Tazkarah Mashā'ikh Aluv Mahar Sharif*, 561.

⁸³ *Daily Amroz*, (Lahore). 25th February 1984

Faiz-ul-Hassan was elected as the member of MAI and started struggle for the safeguard of *Namous-i-Risālat* and *Tahaffuz-i-Khatm-i-Nabuwwat*. When Khilafat Movement was on its peak he used to visit all over India.⁸⁴

2.2.7. Death

During 1983 to 1984 he suffered a cardiac attack and came to Lahore for treatment. He delivered his last speech to audience in Alu Mahar. On February 22, 1984 he died in Gujranwala and his first funeral prayer was held in Police Line Ground Gujranwala the same place where he used to lead *Eid* prayers for more than 20 years. The second funeral prayer was held in Alu Mahar which was attended by hundreds of people. He was laid to rest in Alu Mahar beside his father and his *Urs* is celebrated on March 23 every year on his tomb.

2.3. Chaudhry Afzal Haq (1893-1942): A Biographical Overview

Chaudhry Afzal Haq (1893-1942), born in Jalianwala Bagh Amritsar in a respectable and religious family. He completed his matriculation from Islamia High School.⁸⁵ In 1910, he got admission in Islamia College Lahore but after his failure in intermediate examination he got admission in Deyal Singh College. He could not continue his education due to the sudden death of his brother Chaudhry Fazal Haq. He also suffered from cough and left studies and remained free for four years. At last, he joined police in 1917 as sub inspector and appointed at Ludhiana police station.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ *Zia-i- Haram*, 'Khatib-ul-Islam,' Number, 142.Vol, April-May,1984.

⁸⁵ Abu Yūsuf Qāsimī, *Mufakar-i-Ahrār Chaudhry Afzal Haq* (Lahore: Basat-e-Adab,2010), 455.

⁸⁶ Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrār* (Vol-1),26.

After his appointment in police, *Tehrik-i-Khilafat* was on its peak, and he was assigned to monitor the political processions. One day Syed Ata Ullah Shah Bukhārī was delivering his speech in a procession at Ludhiana. He was writing the speech of Syed Bukhārī. In a speech, he explained the cruelty of British with Turks in such a way that it inspired Chaudhry Afzal Haq and he left the police job and joined Khilafat Committee in 1921.⁸⁷

2.3.1. Political Career

He started his political career from his hometown tehsil Garh Shankar, Hoshiarpur narrating the stories of the British cruelty with Turks and aroused the hatred of people against British Government. He was arrested on 12th February 1922 under 117 section and been punished for six months and jailed in Ambala.⁸⁸ During the imprisonment, he observed the difference in treatment between political and ordinary prisoners because Jail officers treated poorly with ordinary prisoners. He raised voice against the rules and regulations of jail administration, due to his actions there was violence in the jail. His actions were inquired by Inspector Jail and Inspector General of Punjab Police. According to jail manual, on the arrival of these officers' prisoners must be stand up for their regard, but Chaudhry Afzal Haq did not stand up. I G Police recognized him and said: "After leaving police job now you want to seize government from the British".⁸⁹ Chaudhry Afzal Haq was charged with allegation of two misconducts (1) violence against the discrimination between treatment of political and ordinary prisoners and (2) violation of jail rules.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁸⁸ Abu Yūsuf Qāsimī, *Mufakar-i-Ahrār Chaudhry Afzal Haq* (Lahore: Basat-i-Ādab, 2010), 149.

⁸⁹ Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrar*, 27.

⁹⁰ Khan Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥmān Kabli, *Afzal Haq* (Lahore: Azad Publishing House, 1942), 9-10.

Due to these misconducts, he was castigated to wear hand cuff and fetters and he lost his right hand. After his release from jail, he was selected as the president of Congress of his district. In 1926 he was elected as the member of Punjab Assembly of his district and remained member till 1937.⁹¹ During this time he also remained the non-official member of prisoner reform committee and reformed Punjab Jail. He took assent from the Punjab Assembly that Muslims could keep axe and sword without license.⁹²

2.3.2. Joined the MAI

On December 29, 1929, he joined MAI and directed the first session of MAI. Soon after the formation of MAI Gandhi started Civil Disobedience Movement in Sub-Continent. Many MAI leaders were arrested but Afzal Haq was not arrested because he was member of Punjab Legislative Assembly at that time. But in 1931 when Mawlana Azad was arrested due to Civil Disobedience Movement, and he nominated Afzal Haq as the head of All India Congress Working Committee (AICWC). When he attended the session of AICWC at Delhi he was arrested there, because government declared this session against laws. In 1931 he was released from jail, after that he spent his entire life for the elevation of MAI. He was anti-British and anti-Hindu and was of the view that there should be party which should confront with British and Hindus.⁹³

2.3.3. Chaudhry Afzal Haq in the Punjab Council

Due to his national services again in 1924 Chaudhry Afzal Haq was elected as member of Punjab Council. He spoke against the policies and decisions taken by the Government which were not in the national favor. He rendered many services for the eradication of

⁹¹ Qāsimī, *Mufakar-i-Aḥrār Chaudhry Afzal Haq*, 151.

⁹² Mirza, *Karwan-i-Aḥrār* (Vol-1), 28.

⁹³ Qāsimī, *Mufakar-i-Aḥrār Chaudhry Afzal Haq*, 164.

nepotism in Police department and brought reforms in jail. He called for the return of *Masjid Shah Chirag* in Council and subsequently mosque was given in the possession of Muslims in 1936. Hindus and Sikhs in 1926-27 by using the platforms of *Shuddhi and Sanghtan*, they used to kill the Muslims by their Kirpans especially in Lahore. Chaudhry Afzal Haq presented resolution in Council that Muslims can keep sword for their protection. So, in 1927 Punjab Council given the permission to the Muslims of some districts that they can keep sword for their protection.⁹⁴

On July 4, 1927, *Majlis-i-Khilafat* decided to organize a great procession that Muslims became aware about the policies of JUH but the Deputy Commissioner Aglovi banned to conduct this procession. In spite of this Mian Muhammad Rahim organized procession outside of Delhi gate and this procession was supervised by Chaudhry Afzal Haq. He criticized the policies of the government and asked them to treat the people of Hindustan as human beings and don't try to mix religion with politics. He worked as member of Punjab Council for four years, but he did not get any favor from Governor.⁹⁵

2.3.4. Chaudhry Afzal Haq and Kashmir Movement

In 1931 Kashmiri people raised their voices against the cruelty of Dogra Raj, but they were badly suppressed by the Dogra Raj. The people of Punjab felt pain for Kashmiri People. An All-India Kashmir Working Committee was formed. MAI leaders started working for the suppressed Kashmiris. At first Hindus were sided with MAI in Kashmir Movement but latter Gandhi announced that MAI is sectarian party, and they are traitors

⁹⁴ Kabli, *Afzal Haq*, 15-16.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 16-17.

of Congress. He also spread this rumor by using the names of Muslim members of Congress that MAI has given Gilgit to British.⁹⁶

Chaudhry Afzal Haq described those Hindus and Muslim members of Congress who propagated that MAI Party given Gilgit to British. Muslims asked from the MAI leaders that don't give Gilgit to British. He asked from those Muslims that where is Gilgit? They said it will be in Kashmir. Then he asked is Kashmir independent State? They said no it was under British rule and said if this State was under British rule then what the question of give and take of Gilgit was?

MAI started supporting the Kashmir movement and send their *Jhathas* in Kashmir. Around fifty thousand people were sent Kashmir in four months. At last, Glancy Commission was formed to solve Kashmir issue. In this commission, Chaudhry Afzal Haq represented MAI Party. MAI leadership boycotted the Glancy Commission's suggestions.

Chaudhry Afzal Haq specified the reasons of the failure of Kashmir Movement that Kashmir Movement was on its peak that the month of Ramadan was started, and enthusiasm of people was going down. Muslims were busy in fasting and praying. They could not pay attention to Kashmir Movement. But the advantage of this movement was that the ruler of the State became political conscious, and they came to know the mentality of Hindu nation.

2.3.5. Chaudhry Afzal Haq and Issue of Kapurthala State 1933

The Muslims of Baghuval organized meeting in the support of Kashmiri Muslims. In this meeting Muslims of Baghuval decided to boycott Hindus economically and prohibited the

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 165.

shopping of women in the markets. Hindu merchants protested against this decision. They started strike against Muslims. Muslims of Baghuval refused to cultivate the lands of Hindu *Sāhukārs*. This created discontentment among the Hindus and *Sāhukārs*. So, State issued the orders that the areas where the Muslims refused to cultivate the lands the loss of cultivation will be put on the common masses. Chaudhry Abdul Aziz was Deputy President of MAI became the leader of this movement. He sent a letter to the Maharaja of Kapurthala in which he had mentioned that Hindu *Sāhukārs* should not vitiate the result of Muslims farmers. So, MAI leaders started sending their *Jathas* in Kapurthala State.

During these days Mawlana Zafar Ali Khan reached Jullundur and launched *Neli Posh* Movement and the lawyers of Kapurthala started taking side with him against MAI's stance. Chaudhry Haq used his political vision and supported the Committee which was made by lawyers that MAI will save the Muslims from disintegration, and they will not start civil disobedience movements against the State. The lawyers were propagating that Muslims will start civil disobedience against the state. Conspiracy of lawyers against Muslims disclosed when Muslims declared that they will not start civil disobedience Movement.⁹⁷

2.3.6. Shahīd Ganj Mosque Issue and Chaudhry Afzal Haq

MAI popularity was on its peak during the period of Shahīd Ganj issue. Middle class Muslims of that time was ready to sacrifice their lives on the gestures of MAI leadership. The toddy class was afraid from the popularity of MAI. Ahmedis and cohorts of Ahmedis were already against MAI, so they want to engage MAI in Masjid Shahīd Ganj Movement.

⁹⁷ Haq, *Tarikh-Ahrar* 129-130.

In November 1935 this issue was discussed in Punjab Legislative Council. In the Council Chaudhry Afzal Haq affirmed this movement the mind set of Col Lawrence. Because Col. Lawrence provided the equipment to Sikhs for the demolishment of Mosque. Chaudhry Afzal Haq blamed the Punjab Government for the demolishment of mosque because of his support for Shahīd Ganj Mosque issue he was not elected in 1937's Elections.

2.3.7 Services of Chaudhry Afzal Haq during 1935 Earthquake

On May 1, 1935 earthquake hit Quetta that caused number of casualties and destruction of infrastructure. *Shubah Khadim-ul-Khalq* was established by Chaudhry Afzal Haq to help the effected people in Calcutta.

2.3.8. Imprisonments of Chaudhry Afzal Haq

First time in 1922, he was arrested under Army Act 1908 and second time in 1930 and imprisoned for six months when Congress started independence movement. He spent these six months in Gorakhpur Jail.⁹⁸ After his resignation from Punjab Council, MAI started Civil disobedience movement was entangled by MAI on September 11 1939 in Amritsar after the start of WWII. He was arrested under Defense Act and imprisoned for 18 months in Rawalpindi jail. But he was released from jail due to his illness.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Mirza, *Karwan-i- Ahrār*, (Vol, I). 265.

⁹⁹ Rahmān Kabli, *Afzal Haq*, 31.

2.3.9. Style of Oration

Afzal Haq was great orator, and his style of oration was impressive with a clear voice. He tried to explain the problematic subjects in a simple way that audience can easily understand.

2.3.10. Books Written by Chaudhry Afzal Haq

During his stay in jail in 1922, he wrote a book named *Dunia Main Jail* in which he discussed the improper system of jails and proposed reforms. He wrote a magazine named *Insadady Ertadad* in which he tried to stop the sectarian movement like *Sanghtan*, *Arya Samaj* and *Hindu Mahasabah*. During his imprisonment at Gorakhpur Jail he wrote a book named *Zindagi*. During his imprisonment in the jails of Rawalpindi and Multan he composed a book *Mahboob-i-Khudah* which explained the life and time of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). *Afsana Azadi Hind* stated the struggle of Hindustan. *Sargushat* is his biography. *Jawahrat* book is the collection of National Fictions. *Dehati Romaan* explains the reforms in villages. *Tārīkh-i-MAI* covers the services of MAI. *Pakistan Angraiz* book states the theory of untouchable and Pakistan Issue.¹⁰⁰

2.3.11. Death

He spent last years of his life in Lahore. He suffered from fever and Asthma and latter this fever turned into Pneumonia. He died on January 11, 1942. On 9th January 1942 his funeral was offered in Bagh of Delhi Gate Lahore. Ten thousand people offered his

¹⁰⁰ Raḥmān Kabli, *Afzal Haq*, 35.

funeral prayer, and he was buried in the graveyard of *Miani Sahib*. Many Hindus and Sikh leaders also participated in his funeral procession.¹⁰¹

2.4. Mawlana Ḥabīb-ur-Rahman Ludhianvi (1892-1956): A Biographical Overview

Mawlana Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥmān Ludhianvi (1892-1956) was born in Ludhiana in the home of Mawlana Muhammad Zakria. Ludhiana city considered as the historical city because of its political and religious consciousness. His grandfather was a *fiqhī*, *Walī* and *Mujāhid* of his time and his grandfather skilled him in the art of speech.¹⁰²

He received his early religious and worldly education from Mawlana Noor Muhammad in Ludhiana and later his father admitted him at Madrasah Arabia in Jalandhar for two years and again he was sent to Amritsar for further studies under the supervision of Mawlana Noor Ahmad. During the WWI different newspapers had published the stories of British cruelty against Turks. Mawlana Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥmān Ludhianvi been stirred by these stories of newspapers and delivered speech against the cruelty of British at Ludhiana and took the sympathy of people for Turks. When the news of his speech was heard by his father Mawlana Muhammad Zakria he went to *Deoband* with Mawlana Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥmān Ludhianvi because there was a rumor for his arrest. At Deoband, Mawlana Syed Anwar Shah took the responsibility of his education.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, 36.

¹⁰² Rahman, *Raees-ul-Aḥrār Mawlana*, 94-95.

¹⁰³ Mirza, *Karavan-i-Aḥrār*, (Vol. 1), 129.

2.4.1. Political career: Joined the MAI

After taking permission from his respectable master and father he started taking part in the political activities with Mawlana Shabir Ahmed Usmani (1887-1949).¹⁰⁴ He was also the founding father of MAI and joined MAI on December 29, 1929. He was of the view that MAI will eradicate the brutality in the society will sacrifice their lives for *Haq*. MAI survival is in its *Fanah*.¹⁰⁵ Congress started non-co-operation movement, so all MAI leaders joined this movement. In March 13, 1930 *Namkeen Satiagirah* movement started but Mawlana Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥmān Ludhianvi and masses of Ludhiana started making salt on the bank of river Sutlej on March 11, 1930. On this crime he was arrested on 23, April from his house at Ludhiana. In Ludhiana jail he met with Syed Bukhārī. According to Mawlana Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥmān Ludhianvi British government used the different strategies to make Hindustani nation slave and they were sucking the blood of Hindustani. He was of the view that it was my prime obligation to free Hindustan from British rule. For achieving this tenacity if British Government punishes me I will accept it.¹⁰⁶ Under the Gandhi-Irwin Pact many workers of Congress and MAI released but he was not released by the orders of Viceroy to the Punjab Government.

2.4.2. Conversation between Mawlana Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥmān Ludhianvi and Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari

After Nehru Report, MAI leaders were not willing to accept any formula which will be presented by Congress. Nehru Report was the parting of ways between MAI and

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, 129.

¹⁰⁵ Address at Aḥrār Conference, Qadian, March 23, 1934.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, 134.

Congress. Dr Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari (1880-1936) ¹⁰⁷ wrote a letter to Mawlana Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥmān about the distribution of seats on July 5, 1931. He presented his formula about the distribution of seats that 25 percent will be given to minorities instead of your demand of 30 percent. If adult franchise of Punjab and Bengal will not give the right to vote and number of Muslims will not meet the ratio of population then in this condition Congress will demand the safeguard of minorities. The formula of Dr Mukhtar was presented in the meeting of working committee of MAI held in July 22-23 1931. However, MAI working committee refused to accept the formula. Mawlana Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥmān in his reply to Dr Mukhtar sent on July 24, 1931 told him that MAI working committee rejected your formula and they will publish their own formula.¹⁰⁸

2.4.3. Mawlana's Meeting with Gandhi

Hindus of Punjab were feeling danger from MAI Party especially Gopi Chand group. They were trying to keep the MAI away from the meeting of Congress which was held in Karachi for the selection of new candidate for coming elections. The Congress members due to certain reasons did not select Ghazi Abdul Raḥmān who was staunch supporter of Congress. Even then MAI leaders attended the Karachi meeting. Due to Gandhi-Irwin Pact Congress members were in the favor of Government. Mawlana Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥmān Ludhianvi, Syed Bukhārī and Sheikh Hussam-u-din met with Gandhi on August 10, 1931 and asked Gandhi not to attend RTC and if you want to attend RTC then keep Dr Mukhtar Ansari with you. If you will not keep Dr Ansari with you then British will prove that Congress is the party of Hindus only. But Gandhi refused the suggestions of MAI

¹⁰⁷ Dr Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari was an Indian nationalist, political leader, staunch Congressman and former President of Congress.

¹⁰⁸ Rahman, *Raees-ul-Aḥrār*, 145-146.

leaders and joined RTC. The participation of Gandhi in RTC had stimulated the minds of Nationalist Muslims.¹⁰⁹

2.4.4. Mawlana's Presidential Address

Mawlana delivered a Presidential address on July 11, 1931 in a MAI Conference. In this he said that the political condition of Hindustan is critical. The Intelligentsia of Hindustan has failed to solve the present political turmoil and found them in a state of failure. After the War of Independence all the nations of Hindustan were directly or indirectly working for their own benefits. Mawlana Ḥabīb-ur-Rahman also stated in a address that:

I want to tell all the nations of Hindustan in clear words that MAI do not want to do any injustice to any other nations. But, at the same time, they are not prepared to live as scheduled caste in India. The Muslims are equally entitled to share in Indian affairs. They will essentially be equal partners in the Indian Government.¹¹⁰

The MAI Conference was convened in order to answer that when the nation especially Congress will work with Government for new constitutional arrangement, they will achieve their objectives.

In 1928 Nehru Report was adopted at Lucknow. Sikh will suffer from this Report that's why he rejected the Report. Further Mawlana Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥmān said that MAI will not do injustice with any nation. But they will not live in Hindustan as untouchable. They also want proper representation in Government. Hindu press blamed Muslims as sectarian because they help the suppressed Muslims. The ultimate solution of Hindustan is the establishment of Government which will give comfort to the poor farmers and labors.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*, 146-47.

¹¹⁰ The present text is in the Miher Collection under No.129.

¹¹¹ Rahman, *Raees-ul-Aḥrār*, 152-154.

2.4.5. Mawlana and Kashmir Issue

MAI did not consider Kashmir agitation as Hindu-Muslim conflict. The condition of Muslim peasants and labors in Kashmir was so miserable that the general public must be sympathetic towards them. General public must help the poor Muslims of Kashmir. Hindus and Sikh should not be cruel and hostile towards them. If Hindus and Sikhs made this agitation as sectarian issue, then MAI will not support them. So, MAI invited all other parties to join their hands together with them to fight for Kashmiris Muslims. MAI don't want that British should involve in the State disputes because they are responsible for the miserable condition of Kashmiris. MAI wanted that Kashmir Government should be humane towards Kashmiris and gave them proper rights.¹¹²

2.4.6. Mawlana-Jinnah Meeting

In 1936 Jinnah met with Mawlana Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥmān, Chaudhry Afzal Haq and Dr Abdul Qavi Luqman at Lahore. The purpose of this meeting was to win the support of MAI because Jinnah was disappointed from the Fazal-i-Ḥusain. He said if MAI supports me, I will fight against the Fazal-i-Husain. Chaudhry Afzal Haq answered to Jinnah that if we will support you then again you will leave us as you previously joined Shafī League. Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥmān asked Jinnah to make AIML as public party. Mawlana gave the surety of if you arrange procession in Lahore, MAI will protect it. In 1936 again Jinnah met with Mawlana and asked him to join AIML, but he again refused to become the part of AIML. He was afraid that Jinnah will deceive them.¹¹³

¹¹² *Ibid*, 160-161.

¹¹³ Rahman, *Raees-ul-Aḥrār*, 192-93.

2.4.7. Imprisonment of Mawlana

In 1919 at Amritsar the meetings of AIML, India INC and JUH held, Hakim Muhammad Ajmal (1868-1927) was the President of Muslim League. He announced that Muslim would take care of the sentiments of Hindus and will not slaughter the cow. In return Hindus and Sikhs protected the Muslims during prayers. Meanwhile, the Viceroy of India issued the order that if anyone will become the volunteer of Khilafat, Congress and JUH will be punished for 6 months and those who will employ the volunteer will be punished for 3 years. In 1921 Gandhi started civil disobedience movement. At the beginning of this movement Mawlana Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥmān Ludhianvi was excused of enrolling volunteer and arrested on 22 December 1921 and to send to jail for six months and has to pay 1000 rupees as fine.¹¹⁴ On January 3, 1922 he was shifted from Ludhiana jail to Ambala jail. On January 6, 1922 he was shifted from Ambala jail to Mianwali jail. There were 70 political prisoners in this jail including Syed Bukhārī, Master Taj-u-Din Ansari, Mawlana Ahmed Saeed, Mawlana Dawood Ghazanvi, Dr Seta Wal, Lala Shankar Dehlavi, Lala Dash Bandhu Gupta, Pundit Naik Ram Sharma, Abdul Majeed Sālik, and Mawlana Abdullah Churi Vlay.¹¹⁵

The Government of Punjab gave the order to arrest him again and shifted to Dharam Shala jail. He disappointed from his shifting to Dharam Shala jail, but here he met the famous Punjabi politician Lala Laj Pat Rai. He established good relationship with him. So, very often Lala Jee asked him to learn English Language from me, but he refused to learn this language. After three months again he was shifted to Ludhiana jail. Here he received a new warrant and new case was filed against him under 108 Act, again he was given one-year punishment and shifted to Dharam Shala jail in August 20, 1922. In

¹¹⁴ Mirza, *Karwan-i-Aḥrār* (Vol-1), 130.

¹¹⁵ Rahman, *Raees-ul-Aḥrār*, 108-109.

jail he met with Sheikh Hussam-u-din. He released from jail in August 21, 1923. The Government sold the dresses of his children, jewelry and household items for the payment of fine. His family was in miserable condition thereby he gradually settled his family.¹¹⁶

In May 13, 1923 he was appointed as Secretary of Punjab Khilafat Committee. In the mid of 1928, a Hindu named Raj Pal publisher published a book against Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). Muslims of Punjab were infuriated over this act and in July 4-5, 1928, mid night at Delhi gate there was massive procession of Muslims in which Mawlana Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥmān Ludhianvi, Syed Bukhārī and Khawājah Abdul Raḥmān delivered their speeches under the President ship of Afzal Haq. Ghazi Alam-u-din was encouraged by the speeches of MAI leaders who later killed Raj pal. Again Mawlana Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥmān Ludhianvi was arrested and punished for one year imprisonment.¹¹⁷ In March 1938 Mawlana was arrested because he alleged spread revolt in Army on Palestine issue. He was appeared before Kanwar Shiv Sing Magistrate Court. Mawlana said that the report on my speech which was presented in the court was untruthful. I am President of MAI and believe on non-violence. And through non-violence we will get freedom. Magistrate was convinced from Mawlana's point of view and freed him. Punjab Government again filed case in High Court against this case, but the appeal was withdrawn from court.¹¹⁸

2.4.8. Death

After Independence Mawlana Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥmān just spent one day in Lahore and then came back to Ludhiana. Because thousands of Muslims were still living in India. He

¹¹⁶ *Ibid*, 115.

¹¹⁷ Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrār*, (Vol-1), 131.

¹¹⁸ Rahman, *Raees-ul-Ahrar*, 208.

wanted to represent them that's why he came back. He died on September 2, 1956 after short illness.

2.5. Mawlana Mazhar Ali Azhar (1895-1974): A Biographical Overview

Mawlana Mazhar Ali Azhar (1895-1974) born at Batala Gurdaspur. His father Muhammad Abdullah belonged to a respectable Kashmiri family. For job purpose his family moved from Kanjror Tehsil Shaker Garh District Sialkot to Gurdaspur. He received his early education from M.B High School Batala and then got admission in Islamia College Lahore. Here he met with Chaudhry Afzal Haq and after completing his B.A he got admission in Law College. In 1917 he started his career as lawyer.¹¹⁹

2.5.1. Political Career

The year of 1919 was the year of British cruelty as during this year police could easily degrade any person and incident of Jalianwala Bagh had imprinted the brutality of British on the minds of public. On April 22, 1919 General Dwyer came to Batala accompanied by the Deputy-Commissioner and some police personnel. All leaders and legal professionals attended a darbar near the court building. Mounted men went into the city to bring people to attend, and they found a machine gun pointed at the assembly and many military men around it. A line of soldiers with fixed bayonets stood behind the leaders. General Dwyer at the start of his speech said 'Gentlemen' but then said he did not know if he should call them that and switched to vernacular.

You people are traipsing. If you want to fight against the Government, come on. We have crushed the German Government, what can you people do? If there is anyone willing to fight let him come out.... I have come to teach you what the Rowlett act is, you should read the Rowlett Act and learn it. I will

¹¹⁹ Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrār*, (Vol-I),139.

come again to test your knowledge of the Act, if I find you have not learnt the Rowlett Act I will come with Martial Law.¹²⁰

He sat down while all stood and asked the Deputy-Commissioner if he wanted any vagabond presented before him. "We felt highly insulted. The General then left Batala."¹²¹ After the departure of General Dwyer Deputy-Commissioner invited the lawyers for suggestions but arrested Sheikh Charagh Din, Mawlana Mazher Ali Azhar, Lala Dewan Chand, and Khurshid-ul-Haq Khan because they all protested against Rowlett Act and refused to become approver. They were sent to Gurdaspur Jail. Later on July 8, 1919 they were released from jail.¹²² In January 8, 1928 Mawlana Mazher Ali Azhar had started advocacy in Lahore High Court.

2.5.2. Joined the MAI

In December 1929 when MAI formed, he was appointed as the first general secretary of Party. In 1930's Congress Movement he did take part in this movement in which many leaders were arrested. He looked after the Party matters during Congress movement. After Gandhi-Irwin Pact when the leaders were released from jail MAI was again resume and Mawlana Mazher Ali Azhar given welcome address.¹²³ Mawlana Mazhar Ali Azhar was elected as member of Legislative Assembly on February 11, 1926 and got 2920 votes.

2.5.3. Mawlana Mazhar and MAI Relief Fund of Bengal

Mawlana Mazhar Ali Azhar had advised the workers of MAI in 1943 to establish a relief fund for Bengal. He said that Bengal was famous for its fertility now it is suffering from

¹²⁰ Wallace Cross, "The Butcher of Amritsar: Brigadier-General Reginald Dyer: Collet, Nigel: London: Hambledon and London, 575 Publication Date: June 2005." (2006): 283.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 286.

¹²² Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrār* (Vol-1), 140.

¹²³ *Ibid*, 141.

severe famine hundreds of people was mislaying their lives. At that time Eastern Hindustan was in difficult situation it was the duty of human beings to help the people of Bengal and Bihar. MAI relief fund was established to revive the Islamic tradition of humanity.¹²⁴ MAI workers also helped in rehabilitation of the Bengali people.

2.5.4. Mazhar Ali Azhar and *Hukumat-i-illahīya*

Mawlana Mazhar Ali Azhar in his speech discussed the idea of *Hukumat-i-illahīya* that MAI is not presenting a new idea; we are just revising the forgotten lessons of past. Our message is the same as Ḥaḍrat Muhammad (PBUH) had spread in the streets of Makkah and Medina. This message was accepted by some Muslims verbally. But they had accepted the Quran and Islam but in reality, they are not acting upon it. MAI did not believe on language, color, caste and creed. Allah is creator of the world. World, human beings, earth and sky belonged to him. So, the system that should be prevailed on earth must be of Allah. If someone will not oblige the rules of Allah he must be punished in world and after world.¹²⁵

2.5.5. Azhar Resignation from MAI

He was the General Secretary of MAI when he resigned in September 1946 on the basis of the party policies. He has given reasons of his resignation that MAI was inclining towards Congress policies because it made the promises with MAI and other parties that they will give 45% representation to Muslims in the constituent assembly and central ministries, but Congress did not fulfill his promises. In his statement he said MAI will have to support me, but they started criticizing me. MAI wanted to leave the Muslims of

¹²⁴ Weekly *Afzal*, October 1.1943, Saharanpur.

¹²⁵ Shorish Kashmiri, *Khutbat-i-Aḥrār, Khutbat-i-Ṣadārat Mawlānā Mazhar Ali Azhar*. Aḥrār Conference Gujranwala. (Lahore: Maktabah Aḥrār, n. d), 186-187.

Sub-continent on the choice of Hindus. So, from onward to I don't want to be the member of MAI.¹²⁶

This was the point of view of Mawlana Mazhar Ali Azhar but MAI viewpoint was different. According to MAI he was thinking that he will be taken in the Punjab Ministry and Congress refused to join interim government this was the main reason of his resignation. On the indication of the Premier of Punjab Khizar Hayat Tiwana his son Mustafa Qaiser taken as chairman of Lahore corporation adhoc committee after this MAI expelled his son from party. In those days Mayer of Lahore was being electing and there was contest between AIML and Unionist alleged. So, AIML purchased the vote of Mustafa Qaiser by giving him a huge amount and appointed him as the chairman of Lahore corporation adhoc committee. Later, he joined AIML and due to these reasons Mawlana Maher Ali Azhar has left the MAI.¹²⁷

2.5.6. After his resignation from the MAI

After his resignation from MAI, he addressed a huge procession on September 14, 1946 and criticized nationalist Muslim political parties. He said that Congress was not willing to give the 45% representation to the Muslims and non-Muslims and other communities. They also refused to give the proper rights to Muslims in front of Cabinet Mission. So, at that it was the prime responsibility of MAI that they would have to work for the rights of Muslims, but they remained silent. MAI supported the Congress but on the other hand Congress rejected their formula that's why I left MAI.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ *Daily Azad*, (Lahore). September 2, 1946.

¹²⁷ Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrār*, (Vol VII), 371-73.

¹²⁸ *Ibid*, 373.

2.5.7. Death

After Independence he left Gurdaspur and arrived in Lahore. The Government given him bungalow in Fane Road Lahore. He also took part in Ahmediyya riots in 1953. He died on November 4, 1974 in Lahore.

2.6. Qazi Ahsan Ahmad Shujaabadi (1906-66)

Qazi Ahsan was born in 1906 at Shujaabad, Multan. He received his early education from his uncle Muhammad Yaseen and Qazi Muhammad Amin. He also studied at government school and received *Qurani Alum-o-Maharaf, Hadiths-o-Tafseer* from Mawlana Khalil Ahmad. He belonged to the family of Qazi and orator. He had started oration when he was only 15 years old.¹²⁹

He was the close companion of Ata-ullah-Shah Bukhārī and had great personality. He had devoted his life for the elevation of MAI and had spent most of his time in jail. He died on November 23, 1966 in his native town Shujaabad.

2.6.1. Political Career: Joined the MAI

Qazi had spiritual association with Syed Bukhārī that's why he joined MAI in 1931, when he was 18 years old. He became the President of Multan MAI and in 1931 he was sent to Southern Punjab along Ghulām Nabī Janbaz for the establishment of MAI there.¹³⁰ Qazi Ahsan was also the part of *Namkeen Satyagraha*, but he had not been arrested. Qazi Ahsan had played an important role in the establishment of MAI branches from Lahore to Rawalpindi and Gurdaspur to Amritsar.

¹²⁹ Muhammad Noor-ul-Haq, *Sawanah-i-Hayat Khatib-i-Pakistan Haqrat Mawlana Qazi Ahsan Ahmed Shujaabadi*, (Multan: Maktabah Ahsan. n. d), 424-25.

¹³⁰ *Ibid*, 48-50.

2.6.2. Kashmir Issue and MAI

After joining MAI, he mobilized the people of Multan to support MAI. In 1930 when Kashmir issue was on its peak many people of Multan voluntarily joined the Kashmir Movement.¹³¹

2.6.3. Style of Oration

MAI produced a squad of orators and Qazi Ahsan was worthy orator among them. The youth of Punjab was inspired by his style of oration. His style of oration was the copy of Syed Bukhārī. He had the quality of attracting the attention of huge crowd and his way of pronunciation was clear. He could deliver speech on every topic willingly and had expertise on poetry in Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Sindhi and Multani. In March 8-9, 1963 in Lahore on the occasion of *Khatm-i-Nabuwwat* Conference he was selected as Amīr of the *Tehrik-Taḥaffuz-i-Khatm-i-Nabuwwat*. He was acknowledged as *Khatīb-i-Pakistan*.¹³² He had the ability to speak fluently on all topics, but he had good command over *Touhid* and *Risālat*, *Khatm-i-Nabuwwat*, *Maqam-i-Ṣaḥābah*, *Ahl-i-Bait*, *Aman-i-Alam* and Islam. His speeches had also highlighted the social evils and also took an active part to eradicate these evils from the society. In his speeches he used to advise the women to keep veil, to give respect to their husbands, take care of children.¹³³

2.6.4. Imprisonment of Qazi Ahsan

Namaz-i-Juma was banned at Qadian under the Section 144 but he had breached the law and first time was arrested on December 20, 1935. He was punished for six months and

¹³¹ *Daily Mashriq*, (Lahore), November 25, 1922.

¹³² Muhammad Noor-ul-Haq, *Sawanah-i-Hayat Khatib-i-Pakistan Ḥaḍrat Mawlana Qazi Ahsan Ahmed Shujaabadi*, 81-87.

¹³³ *Ibid*, 87-89.

placed in C category of jail. He had to pay fine of thousand rupees and if he could not pay then he would spend three months more in jail. He had spent nine months in Gurdaspur Jail. During his stay in Jail many prisoners were inspired by his characteristics and they adopted right path.¹³⁴ Jail Superintendent was also inspired from him and respected him. One night, while sleeping in jail he fell from his bed and fractured his arm and spent miserable life in Gurdaspur Jail as C class prisoner.

Second time he was arrested during Shahīd Ganj Mosque agitation in 1936 and arrested for six months. He spent six years of imprisonment in Mianwali Jail. Third time he was arrested from Amritsar due to seditious speeches against the army recruitment and aid for war and sent to Amritsar jail. He was punished for three years and was imprisoned in jails of Multan and Rawalpindi. After his release from jail he became the President of the Punjab MAI.

Under the Punjab Safety Act, he was arrested on February 28, 1953 from Shujaabad and sent to district jail Multan. He was the only son of his parents. His father was in old age and his mother was also ill and unable to move. After his imprisonment his father wrote a letter to the deputy commissioner of Multan to meet him. After meeting with him, his health started declining and eventually he died. His friend Khawājah Abdul Qadus decided to meet Khawājah Nazimuddin and requested him to give permission to Qazi Ahsan on parole to offer the funeral of his father. But Prime minister refused his request. So, he did not attend the funeral of his father Qazi Muhammad Amin.

Last time he was arrested in June 1960 while appearing in exam of MA Political Science. He delivered a speech during martial law in Madrasah Furqania Kartarpura, Rawalpindi and sent to Rawalpindi Jail. He used the word *Lash* for government during

¹³⁴ Muhammad Noor-ul-Haq, *Sawanah-i-Hayat Khatib-i-Pakistan*, 52.

his speech. He was arrested. He said that he had not used the word *Lash* in his speech. He said that whenever the question regarding the government of Ayub Khan was inquired I answered that the regime was better than the previous one. But if we compare it with *Khulāfā-i-Rashdin* then it was nothing. Qazi Ahsan Ahmed believed that might be the reporter reported out of context. Khawājah Abdul Qadus met Mian Mahmood Ali Qasuri and Mawlana Mazhar Ali Azhar then they decided to challenge the arrest of Qazi Ahsan Ahmed in High Court. The speech of Qazi Ahsan was investigated, and the “Lash” was unfitted in the speech. They contacted the deputy commissioner and conveyed the issues then the home secretary released him.¹³⁵

2.6.5. Earthquake of Quetta

On May 31, 1935 a disastrous earth quake hit Quetta. MAI established a relief fund outside of Delhi Gate Lahore. He raised funds for the rehabilitation of victims of earthquake. On his services, Viceroy had given him appreciation certificate but he refused to accept it. He was of the view that he helped the people because it was his religious obligation not to please British government.

2.6.6. Appointment as Member of All-India MAI Working Committee (AIMAIWC)

Due to his services, he was appointed as the member of AIMAIWC and performed his duties with full responsibility. After the start of WWII in 1939 he established war council. He delivered his first speech against army recruitment and aid for war at Farid Chowk,

¹³⁵ Muhammad Noor-ul-Haq, *Sawanah-i-Hayat Khatib-i-Pakistan*, 68-69.

Amritsar. Next day after Jumma Prayer again Qazi Ahsan to address the public but after Jumma prayer he was arrested by police.

2.6.7. *Tehrik-i-Khatm-i-Nabuwwat*

After the creation of Pakistan, he had devoted his life for *Tahaffuz-i-Aqida-i-Khatm-i-Nabuwwat*. He had decided that he would not participate in the political activities and had suffered a lot during the mission of *Khatm-i-Nabuwwat*, and government had decided to put the blame of *Khatm-i-Nabuwwat* on some persons and Qazi Ahsan was one of them. It was the plan of government to keep him in District Multan Jail, but he was released.¹³⁶ The conspiracies of government against him could not work and Qazi Ahsan Ahmed Shujaabadi stated that use of *Khatm-i-Nabuwwat* for worldly gain was disrespect of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and MAI would not do this.¹³⁷

2.6.8. Death

He was suffering from fever in the month of April 1966 and got treatment under Doctor Muhammad Idris but was not diagnosed and became too weak to walk and stand. Then on the request of his friends he was shifted to Nishtar Hospital Multan and Doctor Abdul Rauf had admitted him and started the treatment of cancer. But his friend Sufi Muhammad Aslam, Muhammad Afzal and Haji Muhammad Shafique insisted that Mawlana should be shifted to Lahore where the medicine will be easily available, and we all will easily meet you and take care of you. He was shifted to Lahore in the month of September and stayed in the house of Sufi Muhammad Aslam and latter Sufi Muhammad Aslam shifted him and his family to his home at Sunnat Nagar Lahore. He was suffering

¹³⁶ Daily *Mashriq*, November 25, 1966, Lahore.

¹³⁷ Daily *Azad*, January 20, 1959, Lahore.

from liver cancer, but Mawlana was not informed about this disease. He lived in Lahore for one and half month. On November 24, 1966, he passed away and buried in his hometown Shujaabad, Multan.¹³⁸

MAI leadership belongs to the different cadre of the society. Mostly leadership has the quality of oration. By using oration, they mobilized the masses. They were known as emotional and agitational leaders. Aḥrār leadership played significant role in the political development of India. Mostly the leadership of MAI spent their lives in jail according to their slogan *yā jail main yā rail main*. The leadership has the different view point on the creation of Pakistan. Some leaders such as; Syed Bukhārī, was against the partition of India on the other hand Mawlana Mazhar Ali Azhar was in the favor of partition.

Many leaders follow the different leadership style to achieve their vision and goals. MAI leadership had adopted the charismatic and transformational style of leadership. In charismatic leadership, leaders inspire and influence the public with their style of communication, humility, confidence and body language. This type of leadership aimed at transforming the vision into reality by using the qualities. Syed Atta ullah Shah Bukhārī fall in the category of charismatic leadership. He had all the qualities of charismatic leadership. He was known as best orator of India. He had his unique style. He used to quote the Quranic verses and Muslim history in his speeches and his greatest achievement of life was his style of oration. By using this style, he shattered the *Shuddhi* and *Sanghtan* movements. By his style of oration, he inspired millions of people and they listened to him quietly for many hours. During his speech he always created a charmed and people followed him instinctively. The style of oration of Faiz-ul-Hassan was quite different from other leaders of MAI because it was not copied from others, and nobody

¹³⁸ Daily *Mashriq* (Lahore), November 25, 1966.

can copy it. Afzal Haq was also a great orator, and his style of oration was impressive with a clear voice. He tried to explain the problematic subjects in a simple way that audience can easily understand. MAI produced a squad of orators like Mawlana Habib-ur-Rehman Ludhianvi, Mawlana Mazhar Ali Azhar and Qazi Ahsan were important to mention. The youth of Punjab was inspired by their style of oration. They had the quality of attracting the attention of huge crowd as their ways of pronunciation were clear. Qazi Ahsan could deliver speech on every topic willingly and had expertise on poetry in Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Sindhi and Multani. All of the above-mentioned leaders adopted the Transformational style of leadership. Transformational leadership has the ability to influence the public during the crisis and get their support. They rely on the shared vision to bring the change. Whereas, Charismatic leadership rely on their skills to motivate the public.

CHAPTER – 3

PERCEPTION AND WORKING OF AHRAR WITH THE LEADERSHIP OF MAINSTREAM POLITICAL PARTIES OF BRITISH INDIA

MAI was one of the influential religio-political party which came into the political scenario of British Punjab in December 1929. MAI wanted to establish an Islamic Society where the masses spent their lives freely from the clutches of elite class. MAI not only influenced the Government, but they also influenced mainstream political parties of that time. MAI played very important role in Indian Muslim politics of the late colonial era.

3.1. Indian National Congress

Indian National Congress (INC) basically designed to act as a bridge between the people and government. It was the largest political organization which came into being under the commanding personality of Allan Octavian Hume (1829-1912), a former Home Secretary. Hume who conceived the idea of the INC, believed that the British people desired justice for India and they would see that a fair treatment would be meted out to the Indians if only they know the real merits of the case. As soon as the idea of the Congress took shape, Hume proceeded to England to enlist the support and sympathy of the English people. Other leaders of the early Congress like Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917), W.C. Bonneyjee (1844-1906) and Pherozeshah Mehta (1854-1915) also strongly felt that a vigorous propaganda must be carried on throughout Britain by means of public meetings, lectures, pamphlets, & newspaper articles for securing the support of public institutions and the sympathy of influential men. Hume pointed out that the European officials in India are antagonistic to Congress plan and therefore it was futile to expect any political reform. “Our only hope” he declared “lies in awakening the British public to a sense of

the wrongs” done to the Indian people.¹ It was formed with the blessing of the government to eradicate pre-existing racial antagonism and to create opportunity for an adequate expression of the expanding political intelligence and capacity of educated Indians.²

INC was formed in December 1885 to represent the all nations which were living in India. INC claimed that it would be the representatives of all communities but in reality it just worked for the political rights and interest of Hindus on some national issues such as Hindi-Urdu controversy, Partition of Bengal and issue of Separate and joint electorates. INC also realized that without Hindu-Muslim unity constitutional advancement in British India would be not possible. But, at the same time, there was a group in INC who were of the view that Indian Muslims are not as patriotic as compare to they were.³

3.1.2. Aims and Objectives of INC

The aims and objectives of INC were as under:

- 1) The development of national consciousness in India.
- 2) The establishment of friendly relations with Great Britain.
- 3) The attainment of self-government through the good offices of British Administrators.⁴

In Punjab, the Provincial Congress branch was formed in 1885, where the tribal and communal loyalties as compared to other provinces were much stronger due to the lack of western education. Its activities were limited to the urban centers and were

¹ Charles Freer Andrews & Girija K. Mukherjee, *The Rise and Growth of the Congress in India* (Oxon: Routledge, 2017), 8.

² B.B Misra, *The Indian Political Parties: An Historical Analysis of Political Behavior up to 1947* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1977), 46.

³ Qalb-i-Abid and Massarrat Abid, “Muslim League, Jinnah and the Hindu Mahasabah: A Study in Speeches and Statements of Quaid-i-Azam”. *Journal of Research Society of Pakistan*, Vol, 45, No. 1, (2008):139-140.

⁴ Indian Major Political Parties, IOR, L/I/I/607, 1.

confined to annual meetings only due to urban Hindu domination, who were more interested in *Arya Samaj* activities. Arya Samajists were interested in provincial religious politics assumed leadership of the Punjab Congress.⁵

3.1.3. Aḥrār and Congress Conflicts

Like INC, MAI was also against the division of India. MAI strongly endorsed the Congress stance on the Nehru Report. MAI was the religio-political party of middle and lower classes of Muslim society.⁶ After the formation of MAI it closely worked with INC for two years. Aḥrār leadership took the active part in the Salt Movement which was started by Gandhi in 1930.⁷ Aḥrār leadership was religious minded and based on *Khilafat* and *Shureat*. On the other hand, INC leadership was based on Hindu's mentality. MAI participated in the activities of Congress just for Independence and they also criticized Congress's policies which were against the Muslims. MAI just cooperated with Congress to oust the British because the cult of MAI leadership was anti-British.

Chaudhry Afzal Haq in his book *Tārīkh-i-Aḥrār* stated that from the core of my heart we are struggling for Independence. We are trying to get Independence for poor, less privileged classes and labors. We could not be happy with colonial rule and *Sāhukārs*. We did not support capitalism.⁸ Before the formation of MAI, Chaudhry Afzal Haq worked with Congress. When Abū'l Kalām Azad President of Congress was arrested, he appointed Afzal Haq as the member of All India Congress Committee. So, Afzal Haq

⁵ Pran Nath Chopra, *Role of Indian Muslims in the struggle for freedom* (New Delhi: Light & Life Publishers, 1979), 346.

⁶ Shamaila Younas, "Party Politics in the British Punjab: A Study of the Punjab Unionist Party (1923-1937)." *The International Journal of History and Social Sciences*. (2013):79.

⁷ Ram Gopal, *Indian Muslims: A political History, 1858-1947* (Lahore: Asia Publishing house, 1976), 224.

⁸ Afzal Haq, *Tārīkh-i-Aḥrār*, (Lahore: Maktabah Tabṣīrah, 1975), 17.

minutely observed the attitude of Gandhi towards Muslims. Gandhi also observed the intelligence of Afzal Haq and when Afzal Haq's name was given for All India Working Committee to represent the Muslims in 1927. Gandhi raised the objection over his name and given the name of Dr. Muhammad Alam to represent the Muslims of Punjab.⁹

Habīb-ur-Raḥmān Ludhianvi during his life showed leverage towards Congress but his point of view was that:

According to me the solution of Hindustan's problem is that all the Nationalist leaders should organized the peasant and labors and established a government which would be beneficial for the poor. Although, I have worked from the Congress platform. But I knew this fact that when British quits the Hindustan the government will come in the hands of Hindus capitalist. They would try to crush the poor masses of Hindustan.¹⁰

The primary reason behind the separation between Aḥrār and Congress was the issue of separate electorates. The Punjab Khilafat Committee was in the favor of separate electorates, but Nehru Report comprised proposed Joint electorates. The Punjab Khilāfat Committee realized it thrust quite consistent with the interests of Punjab Muslims. Therefore, it acceded to the joint electorate.¹¹ INC leadership did not bother Punjab Khilafat Committee while rejecting the Nehru Report. Such treatment annoyed the Punjab Khilafat Committee and it decided to change their course of action. When the participants of All India Congress Committee were distributing the copies of the Nehru Report in one corner of the same pandal, the leaders of Punjab Khilafat Committee were organizing a meeting to form new party, Majlis-i-Aḥrār-i-Islam, on December 29 ,1929 in Lahore.¹²

⁹ Akhtar, *The Great Orator*, 32.

¹⁰ *Ibid*,55-56.

¹¹ Shorish Kashmiri, *Buoy Gul Nalaa Dil Dudad-e- Chiragh-e- Mahfil* (Lahore: Mutubat-i-Chatān Limited, 2014), 312.

¹² Taqī-ud-Din, *Pakistan kī Sīyāsī Jamatain* (Lahore: Fiction House, 1955), 176.

By 1931, MAI was functioning separately from the Congress because of disagreement with Nehru Report. Many of the Ahrār leaders worked in the Khilafat movement and generally favored Hindu-Muslim cooperation. However, their withdrawal from the Congress over the Nehru Report marked a sharp turn towards communalism which became enmeshed in the Kashmir Issue and the heterodoxy of the Ahmediyya.¹³ MAI had the anti-Ahmedi stance, but Congress was against their stance. In 1932 on the advice of Mirza Bashir-u-din, Qadianis warmly welcomed Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and presented him *Sapasnamah*.¹⁴ When Congress started *Satiagirah* Movement in 1930 against the British, MAI participated and cooperated with Congress in this movement with zeal. The people of India inspired by the revolutionary debates of Syed Bukhārī and approximately one Hundred Thousand people had presented themselves for arrest. In reality it was the achievement of MAI, but Congress took the credit of this movement.¹⁵

Ahrār were extremely disheartened by Gandhi-Irwin Pact of 1931. They have two concerns that they were not being consulted before the finalization of this pact, secondly, they did not get any political relief from this Pact. Because INC leadership was released by following this Pact, but MAI leadership remained in jail. Moreover, INC was ready to cooperate with the British Government and was ready to set apart its demand for full independence. MAI also supported the independent course of action and in this regard, they organized its first conference in Lahore on July 11, 1931.¹⁶ The policies of Ahrār towards the Congress had always been vague and unstable. In October 1932's Pundit Malaviya's visit of Punjab was opposed by Ahrār and he was named as a pungent

¹³ Yaduvash Bahadur Mathur, *The Growth of Muslim Politics in India* (Delhi: Pragati, 1979), 106.

¹⁴ Shorish Kashmiri, *Buoy Gul Nalaa Dil Dudad-e- Chiragh-e- Mahfil*, 312.

¹⁵ Janbaz Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrār*, (Vol,1), (Lahore: Maktabah-i-Tabsarah, 1975), 74-93.

¹⁶ Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrār*, (Vol,1).152.

enemy of Muslims.¹⁷ Generally, MAI reflected Congress methodology in their political designs and symbolized Islamic fundamentalism in their religious viewpoint.¹⁸

Eighty percent of Kashmiris' population was comprised of Muslims and they were unhappy under the Dogra¹⁹ rule because of his pro-Hindu and anti-Muslim policies.²⁰ The Kashmiri Muslims were kept illiterate in the urban areas while striving under poverty and suffering from poorly economic conditions in villages. Educated Muslims also faced either unemployment or remained under-employed. Government jobs were given to those Hindus who were considered more loyal to the government. Ahrār leadership played an important role in Kashmir agitation. They raised their voices against the cruelty of Maharaja's rule over the Kashmiri people. MAI started a movement for the rights of Kashmiri Muslims and they denied Congress stance over Kashmir.²¹ In Kashmir and Kapurthala State, MAI started agitation against Hindu's oppressive policies and these agitations were totally based on the religious and *Millī* passions. That's why Gandhi declared this party as "Torment Party." Hindu press also criticized MAI as *Firqa Parsat*²² and dealed them as "Hindu Enemy" party and created hatred against Hindus.²³

MAI did not work under the Congress. When the WWII started in 1939, MAI started a movement against the army recruitment and faced the severe criticism by the British. Ahrār members bared the cruelty of British but at that time Congress remained silent for their interests. MAI criticized in the Congress's circle. In 1937's Ahrār meetings

¹⁷ *Police Abstract of Intelligence Punjab*, October 22, 1932.

¹⁸ W. C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, (Delhi: Usha Publication, 1985), 262-263.

¹⁹ The Dogras, called so from Gugra or Dungras and the Chibs.

²⁰ Castes and sub-castes are the characteristics of the Hindu population in India including Kashmir. The high-caste Hindus were called Pundits or Brahmins by caste. The majority of them were found in Jammu Province.

²¹ Mirza, *Karvan-i-Ahrār*, Vol, I, 172, 175.

²² Ibid.

²³ Kashmiri, *Buoy Gul Nalaa, Dil Dudad-e-Chiragh-e-Mahfil*, 55.

in Lucknow, the general secretary Raj Gopal Acharia Kiriplani of All India National Conference sent a message to MAI that merge your party in Congress. Congress tried their best to merge them but in reality they were against MAI. The Muslims who were the cliques of Congress they hatred MAI.²⁴ Congress was the largest representative party of Hindustan as compared to MAI. They had conflicts inside. Once Aḥrār leader asked Gandhi that you can talk about the rights of Muslims with us, Gandhi smiled and said "The Muslims who just clapped are with you and electoral candidates are with Jinnah".²⁵

INC also adopted a policy of prejudiced towards MAI. Before the creation of Pakistan when ML refused to join Interim Government then government invited Congress to form government. INC invited MAI to join the Ministries, but high command of MAI said that ML is in majority, they have first right to form a government. If ML would not form a government, then we would join the ministries and ministers would not follow the orders of Congress. They would act upon the orders of their party. These terms and conditions were unacceptable for Congress, so they refused to accept this.²⁶ This also shows that Congress and MAI was not the Confidant.

3.2.1. All-India Muslim League

In the beginning of twentieth century Muslims of the India were in despicable due to the Hindu-Muslim riots, Hindi-Urdu controversy, absence of separate Muslim representation in the legislative and municipal councils and share in the government jobs. So, they

²⁴ Chaudhry Ḥabīb Ahmed, *Tehrik-i-Pakistan aur Nationalist Ulama*, (Lahore: Ashraf Press, 1966), 39.

²⁵ Kashmiri, *Buoy Gul Nalaa Dil Dudad-e-Chiragh-e-Mahfil*, 313-314.

²⁶ Aziz-ur-Rahman, *Raees-ul-Aḥrār Mawlānā Ḥabīb-ur-Rahman aur Hindustan Ki Jang-i-Azadi* (Delhi: Talimi Samaji Markaz, 1961), 297-298.

thought that they should have their own political party which works for them.²⁷ So, AIML formed to safeguard Muslim's political rights and interests. After initial correspondence between Mohsin-ul-Mulk (1837-1907), Viqar-ul-Mulk (1841-1917)²⁸ and Sir Aga Khan (1877-1957), a meeting of Muslim leaders held on December 30, 1906 at Dacca where the Muhammadan Educational Conference was in Session and in this meeting decision was taken to lay the foundation of All-India Muslim League.²⁹

Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Viqar-ul-Mulk appointed to draft the constitution of AIML within four months and Sir Aga Khan was appointed as its first President.³⁰

3.2.2. Objectives of AIML

In early phase AIML started working on communal lines. The objectives of League were as follows:

1. To establish friendly relationship between Muslims and British and remove misconception between them.
2. To work for the political rights and interests of Indian Muslims.
3. Without discrimination AIML will work for harmony between the Muslims and other communities of India.³¹

The majority Muslims of India welcomed the formation of the AIML and soon its branches were formed at different corners of India.³² The first session of AIML was

²⁷ Nadeem Shafiq Malik, "Formation of the All-India Muslim League and its Response to some Foreign Issues 1906-1911". *Journal of Political Studies*, Vol. 19, Issue - 2, (2012):170.

²⁸ He was former teacher, judge and member of the Aligarh College Committee.

²⁹ Sheikh Muhammad Ikram, *Makers of Pakistan and Modern Muslim India*. (Lahore: M. Ashraf, 1965), 6, 92-96 and Rafiq Zakria, *Rise of Muslims in Indian Politics: An Analysis of Developments from 1885 to 1906* (Bombay: M. N. Publishers, 1970), 70-80.

³⁰ W. Somerset Maugham, *The Memoirs of Aga Khan: World Enough and Time* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1954), 125.

³¹ Muhammad Saleem Ahmad, *The All India Muslim League: From the Late Nineteenth Century to 1919* (Bahawalpur: Ilham Publishers, 1988), 20-41. *The Pioneer*, January 2, 1907. *The Englishman*, January 4, 1907.

held at Karachi on December 29-30, 1907 under the command of Adamjee Peerbhoy (1845-1913). In this session the constitution of AIML approved and it was decided to put the limitation on the initial membership of AIML up till 400. The London branch of AIML also formed in May 1908, and Syed Ameer Ali was appointed as the President of AIML, and Ibn-i-Ahmad as its Honorary Secretary.³³

3.2.3. Aḥrār and AIML Conflicts

In August 1935, British Government passed Government of India Act 1935, which included federal system and eligibility for voting. MAI and AIML opposed this federal system. So, the similarity of views on constitutional issues was an important factor that brought the MAI closer to the AIML. In 1936, the MAI associated itself with the Muslim League, and its leaders' accepted membership of the Central Muslim League Parliamentary Board.³⁴

In May 1936, Jinnah attempted to organize Punjab Muslim League in Punjab. The Aḥrār refused to co-operate on the grounds that they would lead no treaty with any party that included Ahmedis. They were also desirous of maintaining themselves as separate entity. They held a Punjab Provincial Conference at Amritsar in same month attended by 5000 persons.³⁵

³² Muhammad Saleem Ahmad, The All India Muslim League and Some Home and Foreign Issues of Early Decades of This Century, *Journal of Punjab University Historical Society*, (1989), Vol. XXIII, No.2, 1-17.

³³ Razi Wasti, "Foundation of the London Branch of the All India Muslim League," *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, Vol. II, Part-I, (1965): 67-73.

³⁴ Samina Awan, "Nationalist Politics in the British Punjab: An Alliance between Muslim League Parliamentary Board and Majlis-i-Aḥrār-Islam." *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, no. 2 (2009): 74.

³⁵ *The Aḥrār Movement in the Punjab (1931-38)*, (Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing Punjab, 1939), 54.

3.2.4. Aḥrār and Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board

In 1936 an agreement was signed between the members of Aḥrār and AIML. Muhammad Ali Jinnah visited Lahore on April 1936 for the future elections. He wanted to establish Provincial Election Board. Jinnah knew this fact that Punjab Muslim League was under the control of *Sarkarparast* members and there were little chances that Muslim League won the elections of 1937. Ahrar's relationship with ML was not long lasting. Soon the conflict started over the selection of nominees for the Central Parliamentary Board. The Punjab Parliamentary Board made it mandatory that nominees will pay Rs 500 for ticket as non-refundable contribution, and Rs 150 more for the ticket. The Aḥrār nominees were not in a position to pay³⁶ this amount, Aḥrār leaders that it was the pretext to keep MAI away from elections.³⁷

At that time politics of Punjab was dominated by Aḥrār and Sir Fazl-i-Husain. Jinnah wanted to have mass excess and wanted to refine Punjab Muslim League from the occupation of *Sarkarparast*. Jinnah wanted to meet Sir Fazl-i-Husain and Sir Fazl-i-Husain also wanted to meet Jinnah. He met him on April 29, 1936. Fazl-i-Husain was quite insightful person while meeting with Jinnah two British touts were sitting behind the curtains to listen the conversation of Jinnah and Fazl-i-Husain. Jinnah wanted that all candidates of Punjab should contest in the upcoming elections on the tickets of Muslim League. Fazl-i-Husain refused to become the part of Muslim League Parliamentary Board.³⁸ Fazl-i-Husain wanted to convince Jinnah that your efforts will be in vain and

³⁶ Ashiq Husain Batalvi, *Iqbal key Akhri Do Saal* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2000), 327-28.

³⁷ Tajudin Ludhianvi, *Akabar-i-Ahrār aur Quaid-i-Pakistan Janab Muhammad Ali Jinnah* (Lahore: Maktabah-i-Majlis-i-Ahrār-i-Islam Pakistan, 1969) and Ashiq Husain Batalvi, *Iqbal key Akhri Do Saal*, 12-13.

³⁸ Ashiq Hussain Batalvi, *Iqbal kē Akhri do Sal* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1978), 290.

there is no need to conduct procession in Punjab because nobody will listen and co-operate with you.³⁹ That's why Jinnah wanted to sign an agreement with Aḥrār because they were most active and organized in Punjab. After meeting with Sir Fazl-i-Husain, Jinnah decided to meet with Aḥrār leaders at the residence of Dr Abdul Qavi Luqman with Chaudhry Afzal Haq and Mawlana Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥmān Ludhianvi. Aḥrār leaders were sympathetic towards Jinnah. Because MAI also wanted representation in Punjab Assembly who should be honest and sincere Muslims, that's why MAI assured their support to Jinnah. Before his departure from Lahore, he made it clear to the leaders of Punjab Muslim League that in the forthcoming elections Aḥrār and Muslim League would work together. Now it is settled fact.⁴⁰

Ashiq Husain Batalvi, stated that with the efforts of Malik Barkat Ali (1886-1946) Jinnah met Allama Iqbal, Mawlana Zafar Ali Khan President Majlis-i-Ittiḥād-e-Millat and leaders of MAI, Allama Iqbal became the President of Punjab Muslim League Parliamentary Board on May 12, 1936, at Lahore. Zafar Ali Khan and Aḥrār leaders also became the members of this board. On May 21, 1936, names of the members of Parliamentary Board were announced. ⁴¹The total number of the members was 56 comprising members from every province. Punjab province comprised the following members:

1. Mawlana Zafar Ali Khan (Ittiḥād-i-Millat)
2. Mawlana Muhammad Ishaq Mansaharvi (Ittiḥād-i-Millat)
3. Zain-ul-Abdin Shah (Ittiḥād-i-Millat)
4. Chaudhry Afzal Haq (MAI)
5. Sheikh Hussamuddin (MAI)
6. Chaudhry Abdul Aziz Baghuval (MAI)

³⁹Muhammad Noor-ul-Haq, *Sawanah-i-Hayat Khatib-i-Pakistan Ḥaḍrat Mawlana Qazi Ahsan Ahmed Shujaabadi* (Multan: Maktabah Ahsan, n. d), 64-66.

⁴⁰Tajudin Ludhianvi, *Akabar-i-Aḥrār aur Quaid-i-Pakistan Janab Mohammad Ali Jinnah* 13-14.

⁴¹Batalvi, *Iqbal key Akhri Do Sal*, 300-301.

7. Khawājah Ghulām Husain Advocate Lyallpur (MAI)
8. Mian Abdul Aziz (AIML)
9. Raja Ghazanfar Ali (AIML)
10. Allama Muhammad Iqbal (AIML)
11. Mawlana Abdul Qādir Qasuri (INC)⁴²

Unfortunately, this agreement could not sustain for a long time due to conspiracies of Muslim League's *toodi* class. A joint meeting was called by Parliamentary Board and Barkat Hall selected as meeting venue. This meeting was the conspiracy of *toodi* class. MAI kept itself away from the activities of the Muslim League Parliamentary Board in Punjab. MAI demanded that there must be a phrase in the oath for the AIML candidate that he would struggle for the exclusion of Ahmedis from the Muslim community, and this was main point of conflict.⁴³ Another point of conflict between MAI and AIML was that in some cases, nominees of both parties, wanted to contest the same constituencies in urban areas. The pro-Unionist Muslim press in the Punjab played an important role in exaggerating the conflicts between MAI and AIML.⁴⁴ On August 25, 1936 finally MAI ended its association with AIML by putting the blame on the Punjab Muslim League leadership and decided to take part in the elections from their own political platform.⁴⁵

3.2.5. Historical Meeting at Barkat Hall

It was decided by Parliamentary Board that meeting would be held at 4 O' clock at Barkat Hall. Aḥrār leaders entered into Barkat Hall at 4 O' clock and Muslim League leadership was already present there. When Aḥrār leaders sit there, it was announced from the stage that according to agenda the meeting has been finished if someone want to say anything then share. Aḥrār leaders shocked that meeting started at 4 o' clock and now time is 04:05

⁴² "Yad-i-Ayam-e- Haqeqat key Ainay Main". *Daily Jang*, (Lahore), February 15, 1984.3.

⁴³ Ashiq Husain Batalvi, *Iqbal key Akhari Do Sal*, 326.

⁴⁴ Khalid Shamsul Hasan, *Punjab Muslim League, and the Unionists* (New Delhi: Ushbah Publications, 2006), 75-79.

⁴⁵ Mirza, *Karvan-i-Aḥrār*, Vol. II, 367.

PM. They inquired from the President of meeting that when the meeting started? When the suggestions presented? Now it is 04:05 PM. President of meeting asked Aḥrār leaders check the time. But when they checked the watch of Hall it was striking 04:30 hrs. Muslim League's leaders set the clock half an hour ahead.⁴⁶

3.2.6. Suggestions of Meeting

Some committees were formed and Rs 750 fee of candidates' tickets was decided. Aḥrār leaders understood the shrewdness of the Muslim League's leaders. So, Aḥrār leaders feeling dejected from the attitude of Muslim League's leaders. According to Aḥrār sources, they sent a letter to Jinnah about this meeting. After receiving this letter Jinnah reached Lahore and met Aḥrār leaders and feeling regret over the shrewdness of his companions. He said that I will inquire from them why they did so. Next day Jinnah again met with Aḥrār leaders and he said that I wish that you also became my companion, but my other fellows are not willing that I will keep you with me. Anyhow I will have to keep peace along with my companions.⁴⁷ During 1936 Aḥrār entrusted upon Jinnah's leadership to counteract the Unionist control on the Muslim political position in the Punjab. The Unionists wanted to end the Aḥrār leaders' charisma on the future vote bank of the urban Punjab. The coherence of thought between the Unionist and Punjab Muslim League played an important role to end the alliance between AIML and MAI.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Muhammad Rafique Akhter, *Aḥrār Aur Muslim League kā Ittiḥād o Ikhtalaf Tārīkh kē Ainay Main* (Multan: Maktabah-i-Mavia, 1985), 35-36.

⁴⁷ Akhter, *Aḥrār Aur Muslim League kā Ittiḥād o Ikhtalaf Tārīkh kē Ainay Main*, 37.

⁴⁸ Samina Awan, "Nationalist Politics in the British Punjab: An Alliance between Muslim League Parliamentary Board and Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam", 82.

3.2.7. Withdrawal from Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board

On August 30, 1936, MAI decided to withdrawal from Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board. MAI gave the reasons of withdrawal. According to it the party decided to co-operate with Muslim League Parliamentary Board. They appointed their own president, vice president and secretary of board. But MAI remained silent. Ahrār leaders decided that their candidates will fight on the tickets of AIML. But AIML imposed the condition of Rs 750 for ticket. When they called meeting, they changed the time of wall clock of Barkat Hall. They imposed Rs 50 as board membership fee, for candidates Rs 150 and Rs 500 for selected member. So Ahrār's were unable to pay all these charges.⁴⁹MAI declared that they will not use the platform of AIML and we wasted four months. Now MAI will establish its own Election Board. In 1937 speeches made by Abdul Qayyum, Hussam-u-din and others condemned Jinnah and new constitution and expressed strong sympathy with the aims of Congress.⁵⁰MAI leaders did not like the AIML decision to observe a 'Day of Deliverance' after the Congress quit the provincial ministries in 1939. Mawlana Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥmān in his speech made at Amritsar and Lahore on December 30, 1939 and on January 1, 1940 respectively, in connection with Nehru's visit to the Punjab spoke against AIML.⁵¹

Afzal Haq in his book *Pakistan and Untouchability* stated that the main tasks before MAI were:

- 1). Equal distribution of wealth
- 2). Abolition of caste and creed
- 3). Respect for all religion and complete freedom to live according to *Shariat*.

⁴⁹ Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrār*, (Vol), II, 425-427.

⁵⁰ *The Ahrār Movement*, 56.

⁵¹ Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrār*, (Vol), III, 826.

If the Hindus would create hurdles for Muslims, then MAI would have to support Jinnah. Because now Muslim could not live under the supremacy of Hindus. We all know that the creation of Pakistan is indispensable so we should have to forget our conflicts with AIML and fought against those factors which are becoming the reasons of Muslims decline.⁵² According to this statement it was clear that Ahrār adopted its own political plans and it was not working under the every policies of Congress.

MAI survived and continued to be active in the 1940s, with some Ahrār strongly supported the Pakistan Movement, while others till toed the Congress line. AIML recognized its differences with the Ahrār in 1940s without being aggressive. The important difference between the Ahrār and AIML program lies in the fact that, whereas the later aim at the political solidarity and integrity of Indian Muslims and demanded for them an independent place in a future India where they will be free to live according to the best traditions of Islam. Whereas MAI still repose their trust in goodwill of the Hindu community and hope that latter will remove the economic and social inequalities of the Muslims after they attained Independence. MAI were further under the impression that the social and economic interest of the people.⁵³

MAI joined the Interim Government after 1945-46 elections. AIML was happy over the decision of MAI. Liaquat Ali Khan was the General Secretary of AIML at that time he sent his appreciation letter to Sheikh Hussamuddin through Ahmed Shah Patris Bukhārī (1898-1958) that MAI taken a good step.⁵⁴ After the creation of Pakistan *Khatam-i-Nabuwwat* issue became an important issue. Because the belief of Muslim is revolving around this issue. But MAI decided to devote their lives towards the *Tablighī*

⁵² Afzal Haq, *Pakistan and Untouchability* (Lahore: Maktabah-e-Urdu, 1943), 104.

⁵³ M R T, *Nationalism in Conflict in India*, (Bombay: Home Study Circle, 1943), 196.

⁵⁴ Rahman, *Raes-ul-Ahrār Mawlānā Ḥabīb-ur-Rahman aur Hindustan Ki Jang-i-Azadi*, 298.

activities, and demanded that all political parties will support us, and we will also co-operate with them. If AIML will declare Ahmedis non-Muslims, we will also co-operate with it. Ahrār workers will sacrifice their lives for the protection of this issue.⁵⁵

MAI and AIML were the two mainstream parties political. There was no main difference between MAI and AIML but their strategies were different. Ahrār were of the view that British are spreading the ashes of communal conflicts for prolonging their rule over Sub-continent. Their aim was to fight and rule. But League point of view over the communal conflict was that Hindus are responsible for the communal violence. The Ahrār were unhappy with Muslim League for doing nothing for Muslims while the Ahrār were fighting for the cause of *Madah-i-Şahābah*, the Shahīd Ganj mosque and the Palestine issues.⁵⁶ Ahrār were against the division of India. They were of the view that if the Muslims of the minority and majority areas should be given the proper representation on the basis of separate electorate then they can get the representation in the center also. But League point of view was different that just division of Sub-continent can give the proper rights to the Muslims.

In his presidential address Afzal Haq, stated that:

Ahrār friends! Keep your faith strong! Be loyal with your party. If any capitalist who became the ML agent called you to join ML and any Capitalist Congress agent called you to join Congress. Then be loyal with your party. All of you must know the hazard of Capitalism. Keep the people away from the curse of caste system.⁵⁷

They reserved their sharp words for the Muslim League, which, they alleged, attempted to strangle democracy. On the occasion of the flag-hoisting ceremony at the

⁵⁵ *Daily Azad*, (Lahore). January, 30, 1951.

⁵⁶ Statement of Abdul Qayyum in a meeting of Ahrars. *Police Abstract of Intelligence Punjab*. 1938, para. 24, 21.

⁵⁷ Shorish Kashmiri, *Khutbat-i-Ahrār*. Presidential Address of Mawlana Afzal Haq. Ahrār Conference. Kasur. December 1, 1941, 99-100.

party headquarters in Lahore Sheikh Hussamuddin, General Secretary of the Majlis, and Mawlana Mazhar Ali Azhar, accused the Muslim League for banning the Ahrār when it was in power.⁵⁸

3.3.1. Unionist Party

The Unionist party formed in 1923, it was also most prominent political party that was formed in Punjab. The Unionist Party was formed under the leadership of Sir Sikandar Hayat (1882-1942), Mian Fazl-i- Husain (1877-1936) and Sir Chhotu Ram (1881-1945). The formation of the Unionist party was the result of close relationship the British Government and the landed aristocracy of Punjab.⁵⁹

The other reasons behind the formation of Unionist Party *inter alia*, landed gentry, poverty and illiteracy, deficiency of political awareness and educational reforms, and the lack of concentration of the AIML in the provincial politics of the Punjab. With the assistance of the British Government, the Unionist party gained the important position in the politics of the Punjab. The Unionist Party was dominated by the landlords but with the passage of time it distended its association with common peasantry of the rural and urban. The Unionist Party supported the concerns of the Punjabi communities, rural uplift and improvement of the peasant's rights and properties.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ K.K. Aziz, *Party Politics in Pakistan. 1947-1958* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2007),163.

⁵⁹Khalid Shamsul Hasan, *The Punjab Muslim League And the Unionists* (Karachi: Ushba Publishing International, 2005), 29 and Raghuvendra Tanwar, *Politics of Sharing Power: The Punjab Unionist Party, 1923-1947* (New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1999), 50.

⁶⁰ Shamaila Younas, "Party Politics in the British Punjab: A Study of the Punjab Unionist Party (1923-1937)." *The International Journal of History and Social Sciences*, (2013),68-69.

3.3.2. Aims and Objectives:

The aims and objectives of the Unionist Party were as follow:

1. To work for the betterment of lower farming classes regardless of their religion, sect and baradari.
2. To unite all the communities including Hindu, Muslims and Sikhs to improve their status.
3. To protect the interest of rural class from the moneylenders.
4. To work out for the welfare of the peasants and exempted them from the taxes in bad days.
5. To give the proper representation to the rural class in the provincial government.⁶¹

So, the party's main goal was to work for the welfare, coherent improvement, political consciousness and substantial relieves for all the communities. The party wanted to have economic betterment of all communities.

The organization of the party included a provincial structure at Lahore to be called the headquarter, tehsil branch in each tehsil, sub branches in each town and Zail, local branches in each village or small town and city branch in city.⁶² Its membership was open for those who were having the feelings for the backward classes; they are subjected to the economic exploitation and political domination.⁶³ The Unionist Party was an agrarian party. All the major landowners and tribal *Sardars* had gathered under the banner of the Unionist. MAI had to compete not only with landlords' interests but also with Mian Fazl-i-Husain's steadfastness in the sphere of politics.

⁶¹ *Punjab Unionist Party Rules and Regulations*, published by the Punjab Unionist Party Headquarters secretariat (Lahore: 1936), 18-24. See also *Punjab Unionist Party Kai Qawaid-o-Zawabit* (Lahore: 1936), 34-35.

⁶² *Punjab Unionist Party Rules and Regulations*, 1-2.

⁶³ Madan Gopal, *Sir Chhotu Ram: A Political Biography* (Delhi: BR Publishing Corporation, 1977), 50.

On the other side Chaudhry Afzal Haq admired Fazl-i-Husain because of his righteousness and outspokenness, which he had expressed in the Punjab Legislative Council. In *Tārīkh-i-Aḥrār*, Haq stated him the best political figure among the Muslims. Even Jinnah was not regarded as a match for Husain's shrewdness and creativity in the political field.⁶⁴

3.3.3. Aḥrār and Unionist Conflicts

In rural Punjab MAI was a great encounter for the Unionist party. The tactic that was adopted by MAI was to mobilize the Muslims masses through the passionate and sensitive social, religious and constitutional issues.⁶⁵ In 1935, Fazl-i-Husain has reorganized the Unionist Party. He has avoided the Aḥrār and established close relations with Qadianis.⁶⁶ This alliance between Unionist and Ahmedis aroused a wave of hostility from the Aḥrār and eventually proved harmful to the leaders of both parties. Even several trustworthy colleagues of Fazl-i-Husain were supporting the Aḥrār in their anti-Ahmedi activities, as well as providing them with moral and financial support for their campaign to regain the Shahīd Ganj mosque. He was much disturbed by this. He has labeled Aḥrār “the dangerous unemployed out to create disruption in the Muslim community thus injure its solidarity.”⁶⁷ He had condemned the Muslim Unionists who were aiding them ultimately.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Haq, *Tārīkh-i-Aḥrār*, 209.

⁶⁵ Younas, “Party Politics in the British Punjab,” 79.

⁶⁶ Haq, *Tārīkh-i-Aḥrār*, 177-178.

⁶⁷ Waheed Ahmed, *Diary and Notes of Fazl-i-Husain* (Lahore. Pakistan Research Society, 1977), 333.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 141.

3.3.4. Kashmir Issue

Fazl-i-Husain was against Ahrār agitation in Kashmir as “he angrily stated that he would finish the Ahrār in one day”.⁶⁹ When the MAI members of Kashmir Committee found that this Committee is just preaching the Ahmedis dogmas, they left the Committee. The Ahrār movement in Kashmir enticed small *Jathas* from different places like Ahmedabad, Ajmer, Aligarh, and Calcutta, which show their impact beyond the Punjab. MAI compelled Maharaja of Kashmir to set aside the disliked Prime Minister Hari Kishan Kaul. Then MAI switched their attention towards the Ahmedis who were intimidating Islamic unity within Kashmir.⁷⁰ Owing to his close relationship with Zafarullah Khan and his stand point against sectarian concerns, his sympathies were with the Ahmedis. According to Abdullah Malik it was perhaps due to the reason that the Ahmedis were better organized and being pro-British, more useful for Fazl-i-Husain.⁷¹

3.3.5. Shahīd Ganj Issue

In Shahīd Ganj mosque issue the Unionists had manipulated the Ahrār because they were clever to estimate the significance of the issue. So, they tried to involve MAI in this issue, but MAI did not involve in this issue, because they wanted to participate in the forthcoming elections.⁷² Ahrār opposed the Unionist co-operation with the government.⁷³ The Ahrār-Unionist enmity had further developed over the question of Shahīd Ganj Dispute. In Ahrār circle, it was generally believed that the Unionist leaders exploited the

⁶⁹ Pran Nath Chopra, *Role of Indian Muslims in the struggle for freedom* (New Delhi: Light & Life Publishers, 1979), 360.

⁷⁰ Spencer Lavan, *The Ahmadiyya Movement: A history and perspective* (Delhi: Manohar Book Service, 1974), 151.

⁷¹ Abdullah Malik, *Punjab Ki Siyāsī Tahrikian* (Lahore: Kausar Publishers, 1973), 209 and Haq, *Tārīkh-i-Ahrār*, 184-186.

⁷² Sajjad Zaheer, *Light on League-Unionist Conflict* (Bombay: PHH, 1944), 16.

⁷³ *Civil Military Gazette*, April 22, July 5, 1936.

Aḥrār position on the issue for their own advantages. The Aḥrār hierarchy complained several times against ruling party's attitude towards them, accusing the Unionist of deliberately exploiting the issue to defame Aḥrār.⁷⁴ This fear soon proved to be correct. The Aḥrār expected to improve their position in the Assembly. Because of anti-Aḥrār propaganda, they could not win two seats. The Aḥrār, as anticipated, vehemently criticized the Sikandar ministry.⁷⁵ After the formation of the ministry, the Aḥrār concluded an alliance with the Congress Party to oppose the ministry which they held accountable for their downfall in the Punjab.

The Unionists take the advantage of this issue, and it caused a serious setback to Aḥrār' reputation and incurred the bitter hostility of even their own workers. Actually, the Aḥrār wanted to keep themselves aloof from the Shahīd Ganj agitation. The Aḥrār remained silent, and their opponents got opportunity to propagate that "they had aloof because of the forthcoming elections."⁷⁶

Fazl-i-Husain advised the people to stay calm and await a legal settlement of the issue. On January 14, 1936, he made the following observation

Various people came to me about the Shahīd Ganj mosque. I advised them to drop the matter, and something may transpire to improve the matters, but that there was no advance possible at this stage. They protested that this meant defeat. I told them that they have been defeated in this matter at all stages and my advice is to court no more defeat.⁷⁷

When Shahīd Ganj issue intensified Aḥrār reacted by alleging that Unionists and their leaders, especially Fazl-i-Husain were responsible for the unfavorable turn of

⁷⁴ Daily *Inqilab* (Lahore).16, 18, 30, July 1935.

⁷⁵ *Civil Military Gazette*. March 4, 1937.

⁷⁶ Ikram Ali Malik, (ed), *A Book of Readings on the History of Punjab* (Lahore: Research Society of Punjab, 1970), 559.

⁷⁷ Ahmed, *Diary and Notes of Fazl-i-Husain*, 197.

events. The Aḥrār suffered major setbacks because of the organized and concerted actions of the ruling Unionist, including the jailing of their leadership.⁷⁸

Congress and AIML knew this fact clearly that if MAI became the great political power in India then both party would be unable to fulfill their goals. Because MAI stance was that government would of deserving masses not of feudal lords. MAI was of the view that in independent country there should not be any difference of status. There should not be any untouchables. Where all people live their lives according to their religions and civilizations. There should be system of equality. Where should not run the system of Justice. MAI was against INC and AIML because both parties preferred their interests.

⁷⁸ Haq, *Tārīkh-i-Aḥrār*, 222-228.

CHAPTER – 4

RISE AND FALL OF MAJLIS-I-AHRAR-I-ISLAM

The leadership is an attribution that people make about other individuals. Masses tend to characterize leaders for the qualities of intelligence, outgoing personality, verbal skills, aggressiveness, consistency and determination. Leaders are expected to have the capacity to motivate others for action. The leadership and its structure develop when masses do collective activity. In addition, the leadership encompasses the characteristics of a good listener, trustworthiness, and enthusiasm. The ability to be inspirational, well organized, and intelligent and commitment to excellence are also the vital qualities of a leadership.¹

MAI was formed in 1929 at Lahore with the following aims and objectives: firstly, to encourage the anti-imperialist perspective in India and secondly, to provide support to the work and actions of the INC. In the beginning of 1930s, the MAI had become vital religio-political party of Muslims in the Punjab. Its activism in the princely states, and mobilization on socio-religious issues, earned it an important position in regional politics. Besides these campaigns, the MAI also took part in the main political developments of British India, and it also worked for the Muslims cause in princely States like Kashmir and Kapurthala, it also took part in by-elections of 1933 and 1934.

After the third session of Round Table Conference in March 1933 the British Government issued a White Paper. In November 1934 this Conference formed a Joint Select Committee to finalize the report. The Report comprised of suggestions for the future government of India, and this report discussed the issues of communal representation, and provided a basis for the British government to introduce Communal

¹ Ann Winblad, *Leadership Secrets of a Venture Capitalist* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1998), 11-13.

Award. In February 1935 Indian Legislative Assembly discussed this report, the INC rejected the report, and called it condemnatory it as one of the 'usual imperialist devices' "to deprive the Indian people of the power to assume charge of their affairs".² Muhammad Ali Jinnah disagreed with the INC and moved an amendment that was finally accepted.³ The MAI endorsed Jinnah's stance on the White Paper.⁴

4.1. MAI and Kashmir Movement

In Kashmir Movement MAI achieved nothing. It did not get the significant importance in Kashmir's political and religious circles. Probably, MAI remained suspicious in Kashmir's political and religious circle of Kashmir. In spite of all this the Ahrār party had played an important role in creating the political awareness among Kashmiris. It enlightened people and the Government of India about the Kashmir problem. The Kashmir issue emerged as the problem of the Muslims of India so that the Hindu Maharaja could not initiated any anti-Muslim policy easily. He was compelled to introduce some new reforms to appease the Muslims. Though Ahrār was not benefited because of its services for the cause of Kashmir however, it emerge as a powerful and influential religio- political party of British India, especially in Punjab.⁵

The Ahrār party played a significant role in creating awareness among the Muslims in Kashmir State, and the British India and the British Government about the mistreatment of the Dogra ruler of the Muslims in Kashmir. Ahrār party leaders indulged in talks with the Dogra ruler and the Kashmir authorities to resolve issues through

² K.B. Sayeed, *Pakistan: The Formative Phase 1857-1947* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1998), 78-80.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Jamil-ud Din Ahmad, ed, *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*, vol. I (Lahore: United Publishers, 1968), 9.

⁵ Muhammad Iqbal Chawla, "Role of the Majlis-i-Ahrār Islam in the Kashmir Movement of 1931." *Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies* 3.2 (2011), 99.

dialogue. After failing through peaceful means, the Aḥrār adopted physical force and thus started demonstrations, strikes, agitations, and finally the civil disobedience movement was launched to achieve the party's goals.

4.2. Shahid Ganj Mosque Issue

In 1935, the Shahīd Ganj mosque issue proved to be a test-case to judge the political maturity of the Aḥrār leaders. The Unionists were clever enough to estimate the importance of the issue, so they manipulated this religious issue in disobedience.⁶ The Muslims of India hoped from the Aḥrār on account of their religious orientation. Aḥrār actively participated in the Shahīd Ganj agitation. On July 12, 1935, Aḥrār held meeting after *Jumma* prayers in the Badshahi mosque Lahore where 15,000 Muslims attended the meeting, many prominent Aḥrār leaders including Mawlana Mazhar Ali Azhar, Chaudhry Afzal Haq, Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥmān Ludhianvi and Syed Bukhārī were present. Syed Bukhārī in his speech announced that: "a separate organization, the *Anjuman-i-Taḥaffuz-i-Masjid*, has been formed including Mawlana Zafar Ali Khan, Muhammad Alam, Syed Ḥabīb and Malik Lal Khan to deal with the Shahīd Ganj affairs. But later on, Aḥrār left the matter entirely to the new body and not thwart their position by intervening as an organization. The Unionists exploited this statement to defame the position of Aḥrār. Aḥrār wanted to keep themselves away from the Shahīd Ganj agitation because they probably regarded the Muslim cause as a bad one, and they wished to avoid being embroiled in a struggle out of which Muslims were unlikely to emerge with credit. Aḥrār wanted to participate in the coming election that's why they did not involve themselves in the Shahīd Ganj mosque issue. But the volunteer force raised by Mawlana Zafar Ali Khan decided to fight for the

⁶ Qalb-i-Abid and Massarrat Abid, *Communalism in India: The Role of Hindu Mahasabah: A Study in Speeches and Statements of Quaid-i-Azam*". *Journal of Research Society of Pakistan*, (Vol). 45, No. 1, (2008):21.

Shahīd Ganj mosque. In his speech Mawlana Zafar Ali Khan proclaimed the return of Shah Chiragh mosque was their right, but the Muslims would surely take Shahīd Ganj and for this they would raise ten thousand volunteers for civil disobedience movement”.⁷ The same night government arrested four radical 42 leaders, including Mawlana Zafar Ali, Syed Ḥabīb, Feroz-ud-Din Ahmad and Malik Lal Khan.

On 19 July 1935, trouble again broke out in Lahore. After *Jumma* prayers at Badshahi mosque, furious speeches persuaded the Muslims to walk towards Shahīd Ganj. The government-enforced curfew over the city and Muslims continued demonstrations till July 21, 1935. Muslims decided to start disobedience movement on July 23, 1935. Feroz Khan Noon was representing the Muslims and serving as the mode of communication between government and Muslim, because he was not satisfied with the programme of Muslims. He himself and other Muslim Unionists were of the view that the Muslims could not afford to forfeit the good-will of the government. On July 23, 1935, Unionist leaders held a meeting and suggested that Fazl-i-Husain might be requested to come at once for a day to advice and guide.⁸ Fazl-i-Husain was of the view that there should be possible solution of Shahīd Ganj mosque issue, and the solution of this issue was to negotiate an agreement.

4.3. The Earthquake of Quetta

On May 31 1935, at 3 o’ clock a severe earthquake caused the huge destruction in Quetta and some other parts of Baluchistan. Aḥrār started campaign for the rehabilitation of people and established two camps in Lahore and other in Amritsar⁹ within two months

⁷ Ian Talbot, *Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement* (Karachi: OUP, 1988), 96-102.

⁸ Raghuvendra Tanwar, *Politics of Sharing Power: The Punjab Unionist Party, 1923-1947* (New Delhi: Manohar Publisher, 1999), 156.

⁹ *Daily Inqilab* (Lahore).8 June, 1935.

and engaged in charity work without any discrimination of caste, creed and religion. MAI was the first religio-political party which suspended all his political activities started and helping the homeless people. MAI sent four groups help the victims.

Chaudhry Afzal Haq managed the Lahore camp and Abdul Salam Hamdani managed the Amritsar camp.¹⁰ These camps provided the residential facility along with other commodities like food and medical aid. Two thousand refugees were brought to the Aḥrār camp in Lahore by June 2, 1935.¹¹ MAI rescued the victims of earthquake on the humanitarian grounds.¹² MAI also appealed the other political parties to co-operate in the relief activities.¹³ MAI sent 12 doctors and fifty paramedical staff to help the injured in Quetta and Mastung. MAI volunteers helped the injured people to transfer from Quetta to Lahore. The victims were facilitated from railway stations and bus stops to the Hospitals.¹⁴ MAI also established relief fund and issued Aḥrār Bulletin to inform the people about refugees and donation.¹⁵ The Viceroy and his wife, visited the Aḥrār Relief Camp, and contributed Rs 5000 to the fund. The MAI relief camps were retained for one month. The MAI asserted that they had no political intention behind its relief activities, but its vote bank increased because of it. MAI received timely support and popularity in Lahore and Amritsar for future elections. It also enchanted its public support and popularity.

¹⁰ Janbaz Mirza, *Karwan-i-Aḥrār*, (Vol-II). (Lahore: Maktabah-i-Tabsarah, 1975, 201.

¹¹ *Ibid*.

¹² *Daily Inqilab*, (Lahore). 8 June 1935.

¹³ Afzal Haq's press statement in Mirza, *Karavan-i-Aḥrār*, Vol. II. 201.

¹⁴ *Daily Inqilab* (Lahore) 6 June 1935.

¹⁵ During the first twenty days of June 1935, almost 3000 rupees were donated to the Aḥrār Relief Fund, while twenty lakhs were collected in the Viceroy's Fund. The Aḥrār Bulletin, 2 June 1935.

4.4. The Bengal Famine and the MAI

In 1943 a treacherous famine struck in the majority areas of Bengal, where the Muslims were living. The famine has caused the serious damage to the life of Muslims. This famine occurred due to the incompetence and maladministration of State.¹⁶ On October 22, 1943 Sheikh Hussamuddin and Tajuddin Ansari and Nawwāb Zada Mehmood Ali Khan went to Bihar and Calcutta for getting information.¹⁷ They visited the eastern parts of Bengal, and started relief works in these Muslim areas. They sent many reports to the Lahore Ahrār office, emphasizing the need for a constant supply of food items for the famine victims. Mawlana Mazhar Ali Azhar, the General Secretary of the MAI formed the Bengal Relief Fund to collect donation from volunteers.¹⁸

The MAI intentions behind the relief work were to provide relief to all the victims of famine.¹⁹ A delegation under the supervision of Chaudhry Abdul Sattar also joined the relief efforts. The Ahrār volunteers devoted their attention to the issue of the custody of the needy children and women from Bengal and these needy people were sent to the different parts of Punjab. MAI also criticized the AIML government of Bengal for their maladministration.²⁰ MAI delegation met the Chief Minister Khawājah Nazimuddin in his office and given him a few samples of food which had been provided to the famine victims, and which was of poor quality. MAI alleged the British government's food

¹⁶ Mirza, *Karavan-i-Ahrār*, vol. v, 424.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 423.

¹⁸ *Afzal* (Saharanpur), 1 October 1943.

¹⁹ Richard Symonds, *In the Margins of Independence* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001), 142.

²⁰ *Ibid*, 144.

policy because of this famine happened in Bengal, which had cost three million innocent lives.²¹

During the communal riots in India, before and after Partition, the MAI played an important role on all these occasions they used their local and regional branches without unnecessary political propaganda for their Party. In 1940 the Aḥrār joined the INC, participated in the anti-War civil Disobedience movement, and sent their leaders to jail. In the following year, Gandhi denied that he has given the permission to join civil disobedience and refused to accept them in the Congress, for they were neither pacifists nor band-spinners.²² Due to Congress attitude, Aḥrār felt cheated and frustrated. They now radically changed their policy, and from being a staunch friend of the Congress, they became its bitterest critic. Forgetting its opposition to the idea of a separate Muslim State in India, the party now began to see visions of a Pan-Islamic State stretching from the Near East to Pakistan and beyond. The more radical among its followers joined the various leftist groups in the country, others were swept into the Muslim League. The residue, not knowing what they wanted or meant, cried for the "Kingdom of God". The party had died its natural death. The events of 1947 came as a great shock to the Aḥrār. All power had passed either to the Congress or to the Muslim League, and the Aḥrār could see no scope for activity in any of the two new countries. It also announced that a resolution of the party would be called in the near future.

Many Aḥrār Leaders were famous in all corners of Hindustan. But they could not get the popularity and could not become all India Leaders. Because their influence was limited to Punjab. The study of Punjab is incomplete without the study of MAI. In

²¹ *Indian Annual Register*, vol. II, 1945. 305-7.

²² Barrier, N. G. The Punjab government and communal politics, 1870-1908. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 27(3) (1968). 523-539.

cities and towns MAI was known as political movement and in villages it was known as the propagator of religion.²³

In 1931, Mawlana Zafar Ali Khan and Ghazi Abdul Raḥmān left MAI. After Shahīd Ganj Mosque Issue Mawlana Dawood Ghaznavi decided to leave MAI and in 1940 he joined INC. In 1945 Mawlana Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥmān Ludhianvi on the eve of Simla Conference left Aḥrār Party. In 1947 Mawlana Mazher Ali Azhar resigned MAI and started supporting Pakistan Movement. In 1945-46 elections candidates of MAI did not win single seat. In 1949 MAI declared itself as a *Tablīghī Jamā'at*.²⁴

Death of Afzal Haq was a drawback for MAI. He was known as the brain of MAI. He knew the political strategies very well. He declared that the capitalism is the main reason of the fall of Muslims. MAI claimed that it is an All-India representative party but it remained limited to the Punjab, North West Frontier Province and Sindh. Its activities were limited to the one third urban area of West Pakistan. In the cities of Punjab, it worked Ludhiana, Jullundur, Amritsar, Lahore, Gujranwala, Sialkot, Lyallpur, Montgomery, Multan, Muzaffargarh, Mianwali, Attock, Sargodha, Jhang, and Gujrat. In NWFP its influence was religious not political.²⁵

In India Aḥrār leadership was known as firebrand oration. Their style of oration had captured the millions of masses. Allama Iqbal has prominent name in poetry and Ata-ullah-Shah Bukhārī, Mawlana Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥmān as Mir Dard, Mawlana Mazhar Ali Azhar as Mir Anees, Sheikh Hussamuddin as Imam Bakhsh as Nasiq, Qazi Ahsan Ahmad as Akbar Allahabadi, and Mawlana Ghulām Ghous in Pashto as Nazir

²³ Shorish Kashmiri, *Syed Atta-Ulla-Shah Bukhārī Sawanah o Afkār* (Lahore: Matbuat-i- Chatān, 2012), 93.

²⁴ *Ibid*, 116.

²⁵ Kashmiri, *Buoy Gul Nalaa Dil Dudad-e-Chiragh-e-Mahfil*, 318.

Akbarabadi.²⁶ Aḥrār raised the status of *ulema* in Punjab because the Zamīndār of Punjab considered the Molvis as *Kamis*. Aḥrār gave them protection.

The resignation of Mawlana Mazhar Ali was also one of the most important reasons of the fall of MAI. He was rigid by nature. He was the General Secretary of MAI. He started keeping the secrets from Syed Bukhārī. After the death of Afzal Haq he became the President of MAI. He did not like the poetry of Allama Iqbal, against the intellect of Mawlana Abū'l Kalām Azad, hatred against Quad-i-Azam and Mawlana Husain Ahmad Madanī and called Nehru as politically foolish. He had superiority complex. Mawlana Mazhar Ali Azhar allied itself with Khizar Hayat Tiwana. He could not bear the criticism against Khizar. Mawlana Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥmān was in custody. He did not ask Khizar for his release, he was released by the efforts of Mawlana Abū'l Kalām Azad. Mawlana Mazhar Ali did not condemn the murder of Mawlana Muhammad Gul Sher. It was his unbearable mistake of mistake.²⁷ According to *Daily Inqilab*:

Mawlana Mazhar Ali Azhar the General Secretary of Aḥrār sent a telegram on May 27, 1944 to the Premier of Punjab and demanded that a committee should be setup to search the murderer of Mawlana Gul Sher. The duplicate of telegram was also sent to the Viceroy Hind and Governor Punjab.²⁸

According to Shorish Kashmiri started declining in early 1931 when the conflicts started between Mawlana Zafar Ali Khan and Ghazi Abdul Raḥmān. Shahīd Ganj issue also became one of the main reasons behind the fall of MAI.²⁹ Another reason behind the fall of Aḥrār party was stated by Shorish Kashmiri that in the evening of September 15, 1945 the working committee of Aḥrār started its election campaign. During this campaign, Mawlana Mazhar Ali Azhar has raised the issue of Jinnah's

²⁶ *Ibid*, 330.

²⁷ Kashmiri, *Buoy Gul Nalaa Dil Dudad-e-Chiragh-e-Mahfil*, 329-330.

²⁸ *Daily Inqilab*, (Lahore). May 29, 1944.

²⁹ Azhar, *Humored Firkawarana Faysaley kā Istadraj*, 162-9.

Marriage³⁰ and called him *Kafir-i-Azam*.³¹ Unionist Party's newspaper *Shahbaz* has criticized Mawlana's speech. Again, he has repeated his speech at Amritsar. Jinnah responded that Mawlana Mazhar has no right to attack on my personal life. His concern must be political.³² Ataullah Shah Bukhārī criticized the statements of Mawlana Mazher Ali and said you propelled the Ahrār into fall. Why you raised the issue of Jinnah's marriage? Why you defamed his wife? Political fight must be political not like this. So now you should have to withdraw yourself from elections.³³ After the independence MAI continued their *Khatm-i-Nabuwat* Movement and appealed the masses to support this movement.

After the Partition of India, Ahrar's appeal to the masses continued unabated as *Khatm-i-Nabuwat* Movement in 1953. The participation of MAI in Kashmir agitation proved to be a treading-stone in the Ahrar's political rise in Punjab. MAI influence in the local politics increased because of their efforts in Kashmir and Kapurthala state.

The main reason for its downfall was the personal merits and demerits of leadership cult. The Ahrār leaders have the diversified personalities with wide popular appeal. Ataullah Shah Bukhārī, for example, was a demagogue of exceptional efficiency. But sheer oratory and a telling combination of apt poetry and Quranic verses could not make it a party of the front rank. The Ahrār were particularly successful in creating restlessness among the rustic masses but failed to provide a constructive lead. No party born of hate and passion can last long, and the Ahrār had gleefully fanned the flames of sectarian controversies, religious feuds and doctrinal disputations. The strong days of the Ahrār were the years between 1931 and 1936. After that it began to decline, and by 1940

³⁰ Daily *Alfazel*, 'Mr. Jinnah Kay Khilāf Ahrār kī Sharamnak Galat Beani'. October 12, 1945.

³¹ Mirza, *Karavan-i-Ahrār*, (Vol. VI).

³² Kashmiri, *Buoy Gul Nalaa Dil Dudad-e-Chiragh-e-Mahfil*, 272-73.

³³ Ibid., 274.

it ceased to exist as an effective political body and replaced by other political groups better qualified to lead the Muslims.

CONCLUSION

Islam played a vital role in shaping Muslim politics in British India. It started with the emergence of few mainstream Muslim religio-political parties like *Jam'iyat-i-Ulama-i-Hind* in 1919, *Majlis-i-Ahrār-i-Islam* in 1929, All-India Sunni Conference in March 1925, *Jamā'at-i-Islāmī* in 1941, and *Jam'iyat-i-Ulama-i-Islam* in 1945 etc. MAI emerged in British Punjab and became popular at all India level. Ahrār leadership was neither confined only to political leaders nor only to *ulema*. But they were a combination of both. At the same time, they were also not composed of a single religious sect of Indian Muslims. They include *Sunnis* (both *Barelwis* and *Deobandis*), *Ahl-i-Hadith*, and *Shias* etc. Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, Syed Bukhārī, Master Tajuddin Ansari, Qazi Ahsan Ahmed Shujaabadi, Sheikh Hassam-u-din, Shorish Kashmiri, Moulvi Ghulām Ghous Hazārwi, Mawlana Mazhar Ali Azhar, Mawlana Ḥabīb-ur-Rahman Ludhianvi, Chaudhry Afzal Haq, and Abdul Qayyum Kanpur were prominent religio-political leaders of the Ahrār. They were known as loudspeakers of the Ahrār.

On political front the leadership of Ahrār played a significant role in boosting up the image of the Ahrār among the general Muslim masses. They contributed for religious, educational, and political up-lift of Indian Muslims in general and British Punjab in particular. They tried addressed not only the religious affairs of the Indian Muslims but also their socio-economic and political issues. Hence, they got support not only from *Ulema* but each and every segment of the society. They considered the British as an axis of evil in India and, likewise, they opposed the AIML and its demand of Pakistan initially.

They were of the view that division of India on communal basis meant division of Indian Muslims which might further weakened them. Mawlana Mazhar Ali Azhar denounced Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah as *Kafir-i-Azam*. The AIML's

idea of Pakistan was based on the perceived threat of Hindu-domination on the possible departure of British from India. But, like Muslim political leadership in other Muslim majority provinces, Aḥrār too could not sense / forecast any Hindu-domination as they belonged mainly to British Punjab which was a Muslim majority province of British India. At the same time, being a religious leadership, they believed in unity among the Muslim *Ummah* rather than its societal or geographical segmentation.

Another reason of their anti-AIML and anti-Pakistan stance was that, though, the Aḥrār' leadership belonged to different Muslim schools of thought and had an affiliation with the Deobandis school of thought and a political alignment with the INC, which supported the idea of "Composite Indian Nationalism" rather than division of Indians on communal grounds. Their religio-political ideology was anti-Qadiyani, anti-AIML, anti-British, anti-feudal and a pro-Indian nationalism. Their religio-political theory and practices were appealing to the general Muslim masses. Being descendants of Khilafat Movement, they were followers of agitational politics and, therefore, they became popular among Muslims of British Punjab.

Their center of power was from lower middle class of Muslims in urban areas of British Punjab like Amritsar, Lahore, Multan, Ludhiana, and Gurdaspur etc. They offended the colonial power and pro-British feudal lords of British Punjab who were exploiting the poor working class. Similarly, they also targeted Ahmedis and demanded to declare them as *Kafirs* due to their denial of finality of the Prophet hood of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). In this way, their theory and practices became popular among general Muslim community who started to consider Aḥrār as true saviors of their socio-economic, and religio-political interests in British India. Their struggle was not confined only to the mainstream British India, but, they also extended their movement to the princely states for the socio-economic and religio-political betterment of the Muslims.

They played a significant role in stirring-up Muslims against their Dogras' Raj in the princely state of Kashmir. They highlighted the Muslims' problems in Kashmir at all India level. They also condemned the activities of Qadianis in Kashmir who were getting opportunities out of miseries of Kashmiri Muslims and misguiding them to accept Qadianis' beliefs.

The analysis of the profile of Aḥrār in British Punjab shows that they, despite of their meager resources, became popular within a short span of time. Soon, they were not confined only to British Punjab but emerged as a popular political party at all India level and princely states. The credit goes to a humble origin of their leaders and followers who developed a strong mutual bond of leadership and followership for their greater cause of socio-economic and religio-political up-lift of Indian Muslims. The main assets of Aḥrār were eloquence of their leaders and devotion and zeal of their followers. Most of their leaders were influential orators who could cast spell-bound upon their followers.

The leadership of Aḥrār adopted the strategy of mobilization of the Indian Muslims by addressing emotional and typical issues. They never missed any opportunity to comment on any issue which could affect the future of India in general and Indian Muslims in particular. However, constitutional issue did not evoke as much interests in Aḥrār' ranks and files. But, the social and religious issues left great impression upon them. The reason was that, mainly, the clerics and not the lawyers had set their course of action within the party politics of British India. Their anti-colonial and determinedly pro-Muslim attitudes were reflected in their reaction to the constitutional issues.

Aḥrār strongly believed in the idea of "Composite Indian Nationalism". They were projecting themselves as an anti-colonial and pro-INC party by vigorously participating in the civil disobedience movement of the 1930s supported by Gandhi. MAI

encouraged the Red Shirts Movement led by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the passing of the India Act of 1935, and efforts for an agreement among different communities in India. Though, the Aḥrār leadership its strengths but, at the same time, they had also some weaknesses. For example, in some cases, they made decisions but they could not continue with their stand that exhibited immaturity in their ranks and files despite the fact that they had several good public orators. The leadership of MAI had the quality to led demonstration but they did not have aptitude to convince the masses in the favor of some popular scheme. They often wasted their energies in unintended conflicts and self-conflicting policies.

They were appealing to religious emotional ideals by referring to the Quran and Muslim history. They attacked the alleged immorality of imperialism and capitalism. They talked of radical socialism of the romantic type. Their tones were mostly aggressive. The Aḥrār politics in British Punjab may be divided into two categories. One is their agitational street-politics which was considered as their strength due to their influential leadership. The other aspect is their constitutional, electoral and parliamentary performance which may not be considered up to the standard. One reason was that they could not succeed in winning enough representation in the elections of 1937 and 1946 respectively.

Another reason was that the political scenario of British India had been changed at larger since the outbreak of the WWII (1939-45) and passage of Lahore Resolution in 1940. But they could not realize the gravity of the ongoing political situation in British India generally and in British Punjab particularly. Furthermore, they had not any solid futuristic agenda for Indian Muslims which could attract them in large number. During the war years they concentrated merely on social issues human rights violations during the war.

Despite having less representation in legislatures, they still vigorously engaged in legislations pertaining to blasphemy, conditions of Indian prisoners in jails, and other social issues. They also opposed recruitment of Indians for the then ongoing war purposes and sending the Indians abroad to fight for the British Crown. Despite of their religio-political activism throughout 1930s and 1940s within and outside the legislatures, but they still could not win any considerable victory in 1946-elections. They participated in the provincial and central legislative elections during 1933 (bye-election), 1934, 1937 and 1945-6. Their smaller representation proved their inability to work more effectively within the legislative fields of British India; hence, they inclined to the agitational politics.

In British Punjab, the MAI stance was anti-capitalists, anti-British, anti-Muslim League and anti-Unionist to the fundamental and they publicly condemned the Unionist's favor for feudal and big landlords and did not hesitate to show their hatred for moneylenders in the Punjab. In order to defaming the MAI their rivals exploited their reluctance to participate in Shahīd Ganj Mosque issue. MAI participated in many reliefs' works of like their efforts in earthquake of Quetta and Bengal Famine.

They also launched movement against the recruitment bill in Punjab and their leaders were arrested. In start of 1940, most of the Ahrār leaders were in jail, and the party was in disorder. The death of Afzal Haq also weakened MAI. In 1943 MAI leadership after releasing from jail launched *Hukumat-i-Illahīya* scheme which did not attract many supporters. MAI also took part in the elections of 1945-46 but won only one seat. The party was divided on the day before of Partition, one for India and the other for Pakistan. It showed some activism in the anti-Ahmedi campaign of the 1950s, but could not gain its pre-Partition strength in newly created country, Pakistan.

Epilogue

MAI and Pakistan

After the creation of Pakistan Ata-ullah-Shah Bukhārī has stated that:

I wished that Pakistan became unconquerable castle. We always should be ready for the defense of Pakistan. Allah has given us blessing, so we should take care of it.¹

Bukhārī also said in 1952 about the creation of Pakistan that:

Now Pakistan came into being, I will go all out for defending every inch of this land. I love it as much as anyone can claim. I am a man of deeds. If any eye dared to look at it with evil intentions, I will take it out. If anyone raised hand, I will chop it off. I consider my life not even worth a penny as compared to the honor of my country. My blood and honor is destined for the country.²

Bukhārī also stated after independence that we had conflict with AIML, but this conflict was between the minds not of hearts. The decision of AIML has been accepted by the public and we will also accept the decision of AIML.³ After the creation of Pakistan MAI was divided into three groups: Loyal to the new state, claimed loyalty but continued to be critical of it and third did not accept the new state. Aḥrār had a political difference with the Muslim League on the division of the Sub-continent. AIML thought that the creation of Pakistan was the solution of millions of Muslims of the Sub-continent but according to Aḥrār this was not the perfect solution. Aḥrār thought that 35% Muslims of India will have to stay under the slavish bond of Hindu rule.⁴

After 1947, MAI was dissolved into the Majlis-i-Aḥrār-i-Islam based in Lahore and led by descendants of Syed Bukhārī, and the MAIH, based in Ludhiana led by

¹ Daily *Azad*, Lahore, September, 7, 1951.

² Weekly *Chatān*. Shah Ji Number, January, 15, 1962, 18.

³ Syed Manzoor Ahmed Shah Hajazi, *Nawadrat-i-Ameer-i-Shariat*, 59.

⁴ Akhtar, *The Great Orator*, 92.

descendants of Mawlānā Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥmān Ludhianvi. MAI taken the three possible advancements, namely, of dissolving the party giving up politics, confining themselves to religious activities of Majlis-i-Aḥrār-i-Pakistan that was founded on January 14, 1949.⁵ Majlis-i-Aḥrār-i-Pakistan (MAP) held *Defahi* Conference at Lahore in this conference MAP passed few resolutions for the protection of Pakistan and co-operation with the Muslim League. They put forward three demands to the government in 1951 when the constitution of the country was being debated:

1. Ahmedis be declared as non-Muslims in Pakistan's constitution.
2. Sir Zafarullah Khan, the first foreign minister of Pakistan, be removed from his position because he was an Ahmedi.⁶
3. No Ahmedi be allowed to retain any key position in the country because Pakistan is an Islamic state.⁷

Ataullah Shah Bukhārī also announced in a speech which he delivered in Lahore Conference that now Aḥrār will be a *Tablīghī Jamā'at* and we are not having any concern with the politics, elections but will work against Ahmedis. We did not focus on *Khatam-i-Nabuwwat* and we took politics a bunch of thrones in our hands and God also punished us but now we will not take part in politics.⁸ Similar views were also shared by MAI on November 17, 1950 where they convened All Pakistan *Taḥaffuẓ-i-Khatam-i-Nabuwwat* Conference at Multan Bagh Langay Khan and Mawlana Ahmad Ali Lahori addressed in this conference that:

MAI has withdrawn itself from politics and elections but it does not mean that Aḥrār has no concern with the internal affairs of the country. It does not mean that we are deceased. Aḥrār could not be abstaining from the history. We cannot keep ourselves away from our country and rights. Pakistan is our homeland and we want to live as an independent citizen. We cannot neglect the predominant issues in the country and we have the right to express our point of view over these issues. We will contribute in the political and economic life of the country. We want to get our proper share in the jobs and education. Aḥrār

⁵ Munir, Report of the Court of Inquiry Constituted under Punjab Act II of 1954 to Enquire into the Punjab Disturbances of 1953.18.

⁶ *Alfazal*. February 24, 1953.

⁷ Rasul Bakhsh Rais, "Islamic radicalism and minorities in Pakistan." *Religious radicalism and security in South Asia* 19 (2005): 455.

⁸ *Daily Azad*, April, 30.1950, 5.

will not withdraw their rights. *Qāfilah* Aḥrār did not stop its activities. Aḥrār had just their way of struggle. It does not mean that we will get our rights by civil disobedience, direct action and elections. There are many other methods. Now MAI will adopt the new strategy to play an effective role in the politics of country.⁹

MAI had strong feelings against the Ahmedis due to the rise of Sir Zafarullah Khan as the Foreign Minister of Pakistan who was an Ahmedi. In 1950's elections Muslims League gave the six tickets to Ahmedis. MAI has given its statement that MAI took the decision of not taking part in elections and politics but it does not mean that we will remain silent over it. We will protest over this issue as our religious obligation.¹⁰

Due to the efforts of Aḥrār Ahmedis were badly defeated in the elections of 1950 and Aḥrār celebrated *Youm-e-Tashukar*. Syed Ataullah Shah Bukhārī congratulated Aḥrār workers and asked them to give acceleration to anti Qadiani movement.¹¹ In April 1950, MAI established its central office at Lahore. Mawlana Muhammad Ali Jalandari participated in this meeting as *Nāẓim-i-Ala* of Punjab MAI. This conference examined the organizational structure, *Tablīghī* activities and Qadiani conspiracies against Islam.¹²

In July, 1950 Aḥrār convened its meeting in Multan and made constitutional committee comprised of

- (i) Mawlana Ghulām Ghous Hazārwi
- (ii) Master Taj-u-din Ansari
- (iii) Mawlana Syed Abu Zar Bukhārī

The Punjab elections were held in November 1951 at Okara with the following result:

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (i) President | Qazi Ehsan Ahmad Shujaabadi. |
| (ii) Vice-President | Moulvi Abdur Rahman Mianvi. |
| (iii) General Secretary | Moulvi Muhammad Ali Jullundri. |
| (iv) Secretary | Mehr Abdur Rahim Jhelumi. |
| (v) Treasurer | Muhammad Shafi. |

⁹ Bukhārī, *Majlis-i-Ahrar-Islam*, 30-31.

¹⁰ Mirza, *Hayat-e-Ameer Shariat Syed Atta-Ulla-Shah Bukhari*, 324.

¹¹ *Ibid*, 324.

¹² Bukhārī, *Majlis-i-Ahrar-Islam*, 31.

On November 25, 1951 MAI convened its meeting in Okara in which Mawlana Muhammad Ali Jalandari approved his constitution for MAI and Mawlana Syed Abu Zar withdrew his constitution in respect of Mawlana Muhammad Ali. In 1952 Aḥrār assembled the *Ulema* of different schools of thoughts and laid the foundation of "All Parties *Majlis-i-Amal Taḥaffuẓ-i-Khatam-i-Nabuwwat*." In 1952, 33 ulema of the different schools of thought passed 23 points regarding the Islamic State and 23rd point was about the declaration of Ahmedis as non-Muslim. This point was passed by the efforts of Mawlana Syed Abu Zar Bukhārī.¹⁴ On July 13, 1953 to halt the activities of Ahmedis MAI again reformed the *Taḥaffuẓ-i-Khatam-i-Nabuwwat* Movement and assembled different parties on one platform.

Muslims were touchy on the point of Ahmedis. So Aḥrār started peaceful movement against Ahmedis to wake up the Muslim Ummah and established diplomatic relations with the ambassadors of the Muslim countries to divert their attentions towards the issue of *Khatam-i-Nabuwwat*. Anti-Ahmedi agitation broke out again in 1953 in the province of Punjab, led by the Aḥrār but this time with the support of other major Islamist parties, notably the *Jamā'at-i-Islāmī* (JI).¹⁵ In the wake of widespread anti-Ahmedi agitation and violence that ensued, the state authorized the arrest of prominent religious leaders. Furthermore, the state ultimately declared Pakistan's first Martial Law over the city of Lahore. It seems that the subsequent anti-Ahmediyya agitations provided a tool for

¹³ Muhammad Munir. *Report of the Court of Inquiry Constituted under Punjab Act II of 1954 to Enquire into the Punjab Disturbances of 1953*. (Supt., Govt. Print, Punjab, 1954).

¹⁴ Bukhārī, *Majlis-i-Aḥrār-Islam*, 32.

¹⁵ Alfazal, February 24, 1956.

mobilization of MAI.¹⁶ Because of MAI countrywide campaigns and protests it was banned in 1954.¹⁷ However, Government lifted a ban on Ahrār on August 18, 1958. After this Syed Bukhārī inaugurated the head office of Ahrār at Multan. On this occasion red color shirts were declared as the dress code of MAI. Syed Bukhārī delivered his last address. On September 25, 1958 in the meeting of MAI held at Lahore, it decided to take part in the political activities of country. In this meeting Sheikh Hussam-u-Din was appointed as convener of MAI, but the party was again banned due to the Martial Law of October 7, 1958. On July 1962 when Ayub Khan lifted the ban on the political activities then MAI again started its activities and arranged a meeting at Multan. In which Mawlana Muhammad Ali Jullunduri and Mawlana Syed Abu Zar Bukhārī also participated. On August 30, 1962 MAI formed committee comprised of seven members to run the affairs of the party and to frame the new manifesto of the Party.¹⁸

In November 2012, the Government of Pakistan banned Abdul Latif Khalid Cheema, leader of *Tehrik-i-Khatam-i-Nabuwwat* and Secretary General of Majlis-e-Ahrār-i-Pakistan from delivering a speech in the Chichawatni and district Sahiwal area due to the security situation in Muharram. The president of Majlis-i-Ahrār Syed Ata-ul-Muhaimin Bukhārī also banned from delivering speech for three months in Multan.¹⁹

MAI was the party of devotees and its manifesto was according to Quran and Sunnah. Ulama-i-Haq always supported Ahrār programs. Since its creation it actively

¹⁶Andrea Lathan. "The Relativity of Categorizing in the Context of the Ahmadiyya." *Die Welt des Islams*: 2008372-393.

¹⁷ Sadia Saeed, *The Nation and Its Heretics: Courts, State Authority and Minority Rights in Pakistan* (Indiana University, Bloomington), 6.

¹⁸ Bukhārī, *Majlis-i-Ahrar-Islam*, 32.

¹⁹ *Daily Jang*, November 12, 2012.

participated in every religious and national movement with great devotion and sacrificed their lives. *Tehrik-i-Taḥaffuẓ-i-Khatam Nabuwwat* and *Tehrik-i-Madah-i-Şaḥābah* are the history of MAI.

In the field of journalism Aḥrār played an important role. Before Independence, daily Aḥrār and *Mujahid*, weekly *Afzal* and *Tarjumān-i-Aḥrār* from Ali Garh and Peshawar were published with their full zeal. In Pakistan, weekly *Chatān*, *Sarban*, *Mazdour*, *Ghareeb*, daily *Azad*, fortnightly *Al-Aḥrār* and monthly *Tabṣīrah* disseminated the ideology of Aḥrār. The establishment of *Hukumat-i-Ilāhīya*, *Taḥaffuẓ-i-Khatam Naqeeb-i-Khatam-i-Nabuwwat* is playing vital role for spreading the activities of Aḥrār since 25-years. *Khatam-i-Nabuwwat* Conferences are being with every year on 12 Rabi-al-Awwāl. From the last six years during the month of Shaban *Markaz-i-Aḥrār Dar-i-Bani Hashim* is conducting regularly “Ten Days *Khatam-i-Nabuwwat* Course.” MAI Talagang is also conducting “*Aqedah Khatam-i-Nabuwwat* Course” under the supervision of Dr Omar Farooq. Thousands of participants are attending this course from all over Pakistan. MAI official web site is actively uploading the activities of Aḥrār.²⁰

²⁰ Bukhārī, *Majlis-i-Aḥrār-Islam*, 95.

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