

Punjab Muslim Students Federation and Pakistan Movement

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Abstract

National movements need nations' involvement for its success. It does not spare any social group or class. Students, an important social group, can bring quick success to any movement. Their energies, activism, eagerness and sacrifices were behind the success of the movement of Muslims of India for a separate homeland. Muslim nationalist students got conscious of their responsibilities in time and remained involved in the Pakistan Movement. This research paper is an attempt to bring into light the role played by the students of the Punjab from the platform of the Punjab Muslim Student Federation (PMSF). The paper examines how a Unionist-based province was converted into a Muslim League-based province. It highlights strategies adopted by the PMSF to popularise the idea of Pakistan in the Punjab; problems it faced; the sacrifices that the students rendered, as well as their stand on national political issues.

An important element of the paper is its source material, including the files of gold medalists available at archives of the Pakistan Movement Workers Trust. A lot of the workers of the Pakistan Movement had been awarded with the gold medals as symbol to recognize their services. These files not only provide first-hand knowledge of the services of the students but are also an evidence of their contribution in the struggle for independence. Second important source is the interviews conducted by the researcher. Most of the elderly citizens of Pakistan responded in a very positive way and the information provided by them has enhanced the importance of this study. Third important source material is the newspapers. The researcher had spent long hours in the archives of *Nawa-i-Waqt*, Punjab Public Library, Lahore, Library of the Museum, Lahore and Library of the University of the Punjab to go through each and every page of multiple newspapers to bring to light such facts regarding students' participation in the Pakistan Movement which had been overlooked by the historians.¹

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¹ The whole available Urdu source material has been translated by the author.

Formation of the PMSF and opening of its branches

The Punjab Muslim Students Federation (PMSF) was formed in September 1937 when the political activities in India had seen unprecedented rise.² From 1937 to 1940, this organization remained busy in opening district level branches, to boost social and political awakening among Muslims about their individuality, to conduct educational programs during the summer vacations and to celebrates some days like Muhammad Ali day and Iqbal day.³ Raja Iftikhar Ullah, organising secretary and Muhammad Ilyas Qureshi, joint secretary PMSF, appealed to Muslim Students of Punjab in the following words:

...branches of MSF will be opened everywhere there is school or college. We hope that Muslim Students of Punjab will cooperate in this regard. Branches of Punjab Muslim Student Federation have already been started in majority of the districts. It is duty of every Muslim student to get membership of Punjab Muslim Student Federation to make it stronger. If there is no branch in any area, the students of the area should not wait for the aid from the central region but try to establish branch by themselves and to affiliate their branches with the centre.⁴

After getting this message from the central high command, students of different areas in the Punjab started taking initiative and many other branches of the League were established during the period, 1937-1940. The district level branches of PMSF had been working at Jellundhur, Rohtak, Amritsar, Ludhiana, and Ferozpur by 1940.⁵ However, the district branches in the present day Pakistani areas were established after 1940. Muhammad Azam Khan Saduzai, with the help of the other students, formed Multan MSF.⁶ He was especially helped by Jamshed Ahmed Tareen of Amerson College.⁷ Taj Mohammad Malik of Gordon College formed the Rawalpindi MSF. He also represented Rawalpindi

² Mukhtar Zaman, *Students' Role in the Pakistan Movement* (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy, 1978), p.59.

³ Sarfarz Hussain Mirza, *The Punjab Muslim Students Federation: 1937-1947* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1991), pp.80-3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.55-9.

⁵ *Inqilab*, 7 May 1940.

⁶ Record of the Gold Medalists (GM) 2001, F/1856, Pakistan Movement Workers Trust (PMWT), Lahore.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1991, F/1856.

students in the first Pakistan Conference held at Lahore in 1941.⁸ Syed Akhtar Sulemani founded Attock (Cambelpur) MSF and remained president of Cambelpur MSF from 1942 to 1943.⁹ Lyalpur MSF was founded in 1941 by Sheikh Iqbal Ahmed and Zahur Alam Shaheed at Government College Lyalpur. Sheikh Iqbal Ahmed served as secretary of this branch of MSF from 1941 to 1943.¹⁰ Zafar Iqbal Chaudhry, a student of Khalsa College, took initiative to establish Gujranwala MSF in 1941. He was the general secretary of the District MSF in 1942. Mian Manzur Hassan was appointed as the president.¹¹

Sialkot MSF was established in 1943. Khawaja Mohammad Tufail of Murray College was the founder president of Sialkot MSF. Haji Asadullah Khan was the right-hand of Khawaja Mohammad Tufail. He was appointed as president of Government High School Sialkot, and later was appointed as secretary of the City MSF in Sialkot.¹² A group of close friends was popular with the title of Jewery that included S.M. Afzal, Chaudhry Mohammad Aslam, G.H. Malik, Chaudhry Muzaffar Khalil Anwar, Akhtar Qureshi and Chaudhry Faiz Rasool. In the first year, the meeting of MSF Sialkot had taken place in the room of Al Akhtar or Chaudhry Riyasat Ali Khan. To make MSF more effective, one room as office was taken in the office of City Muslim League.¹³

Narowal branch of MSF was established in 1944 at Islamia High School Narowal. Iftikhar Ali Sheikh was nominated as its founder secretary who served from 1944 to 1945 and made Muslim League's creed popular in his area. Ghulam Qadir was appointed as president of the Federation. Mian Mohammad Sadiq established MSF at High School Mianwali, where he was punished by his headmaster on this 'crime' and for attending different public meetings for the cause of Pakistan.¹⁴ In Gujrat, Zamindar College observed the establishment of Gujrat branch of MSF in 1941 or in 1942.¹⁵ Meanwhile PMSF delegates organized primary branches of Muslim League in the different corners of the

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1994, F/1058. The details of Pakistan Conference will be given at an appropriate place.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 2004, F/3258 and *Nawa -i- Waqt*, 6 September 2004.

¹⁰ Telephonic interview with Sheikh Iqbal Ahmed, Lahore, 10 April 2005.

¹¹ Interview with Brigadier (Retd.) Zafar Iqbal Chaudhry, 26/A, PCSIR Housing Society, Lahore, 12 March 2005.

¹² GM 1998, F/269, PMWT, Lahore.

¹³ Khawaja Mohammad Tufail, *Tehrik-i-Pakistan Mein Sialkot Ka Kirdar* (Urdu) (Sialkot: Idara Matbuat-i-Tehrik-i-Pakistan, nd), p.52.

¹⁴ GM. 1999, F/242, PMWT, Lahore.

¹⁵ Telephonic interview with Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas, Lahore, 10 April 2005.

province. They remained successful, as people were generally cooperative with the students.¹⁶

Methods to popularise the idea of Pakistan

The passing of the Lahore Resolution was the first concrete step in the direction of creating a Muslim state in the subcontinent. However, there was lack of spirit in the provincial leadership of the Muslim League. It was only students' wing that was full of passion and left no stone unturned to spread the message of Pakistan. The PMSF opened branches in the various districts of the Punjab, held conferences on the idea of Pakistan, discussed the idea in study circles, opened Pakistan libraries and vigorously celebrated the 'Special Days' so that the Muslim masses be aroused for the creation of homeland in the subcontinent. On 24 March 1940, next day after the Lahore Resolution had passed, PMSF held its meeting at Islamia College, Railway Road Lahore wherein Quaid-i-Azam was the chief guest. PMSF in its welcome address said:

At this particular moment the greatest short coming of our nation is lack of organization. Organization and propaganda are inter-related and inter-dependent. This is clear from the confusion in the Punjab. We have no organization because we have no propaganda and we have no propaganda, because we have no organization. We have no press worth the name.¹⁷

While keeping these two principles in mind, Muslim students of the Punjab started work for popularising the Pakistan cause.

Pakistan conferences: 1941-44: PMSF had launched a program to organize Pakistan conferences through out Punjab which was the first method to popularise the idea of Pakistan. The first Pakistan Conference was held at Lahore for which students had done superb arrangements. Nazir Hussain Qazmi, the general secretary of Kanpur Muslim Students Federation, sent the following message to all the Muslim students of the Punjab:

It is our natural and religious duty to achieve Pakistan. This is not new or strange news that 'He' has created this thing in the mind of Quaid-i-Azam after the great poet Iqbal that without Pakistan, life of Muslims of India is useless.... At

¹⁶ *Inqilab*, 6 September 1941.

¹⁷ A summary translation of PMSF's speech address before the Quaid-i-Azam, on 22 March 1940, F/1098, *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* (QAP), The National Archives (NA), Islamabad.

this time it is our duty, young men, that we say 'Yes' at the voice of our leader... It is purpose of Pakistan Conference that the world should see that now Muslim students are not silent. Now they are awake of their deep sleep.¹⁸

Before the conference, groups of PMSF visited different areas to canvass for the meeting so that the conference could be successful.¹⁹ Further, it asked for donations in Lahore where the people quite generously provided them funds.²⁰ Students were organizing everything in a proper way. The conferences also united the students who were split in smaller groups of the students League including Niazi, Nizami, General group, Ch. Nasrullah etc. For the collection of funds, groups of students visited markets and streets, homes and shops etc. They gathered sufficient money after hard labour of many days. The other problem was buying the material as even Muslim shop-keepers were not ready to sell the required material as per under the orders of the Government of Punjab. They were afraid of the influential Unionist leadership but with the involvement of Nawab Shah and Nawaz Mamdoot, the shopkeepers sold the required material.

The management committee of the conference regularly met at the residence of Mirza Abdul Hamid to discuss the program of the conference. The management committee, later on, shifted to its newly established office in Islamia College, Lahore.²¹ It had also arranged for the boarding-lodging facilities of the students who would come to attend the conference. The PMSF also managed to delay holding of the conference from the scheduled 15-16 February till March owing to the other engagements of the Quaid-i-Azam. The Quaid wrote to the PMSF in the following words:

I fully realise the importance of your Conference but I am very sorry to say that I can not possibly commit myself to participate in the Conference, which you are going to hold on 15 and 16 of February in Lahore.

I would further advice you to go ahead and hold the Conference if I can manage to attend it I will try and do so... we must have patience and move on determinately and steadily.²²

¹⁸ *Inqilab*, 23 January 1941.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 23 January 1941.

²¹ Khawaja Ashraf Ahmed in interview with Bedar Malik Published in *Yaran-i-Muktaub*, Vol.2 (Urdu), (Lahore: Pakistan Study Centre, 1992), pp.48-9.

²² *Inqilab*, 25 January 1941.

The first session of the special Pakistan Conference was held on 1st March 1941. At the flag hoisting ceremony, zealous student workers surrounded the Quaid-i-Azam at the dais.²³ Mirza Abdul Hamid, president of the PMSF presented his welcome address and highlighted the activities of PMSF and the importance of holding the special Pakistan Conference. He said:

Quaid-i-Azam, leaders of the nation, brothers and sisters, I, on behalf of the committee of reception and all Muslims of Lahore, sincerely welcome you people who accepted the trouble to come to this historical city of Lahore on the invitation of the Federation. You are no doubt a source of inspiration for our young members. On behalf of all members, I thank you with the depth of my heart.²⁴

Quaid-i-Azam appreciated the holding of Pakistan Conference and said, 'Today is 1st March; my advice to you is March on'²⁵ for Pakistan. After the Quaid's speech, the resolution of Pakistan Conference was passed which contained the following message:

This Conference of the PMSF, whole heartedly supports the Lahore Resolution popularly known as the Pakistan Resolution, adopted by the All India Muslim League on March 23, 1940.... This Conference further declares that it will do everything which it could to achieve the goal of Muslims of India.²⁶

The special Pakistan Conference of PMSF ended in a success and had its effect on the public mind also. Muslims of India generously appreciated and got inspiration. One observer wrote in a letter to the *Daily Dawn*, 'This movement is something other than what it would appear to a stranger. It is neither a political compromise nor a political bluff. It is a movement for self-purification, self-correction and self-development after self-examination'.²⁷ The Pakistan Conference was effective in another way, too. All the delegates of the Muslim students, who had come to attend the conference from all over Punjab, took the

²³ Amidst loud slogans, Mohammad Ashraf of the Australian building took a bold step to impress a warm kiss at the cheeks of Quaid-i-Azam who laughed and made a historical remark, 'You Punjabis are boisterous people.' GM. 1991, F/813, PMWT, Lahore.

²⁴ Welcome address, read by Mirza Abdul Hamid in the first session of special Pakistan Conference, F/230, Freedom Movement Archives (FMA), NA, Islamabad.

²⁵ GM.1991, F/813, PMWT, Lahore.

²⁶ *Inqilab*, 4 March 1941.

²⁷ *Dawn*, 2 November 1941.

message of Pakistan with them to their respective areas. From Sialkot a group including Zafar Iqbal Chudhary²⁸ attended the meeting. Taj Mohammad Malik represented Rawalpindi MSF and so on.²⁹

The second Pakistan Conference was held at Lyalpur on 17 July 1941. The background of holding this conference was that Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan had spoken against Quaid-i-Azam and the idea of Pakistan. He was reported to have said in a conference which was held on 5 July 1941 in Lyalpur that Pakistan was 'Lughvistan'.³⁰ Students of Lyalpur branch were not expecting such kind of remarks from Sir Sikander who was invited by them to preside over the session. To remove the doubts created by such remarks about Pakistan and Quaid-i-Azam, another Pakistan Conference was called on 17 July 1941. The organisers included Sheikh Iqbal Ahmed and Zahur Alam Shaheed. Malik Barkat Ali was invited to preside over the session. Abdus Satar Khan Niazi and Maulana Zafar Ali Khan delivered eloquent speeches.³¹ Malik Barkat Ali tried to remove the doubts created about Pakistan'.³² He clarified, '...the

²⁸ Brigadier (Retd.) Zafar Iqbal Chaudhry, *Yadun Ki Dhanak* (Urdu) (Lahore: Azan-I-Sehare Publications, 2000), p.41.

²⁹ GM. 1994, F/1058, PMWT, Lahore.

³⁰ Interview with Sheikh Iqbal Ahmed.

³¹ K.K. Aziz, *Prelude to Pakistan 1930-1940: Documents and Readings Illustrating the Growth of the Idea of Pakistan*, Vol.II (Lahore: Vanguard Books, Pvt. Ltd., 1992), p.946.

³² He said that 'They ask Muslim audience as to what they understand by Pakistan. They tell them that there is one Pakistan formulated by the late Jamal ud din Afghani, another by the late Sir Mohammad Iqbal, another by Mr. Rehmat Ali and another by an English and then ask the question, which Pakistan you mean or want? I understand that the Punjab premier actually put this very question to a gathering of Muslim students which had gathered to hear him on the 5th of this month in this very town of Lyalpur'. After putting this question he answered: 'I shall like on your behalf to give him the necessary answer. Let Sir Sikandar know that Jamal-ud-din Afghani was not the author of any scheme for Pakistan in India.... Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal undoubtedly put forward in 1930 the constitution of a North West Muslim State consisting of the Punjab, Sind, the North West Frontier Province and Balochistan.... Mr. Rahmat Ali was a follower and ardent admirer of Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal and he elaborated his plan of North West Muslim State by including in it the Kashmir. The Pakistan plan of Muslim League is envisaged in the Resolution of All India Muslim League passed at Lahore on 23 March 1940. This plan visualises or provides for two autonomous Muslim states; one on the North West zone and the other on the Eastern zone of India'. *Ibid.*, p.947.

only Pakistan now before us is the League's Pakistan and that Pakistan alone'.³³

After attending the conference, Malik Barkat Ali informed Quaid-i-Azam in a letter, saying, '...it was at Lyalpur that I realised the wave of resentment, which Sir Sikandar's speech of a fortnight previous had spread amongst the Muslims of that great town. I am sorry that Sir Sikandar indulged in rank abuse of Pakistan at that place. He called it 'Lugwastan' and went to the length of saying that the idea behind Pakistan was that of tyrannising the Hindus. The boys and the audience met these remarks of his by such shouts as 'Pakistan Zindabad', Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad'. Not a single man shouted 'Sir Sikandar Zindabad'.³⁴

Another such conference in the name of Pakistan was held in Multan, arranged by Multan MSF in March 1942. This conference adopted Pakistan Resolution and told to the world that the objective of the Muslims of India was to achieve Pakistan.³⁵ The city government imposed section 144 in the city. Students took out procession amidst the curfew.

A similar conference of PMSF was held at Rawalpindi on 7 and 8 March 1942. Although it was the second annual session of PMSF but it had inspired the people of Rawalpindi. Students of Rawalpindi arranged for the session on a broader scale. They continuously held meetings to plan the arrangements at Islamia School. Delegations were also sent to other cities of the Punjab including Sialkot, Lahore, Sheikhpura, even Peshawar and Kot Fateh Khan to get support and receive financial aid from them.³⁶

It was attended by twenty-five thousand students and the general public. The delegates of students from the other cities included one group of students from Lahore. The interesting thing about this delegation was the use of some slogans, which they had prepared during the train travel. According to Dr. Ilyas Masud, some British officials were also travelling in the same train. The students wanted to express before them their spirit for the cause of Pakistan. At every station, this group of students used to come out from their bogie and would raise the

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Rizwan Ahmed, compiled, *The Quaid-i-Azam Papers 1941-42* (Karachi: EW Publishing Company, 1976), p.63.

³⁵ Speech at inaugural session of Pakistan Conference, cited in Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements and Messages of the Quaid-i-Azam*, Vol.11 (Lahore: Bazm-i-Iqbal, 1996), 1324 and GM, 2001, F/857, PMWT, Lahore.

³⁶ Sarfaraz Hussain Mirza, *op.cit.*, p.175.

slogans, ‘Our Need Pakistan’, ‘Our Creed Pakistan’, ‘What do you want? ‘Pakistan’.³⁷

The special feature of the Rawalpindi Pakistan Conference was presence, on the occasion, of a large number of girl-students who had come from all over the province. After the presidential address delivered by Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman, the following resolution was moved by Hamid Nizami:

That this Conference of the Muslim Students’ Federation declares unanimously and in unequivocal terms that no constitution shall be acceptable to the Muslims unless it is based on the following principles.

- a) That the Muslims in India form by themselves a separate nation and the North-Eastern Muslim Blocs are their homelands wherein they shall be entitled to the right of self-determination unhampered
- b) That this Conference of the Muslim Students’ Federation strongly protest against the mischievous attempts and the consultation and to the detriment of the Muslims; warns the British Government that any attempt on their part to go back on the declaration of August 8, 1940, shall be stoutly resisted by the Muslim nation all over India and
- c) assure the Quaid-i-Azam, Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, that the Muslim nation under his able leadership shall, in a thoroughly organized and disciplined manner, strongly resist any such attempt of the British Government and shall readily make all sacrifices required of them in this connection.³⁸

Another resolution said that the August Declaration type of schemes were creating breach between the British government and the Muslims and if the government did not consider Pakistan Resolution and would demand sacrifices from Muslims, then Muslims would always be ready to all kinds of sacrifices.³⁹ Speeches of the guests, especially of Maulana Jamal Mian Farangi Mohalli’s speech, moved the emotions of the

³⁷ Dr. Muhammad Ilyas in interview with Zahur Alam Shaheed, broadcasted on Radio, cited in Zahida Altaf, *Dr. Ilyas Masud* (Lahore: Zahid Bashir Printers, 2000), pp.67-8.

³⁸ H.N. Mitra (ed.), *The Indian Annual Register*, Vol.I, 1942 (New Delhi: Gian Publishing House, 1990), pp.328-29.

³⁹ *Dawn*, 22 March 1942.

audience. On the second day of the Annual Session of the PMSF, another resolution was passed.⁴⁰

Muslim students of Punjab continued their work for Pakistan and the third annual session of PMSF took place at Jullundhar on 14 November 1942. This was another attempt to project the idea of Pakistan on a broader scale. Central leadership of PMSF coordinated with Jullundhar MSF to achieve the task.⁴¹

Students had organized four big Pakistan conferences in the year 1944. The venues of the conferences were Lahore in March 1944, Sialkot in May,⁴² Rawalpindi in June⁴³ and Amritsar in October 1944.⁴⁴ The Pakistan Conference in Lahore was presided over by Quaid-i-Azam. He and the other speakers emphasized on the importance of the ideology of

⁴⁰ It strongly affirmed that Pakistan was its goal, that the Punjab University should include the subject of Urdu at M.A level and should create a chair for Islamic History in the University. Both resolutions repeated the Pakistan Resolution of All India Muslim League and projected the idea of Pakistan broadly. H.N. Mitra (ed.), *op.cit.*, p.329.

⁴¹ *Inqilab*, 17 November 1942.

⁴² GM, 1988, F/267, PMWT, Lahore. Sialkot, where PMSF's branch was opened only in 1943, arranged for the 2nd Pakistan Conference of 1944. Khawaja Mohammad Tufail, Asadullah Khan, Syed Refaat and other members of the Sialkot MSF prepared for the session in an organized way. Groups were formed to visit rural areas to convince the people to attend the Pakistan Conference and to listen to the Quaid-i-Azam. It was difficult to convince the people of Sialkot region as they were highly inspired of Majlis-I-Ihrar and the Congress till 1943. Muslim League was not a popular party over there. It was Sialkot MSF, which in reality made ML and the idea of Pakistan popular among the people of Sialkot, later. The Pakistan Conference of 1944 left deep impressions on the people and this area gradually quit the ideas of *Ihrar* and adopted the Muslim League ideology.

⁴³ Rizwan Ahmed, *op.cit.*, pp.641-42. The third Pakistan Conference of that year took place at Rawalpindi on 17 June 1944, which was attended by many League leaders including Sardar Shaukat Hayat as president. The spirit of the students behind the success of the conference was inspiring. A large number of students and the people from the different classes attended the session.

⁴⁴ *Nawa-i-Waqt*, 20 October 1944. The fourth Pakistan Conference of PMSF in the year 1944 took place at Amritsar. Here, Sardar Shaukat Hayat, while inaugurating the conference said that if the League was the body of the nation, the students were its soul. The conference showed its complete faith in the leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam, and said that the Hindu-Muslim settlement was only possible if the League's demand for Pakistan was accepted unconditionally.

Pakistan. It was demanded in the resolution that the Punjab Government should constitute a Muslim Education Board and grant scholarships to the Muslims students. It further condemned the clannish student organisation like Rajput Sabha and Jat Mohasabha. The students showed their full confidence in the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam.⁴⁵

The Pakistan Conferences, held in different cities, had an impact on the masses. The masses got the consciousness about Pakistan and developed faith in the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam. They played significant role in freedom struggle at a later stage. With the end of the year 1944, Punjab students turned towards other strategies and plans to work for Pakistan and the era of conferences was over.

Opening of study circles and Pakistan libraries: The second strategy, adopted by the Muslim students of the Punjab to propagate the idea of Pakistan was the opening of study circles and Pakistan libraries at different places. At some areas reading rooms and adult's education centres were established in place of study circles to educate the masses about the idea of Pakistan. Along with this the study circles also served the cause of imparting Quranic education to Muslims. It was general advice to the PMSF that all Muslims of the area should attend the session of the study circles in that area for their benefit and for the benefit of the national goal.⁴⁶ In February 1942, Muslim Youth Study Circle issued thought-provoking and interesting proclamation, it said:

We deny that we are one nation with the Hindus and the rest. That we have any idea of exploiting or dominating others. We declare that we are a nation not a minority, that no amount of threats or intimidation will ever deter us from the chosen path. We demand the right of self-determination, the absolute right to regulate our affairs in our own lands by ourselves according to the genius of our own people. Pakistan is our only Demand.⁴⁷

This announcement motivated the Muslim students a lot and student of Aligarh University, S.S. Ahmed, wrote a beautiful poem expressing the students' sentiments:

They say 'tis vivisection
of the Indian nations
In an unknown fashion

⁴⁵ H.N. Mitra, *op.cit.*, pp.213-14.

⁴⁶ *Inqilab*, 29 February 1941.

⁴⁷ *Dawn*, 8 February 1942.

It is an idler's dream
A confused scream
For a selfish scheme

In the name of democracy
with numerical supremacy
Is their game of diplomacy

But we can't be daunted
By sarcasius taunting

We want India's deliverance
To save it from decadence
And without a vengeance

A home for us secure
Also for them quite sure
Without a basely lure?

On justice, fair play, equity
Behold Pakistan's quality
Won't it stand till eternity⁴⁸

Other study circles were also opened specifically for the college students. Secretary of PMSF wrote to Quaid-i-Azam:

Punjab Muslim Students' Federation has decided to start study circles in every college. The object underlying is to educate Muslim students so that they may be able to understand political and economic problems facing our country and nation.

We are also opening a Pakistan Library in our Lahore office. Literature on Pakistan will be available to our members from the library. Working Committee of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation has sanctioned a substantial sum for this object. We need help from the League home study circle in this connection. We will write to them and I hope you will be kind enough to recommend our case.⁴⁹

After getting support from the Muslim League, the efficiency and working capability of the study circles improved. Study circles would use to conduct activities in a very simple way. In urban areas, only two or three educated Muslim families in one Mohallah bought newspapers. The popular newspapers were *Shahbaz*, *Ihsan* and later on, '*Nawa-i-Waqt*'. The families usually went through the newspapers till

⁴⁸ *Inqilab*, 29 March 1942.

⁴⁹ Masud Ilyas, Secretary PMSF to Quaid-i-Azam-i-Azam, 14 February 1943, F/1101, QAP, NA, Islamabad.

evening. In the evening, one boy-student gathered the newspapers and pamphlets of Muslim League, if any was there, and at a fixed place, the news were read out loudly for those who could not buy or read. In this way, the message reached to the uneducated masses and study circles were working without spending any money. A. Punjabi's book *Confederation of India* was widely read for public in the circles.⁵⁰ Khawaja Naseem Hussain Ansari, a student of Islamia College Lahore, established a reading room, to create political awareness among the Muslims, from his own pocket.⁵¹

In Gujranwala, a study circle was established at Murray College from where the students got the reading material. The reading material was provided by the provincial Muslim League and PMSF and newspapers from the Muslim individuals. The main points discussed and explained to the Muslim public were 'why we want Pakistan? What happened to the Muslims during Congress ministries and what is two-nation theory'.⁵² The study circle proved very effective and at least literate people got inspired of it.

In Islamia College Lahore, different tutorial activities including group debates and general discussion in the Habibia Hall was another kind of full-time study circle, which trained the students a lot. Sometimes the meetings of study circles took place at the residence of any participant. One such meeting of the study circle of MSF Islamia College took place at the residence of Professor Rafique Khawar. After recitation of the Holy Quran, Mirajuddin Ahmed read the dissertation, 'Why we need Pakistan?' After which the participants expressed their opinions saying: 'only Pakistan is the real solution of all the problems'.⁵³

Street study circle (*thura* libraries), was another activity to propagate the Muslim League ideas. The newspapers were placed by street shop-keeper at *thura* libraries and customers read those.⁵⁴ At some places where no spot was fixed for study-circle or library, students distributed speeches of Quaid-i-Azam or Muslim League pamphlets in the homes of Muslim families.⁵⁵

Some pamphlets were completely prepared by PMSF. In one of the pamphlets, Khaksar Movement was explained in the background of

⁵⁰ Dr. Muhammad Ilyas in Interview with Zahur Alam Shaheed cited in Altaf, *op.cit.*, p.68.

⁵¹ GM, 1987, F/1743, PMWT, Lahore.

⁵² Interview with Brigadier (Retd.) Zafar Iqbal.

⁵³ *Nawa-i-Waqt*, 4 November 1944.

⁵⁴ Interview with Dr. Rafique Ahmed, Pakistan Ideological Foundation, Lahore, 22 February 2005.

⁵⁵ Interview with Sheikh Iqbal.

the Muslim League. Pamphlets explained the problems of Congress and Muslim League, importance of Urdu and policies of Quaid-i-Azam, so that PMSF members could be equipped with all types of arguments and could answer all kinds of criticisms.⁵⁶

The PMSF established a central library with the title of Iqbal Islamic Library in Lahore. Books related to History, Politics, Economics and Literature related to Pakistan's ideology and Muslim League were collected there.⁵⁷ It had provided a lot of material on Pakistan to its members.⁵⁸ PMSF had also established a Library in Mianwali. Subsequently, it was decided in a meeting of the Muslim students in August 1945 that Mianwali should have another large library that might contain large collection of books on Muslim culture and ideology of Pakistan. Muslim newspapers like *Mashriq* and *Zamindar* were also available there for reading. It was the only Muslim library in the district.⁵⁹

In Lyalpur, another town of Punjab, Jinnah Darul Mutalah Library was established on 16 August 1942.⁶⁰ One of the very active members of PMSF, Hamid Nizami, took initiative to start publishing a newspaper called *Nawa-i-Waqt*. For this purpose, he got training of three months from *Associated Press of India* in 1940. *Nawa-i-Waqt* was a fortnightly newspaper in the beginning, later it was converted into a weekly and from July 1944, it was launched as a daily. It was an effective spokesman of Muslim League's ideas.⁶¹

Another such example was of Khawaja Abdul Karim Qasif, general secretary of Multan MSF. He was a freelancer and also worked in the newspapers such as *Sitara-i-Islam*, *Nawa-i-Islam*, *Hamdard* and *Istiqlal*. He was also a spokesman of *Orient Press of India*, *Associated Press of India*, *Civil and Military Gazette*, *Dawn*, *Pakistan Times*, *Punjab Press Service*, *Zamindar*, *Shahbaz* and *Nawa-i-Waqt* in Multan. Through all these newspapers he served Pakistan Muslim League a lot.⁶²

In general study circles and libraries created general awakening among the Muslim masses.

⁵⁶ M.J. Awan, *Tehrik-i-Azadi Mein Punjab Ka Kirdar 1857 to 1947* (Urdu) (Islamabad: Modern Book Dept, 1993), pp.224-25.

⁵⁷ *Inqilab*, 13 March 1943.

⁵⁸ Sarfaraz Mirza, *op.cit.*, p.229.

⁵⁹ *Nawa-i-Waqt*, 25 August 1945.

⁶⁰ *Inqilab*, 13 August 1942.

⁶¹ Baidar Malik, *Yaran-i-Muktab: Biographical Sketches*, Vol. 1 (Lahore: Pakistan Study Centre, 1986), p.105.

⁶² *Akhbar-i-Jehan*, 19 to 25 August 1985.

Celebrating the special days: Celebrating the special days was another strategy of the students to popularise their ideas and views about specific issues and events. Muslim students of the Punjab had started this practise even before the passing of the Pakistan Resolution. The first such day was 'Iqbal Day.' It was arranged by Inter-Collegiate Muslims Brotherhood. Students collected the opinions from the scholars all over India, and published it in a brochure.⁶³

On 23 March 1941, Pakistan Day was celebrated by the PMSF. Copies of Quaid-i-Azam's speeches were distributed among the masses.⁶⁴ The next year Pakistan Day was celebrated with more zeal. The delegates from different branches of the PMSF participated in the conferences and also separate gathering were arranged where the question of Pakistan was discussed in detail. For the celebration of Pakistan Day in 1943, PMSF wrote a letter to Quaid-i-Azam for getting a message from him to circulate all over Punjab.⁶⁵ The authorities of PMSF requested that all branches should follow the same program. The day started with the hoisting of Islamic flag in the morning, small flags were distributed among the students and the masses, general meetings were called in the evening at many places. They instructed that the speeches should not be aggressive; rather the idea of Pakistan was explained in a simple language.⁶⁶ One such gathering was arranged at Habibia Hall Lahore on 23 March 1943.⁶⁷ The other branches followed the suit.

In 1944, along with celebrating the Pakistan Day, Muslim Students of Punjab celebrated some other days like Tipu Sultan Day, which was celebrated on 13 November especially organized by Islamia College Lahore MSF.⁶⁸ Inter Collegiate Brotherhood also arranged for the celebration of Iqbal Day. In the gatherings, teachings of Iqbal including spirit of *jihad* and value of Islam were repeated.⁶⁹

In 1945, Pakistan Day was celebrated with a great zeal. Two grand gatherings took place at Law College and Islamia College Lahore. At both the gatherings, meaning of Pakistan was explained. Similar gatherings took place at Gujrat, Narowal, Gujranwala, Sialkot,

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Inqilab*, 7 March 1947.

⁶⁵ Amin Tareen, Secretary of PMSF to Quaid-i-Azam, 6 March 1943, F/1101, QAP, NA, Islamabad.

⁶⁶ *Inqilab*, 14 March 1943.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 25 March 1943.

⁶⁸ *Nawa-i-Waqt*, 15 November 1944.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 27 November 1944.

Rawalpindi and at several other towns of the Punjab.⁷⁰ In this regard, students published some leaflets, handbooks, booklets and articles. One article was very famous, which was published in *Dawn* with the title of 'Pakistan to be achieved by Organizaition'.⁷¹ Aman ullah Khan Niazi, the president of Students Union of Islamia College Lahore, arranged for a gathering on 23 March 1945 to celebrate the Pakistan Day. Popular communist leader Sardar Suhan Singh was invited there and he delivered a speech in favour of Pakistan.⁷²

For the celebration of Jinnah's birthday a meeting was held at Habibia Hall on 3 January 1945. The students expressed their feeling of love and affection towards him, who was described by them as the builder of the nation. In the end, prayers were held for the long life of beloved leaders of Muslims of India.⁷³

Celebration of national days was thus a proof of awakening of Muslim nation in India. They gave value to their leaders, their cause and identity. It was a great success of Muslims students of the Punjab that they created this sense of difference and identity among Muslims of the province generally.

Rural propaganda (direct contact of the students with the rural and urban masses): Another very effective strategy of the students to popularise the idea of Pakistan was rural propaganda schemes. Usually students went out for rural propaganda during summer vacations. The first such move was launched in the summer vacations of 1941.

The Rural Propaganda Committee (RPC) was established at the conclusion of Pakistan Conference of 1941. The members of the committee were Z. K. Malik, Chaudhary Nasrullah Khan, Abdus Sattar Khan Niazi and Zahoor Alam Shaheed.⁷⁴ The RPC established sub-committees in the other districts of the province.⁷⁵ A special meeting of the RPC took place on 12 March 1941. It decided that Muslim students of the colleges would visit as many villages as possible to spread the idea of Pakistan among the uneducated rural masses during the summer vacations from May to August. The committee estimated that students

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 24 and 27 March 1944.

⁷¹ Sarfraz Mirza, *Youth and the Pakistan Movement* (Lahore: Nazaria Pakistan Foundation, 2004), p.29.

⁷² Hakim Aftab Ahmed Qurshi, *Karwan-i-Shauq* (Urdu) (Lahore: Idara Tehkiqat-i-Pakistan, 1984), p.101.

⁷³ *Dawn*, 7 January 1945.

⁷⁴ GM 1987, F/1731, PMWT, Lahore.

⁷⁵ *Inqilab*, 7 March 1941.

could visit almost four thousand villages.⁷⁶ Various groups of students visited a number of villages and talked to the people in the mosques after the prayer time or at their gathering places. Usually, it happened to be small gathering that the students contacted.⁷⁷

Chairman of Pakistan Committee, Zafarullah Khan Malik, sent a report to Quaid-i-Azam about the students' work. He reported, 'The Pakistan Committee started its work on 20 June 1941 at Sheikhpura and forty villages were visited by two Committees. The Committees established thirty primary Leagues, which was a great success of the Muslims students. Generally, the villagers appreciated the idea of Pakistan but they were fearful of the local administration. The requirement was to give them confidence and to stop administration of terrorizing the local people'.⁷⁸ The same kind of work was done by the students in other districts of the Punjab including Rawalpindi, Jullundhar, Sialkot, Gujrat and Lyalpur.⁷⁹

Summer vacations of 1942 were also utilized in spreading the idea of Pakistan. Zahur-ul-Haq adopted very interesting and attractive methods to get the attention of the Muslims of all the classes and areas. He wrote a drama '*Ahd-i-Zareen*' in Urdu, which was staged at many places in and outside Gujrat District. The theme of the drama was the meaning of Pakistan. The drama conveyed the message of Pakistan the people in a very light way. It suggested that the golden period of the Muslims would be ushered in after the creation of Pakistan.⁸⁰ The working committee appealed to every Muslim student that each one of them should convince at least ten Muslims to adopt the idea of Pakistan. After fulfilling this job, every student was bound to inform the head-office about his achieved targets.⁸¹

At the end of the summer vacations, students sent reports of their works done during the vacations.⁸² Meanwhile, PMSF had organized for a training camp where students were trained on the use of guns, blocking

⁷⁶ Mirza, *The Punjab Muslim Students Federation*, pp.152-53.

⁷⁷ Interview with Sheikh Iqbal Ahmed and Sadiq Naseem, House No.24, 7 Avenue, Islamabad, 2 April 2005.

⁷⁸ Zafarullah Khan Malik to M.A. Jinnah, 17 July 1941, QAP cited in Rizwan Ahmed, *The Quaid-i-Azam Papers 1941-42*, pp.47-50.

⁷⁹ A.M. Zaidi, *The Demand for Pakistan* (np: Chand and Company Ltd., nd), p.664.

⁸⁰ *Nawa-i-Waqt*, 11 August 1982, also in GM, 2002, F/433, PMWT, Lahore.

⁸¹ *Inqilab*, 30 June 1942.

⁸² One such report said that Muslim students had done a lot of constructive work in the streets and *mohalas* of Lyalpur. All the questions and queries of the people were satisfactorily answered. *Ibid.*, 13 August 1942.

of road, destruction of tanks and were also involved in Muslim cultural activities.⁸³

Propaganda campaigns continued during the summer vacations of 1944 as well. On the 19 June, PMSF constituted a sub-committee for the purpose of effective propaganda in the villages during the summer vacations. More than fifty students voluntarily registered their names.⁸⁴ In the month of June, three groups of Muslim students embarked on tours. Each group had to cover three district-centres in a time of four or five days. The groups included Mian Mohammad, Ahmed Saeed Kirmani, Ahmed Nawaz, Badr uz Zaman, Rafiq, Qasim Rizwi and Aurengzeb. They covered Sheikhpura, Lyalpur, Jhang, Muzafargarh, Multan, Montgomery, Gujrat, Jehlum and Rawalpindi districts. The police at majority of the areas tried to create hindrance for the students but Muslims of the areas were helpful to the students. The students' struggle had a deep impact especially on younger generation who were ready to sacrifice everything to achieve an independent homeland.⁸⁵

The rural propaganda efforts of the students from 1941 to 1944 revealed the fact that there was great room for improvement in their techniques of propaganda. Before starting the next round of rural propaganda, they needed training.⁸⁶ The decision for the training camp was taken at the grand conference of PMSF. It took place in May 1943 and the secretaries and presidents of Punjab Muslim Student District Federations (PMSDFs) attended the conference. It considered how to make PMSF more effective.⁸⁷ The administrators of the training camp wrote to different personalities of eminence inviting them to participate and address the students at the training camp. Choudhury Mohammad Sadiq wrote down to Liaquat Ali Khan:

PMSF is going to hold 'Summer School of politics' from 23 July to 4 August. Selected leaders and Ulema would deliver lectures on the different topics. It is humble request; please come on 2 August at 07:30 pm and deliver a lecture on 'What has been done by Muslim League for the Muslims'?

⁸³ *The Civil and Military Gazette*, 26 May 1942.

⁸⁴ *Dawn*, 20 June 1944.

⁸⁵ One such young student of Lyalpur threatened his grandfather, MNA of Unionist that if he did not leave the Unionist and become member of the Muslim League, the boy would disown him as his grandfather. Similar kind of news was also reported from Muzafargarh, *ibid.*, 29 June 1944.

⁸⁶ Zahur Alam in interview with Dr. Ilyas, p.69.

⁸⁷ *Inqilab*, 2 May 1943.

Venue is Jinnah College for Girls Nawan Kot, Multan Road, Lahore.⁸⁸

The training camp was inaugurated by Mian Abdul Bari, president of Lyallpur District Muslim League. In his presidential address, he said: 'the 1st training camp of PMSF had been held to exhort the Muslim youth to mould their lives according to religious tenets of Islam...to impart sound political training to the students and to accustom them to the disciplined camp life'.⁸⁹ Delegates from all over the Punjab learnt a lot from the Summer School of Politics. Muslims leaders like Liaquat Ali, Nawab Mamdoot and others discussed political issues with the students.⁹⁰ On the last day in the camp, forty students were awarded by the Quaid-i-Azam.

Under the advice of Quaid-i-Azam, the trained students spread out in the whole province to publicize the idea of Pakistan, with new vigour and energy. A batch of five trained students led by Ahmad Saeed Kirmani left for Jhang District, the second deputation led by Rafique Ahmad left for Montgomery and Multan and Hamid Bhatti with three other members had reached Sargodha to revolutionize the League activities there.⁹¹ The delegations distributed the Muslim League literature on Pakistan and addressed the small gatherings of forty, sixty or eighty. The services of Quaid-i-Azam were fully explained and people were asked to join the Muslim League. Prayers were also arranged for the Muslim League.⁹²

Meanwhile anti-Pakistan quarter had been busy in anti-Pakistan activities. The Congress and its associated students had launched a propaganda campaign through their print media that PMSF was an

⁸⁸ Choudhury Mohammad Sadiq to Nawabzada Sahib, July 20, 1944, F/236, FMA, NA, Islamabad.

⁸⁹ *The Eastern Times*, 25 July 1944 and *Dawn*, 26 July 1944.

⁹⁰ Iqbal, *Yadun Ki Dhanak*, pp.49-51. The discipline of the camp was just like military training camp. Attendance was compulsory. Five times prayers were offered jointly. After one period of exercise, *Dars-i-Quran* was arranged. Lectures on Islamic History, Economics and cultural difficulties of the Muslims, education system and above all importance of Pakistan and ideology of Pakistan were delivered by the eminent scholars like Professor Iulum ud din Salik, Mian Abdul Bari, Abdullah Noor Baig and Dr. Syed Abdullah. A small library was also opened at camp. Besides, a lot of debating contests, dialogues, and mutual discussions took place which enhanced confidence among the students. And now they were more than ever ready to face every kind of public.

⁹¹ *Dawn*, 22 August 1944.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 16 August 1944

Islamic fanatic organization. Such quarters had already failed in their attempts to malign PMSF. They also failed in their fresh campaign against PMSF because the Muslim community had been backing the PMSF whole heartedly.⁹³ Over all rural propaganda showed positive results and the Muslim League started getting its roots among the masses of the Punjab. One more success of the PMSF and the ML lies in the fact that the Communist Party of India (CPI), generally, and its branch in the Punjab specifically, joined the ML in 1942. They established progressive group within the ML.⁹⁴ The CPI students projected the demand of Pakistan as just and progressive.⁹⁵

Political issues and the Muslim students

The PMSF, besides popularizing the Pakistan cause, reacted on all political issues in which Punjab or general Muslim betterment was involved. In some respects, PMSF was more sharp and quick in taking decisions than the Muslim League. It presented its caliphate scheme of Pakistan in October 1939.⁹⁶ Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who appreciated the youths a lot, also considered the scheme.⁹⁷

Muslim students of the Punjab remained conscious of the political developments in the country and reacted towards different political issues. Muslim students, especially of Lahore took an active part in the annual session of All India Muslim League held in Lahore from 22 to 24 March 1940. Khaksars tried to halt the session. The Muslim students had taken charge of the security of the Quaid-i-Azam and took him to Minto Park under their security arrangements.⁹⁸ Delegates of students as well as other classes of society had come to attend the meeting from all over India. The students were quite curious about the word 'Pakistan'.⁹⁹ A group of students from Islamia College including

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 14 October 1944.

⁹⁴ Muhammad Amir Hamza, 'Role of the Communist Party of India in Pakistan Movement', *Journal of Research (Humanities)*, 25 (2005), p.78.

⁹⁵ Sajjad Zaheer, *A Case for Congress League Unity* (Bombay: PPH, 1944), p.16.

⁹⁶ Surfraz Hussain Mirza, *The Punjab Muslim Students Federation: An Annotated Documentary Survey 1937- 1947*, (Lahore Research Society of Punjab, 1978), p.462.

⁹⁷ Mohammad Ibrahim Chishti, Secretary of Punjab Muslim Students Federation to Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, 15 February 1940, QAP, F/963, NA, Islamabad.

⁹⁸ Asad Saleem Sheikh, *Encyclopaedia Tehrik-i-Pakistan* (Urdu), (Lahore: Sang-i-Meel Publications, 1999), p.87.

⁹⁹ Interview with Dr. Rafique Ahmed.

Mohammad Iraj Mian performed his duty near the stage as a volunteer.¹⁰⁰

An open letter was written to Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and the Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan by the Muslim students of Lahore Colleges which shows the highest level of understanding and interest of students towards the national cause of Muslims of India. It said:

With the greatest request, Sir, we beg to submit that you pointed out in your Aligarh speech that you wanted unity at all costs among the Mussalmans. We beg to submit that this unity at all costs is not worth having.... One thing at least has become clear that unity and discipline among the Muslims are gall and wormwood to the powers that be. Time has come when the situation should be reviewed realistically...you are the last person to be taken in by this legerdemain. Your head and heart are in the right place. Islam expects you to do your duty. We beseech you not to fail your people in this dark hour.¹⁰¹

The PMSF, in its annual session of 1942 in Rawalpindi, had expressed reservations about the August offer saying that these types of offers were creating distrust between the British government and the Muslims of India. The PMSF declared that if the government was not serious in considering Pakistan Resolution, Muslims would resort to every mean and render any sacrifice for the creation of Pakistan.¹⁰²

Quit India Movement: On 14 August 1942, PMSF called a meeting of its *Majlis-i-Shoora* to express its stand on the Quit India Movement.¹⁰³ This meeting considered 'Hindu movement' of Congress against the interests

¹⁰⁰ GM, 2000, F/752, PMWT, Lahore.

¹⁰¹ An open Letter of Muslim students of Lahore College to Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan, 24 March 1940, F/236, FMA, NA, Islamabad.

¹⁰² *Dawn*, 22 March 1942. August Declaration was issued in 1940 by the British government in which Muslims were not accepted as a separate nation but as a community. It promised freedom after World War I to India but idea of Pakistan was not accepted.

¹⁰³ Under the advice of Gandhi, Congress and Hindus started Quit India Movement in 1942. Britain was facing defeat in World War II, Gandhi thought that it was an appropriate time to pressurize the British to leave India and to hand over power to them. The British did not want to leave India as it was getting a great manpower support in the war from there. Muslim League under the advice of Quaid-i-Azam did not take part in the movement.

of the country, generally, and of the Muslims, particularly. The resolution of the meeting recommended that such kind of activities could never promote political unity in the country but it would spread chaos. The working committee informed all the Muslim students of India, generally, and Muslim students of the Punjab in particular, that they should not be misguided by the Gandhi's movement which was working for the Hindu rule, not for the independence of Muslims. They should remain away from it.¹⁰⁴

The PMSF resorted to protest when the Unionist premier of the Punjab, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, was included in the Viceroy's Defence Council. Although, All India Muslim League was not backing the PMSF on this issue, still the Muslim students continued agitating against this decision. The Muslim students in Punjab condemned the Unionist newspapers and burnt its copies, raising the slogans '*Pakistan Zindabad, Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad* and Unionist Press *Murdabad*. The centers of the students' gatherings were Kashmiri Bazar, Dubi Bazar, Delhi Bazar and Muchi Darwaza.¹⁰⁵ PMSF also criticized Unionist government under Khizer Hayat Tiwana who had dismissed captain Shaukat for no appropriate reason. Students of the Punjab condemned this step in different public gatherings. It also condemned him for his non-cooperation with the Quaid-i-Azam.¹⁰⁶

Gandhi—Jinnah talks and Sapru Committee's report: In September 1944, Quaid-i-Azam and Gandhi held talks with each other to solve Hindu-Muslim problem. On the occasion, PMSF issued the following statement:

A respectful decision between Gandhi and Jinnah would create passage between Hindu-Muslim relationship. This unity which will be based on the right of the individual government of both nations should give a great movement to the joint demand of independence. It will also lead Hindus and Muslims to struggle against unbearable foreign rule. That's why we pray that both the leaders should not meet with the objective to prove wrong to each other but with the spirit that both of them are constructive politicians who have decided to end the trouble of 40 crore people of India.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ *Inqilab*, 16 August 1942.

¹⁰⁵ Sarfaraz Hussain Mirza, '*Tehrik-i-Pakistan*' in Saleem Mansur Khalid, *Tulba Tehrikein* (Lahore: Albadr Publications, 1989), p.84.

¹⁰⁶ *Dawn*, 20 June 1946.

¹⁰⁷ *Inqilab*, 10 September 1944.

It shows the deep insight of the students. Unfortunately Gandhi-Jinnah talks failed owing to numerous reasons but most important was that Gandhi refused to accept the two-nation theory. On this occasion, a meeting of working committee of the All India Muslim Students Federation was convened. It adopted the following resolution which was also followed by the PMSF.

This meeting of the Working Committee of the AIMS F after thorough and dispassionate deliberations on the recent Gandhi-Jinnah talks fully endorses the stand taken by Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah on behalf of the Musalmans of India, and while it appreciates that Mr. Gandhi has, at last, accepted the principle of partition it is regretted, that he has not yet agreed to the formation of sovereign Muslim states as the homelands of Musalmans of India on the basis of the Lahore Resolution, of the AIML passed in 1940.¹⁰⁸

While commenting on Sapru Committee's¹⁰⁹ report, Rafique Ahmed Sheikh, the General Secretary of PMSF, sent a telegram to Mr. Churchill, Mr. Amery, Lord Wavell, Mahatma Gandhi and Sir Sapru:

The Working Committee of the PMSF unanimously condemns the recommendations of Sapru Committee and resents that it had set aside the cherished demand of Pakistan and instead has suggested the formation of a Central Federal Government. We warn the British government that the Musalmans of India will never accept any constitution based on the principle of a Central Federal government. We stand for Pakistan and shall never shrink from making maximum sacrifices for it. The Working Committee is of the opinion that Quaid-i-Azam's statement and condemning the recommendations is the considered opinion of the entire nation of one hundred million Muslims.¹¹⁰

Muslim students predicted that after the end of World War II Indians would have to face a lot of economic problems. Dr. Zia-ul-Islam advised the Muslim students that they should have some preparation in this regard, and under the government scheme of getting higher technical

¹⁰⁸ *Dawn*, 29 October 1944.

¹⁰⁹ This committee was formed in the start of 1945 with the objective of preparing constitutional framework for India. It consisted of all the opposite forces of the idea of Pakistan. *Encyclopedia of Pakistan*.

¹¹⁰ *The Eastern Times*, 13 April 1945.

education abroad, they should submit their applications so that they too could go abroad for the higher technical studies.¹¹¹

Election campaign for 1945-46 elections: The next challenge to test the student's abilities was the 1945-46 elections. After the end of Second World War in May 1945, Lord Wavel, the Viceroy of India started discussion on the issue of transfer of power to Indian hands. He called a conference at Simla, where the Muslim League and the Congress could not reach at any decision.¹¹² After the failure of the Simla Conference, Quaid-i-Azam demanded for holding the elections. The Muslim students showed their complete solidarity with the Quaid-i-Azam. They declared, 'We the students have complete faith in the Quaid-i-Azam's leadership and we offer fullest support to the stand he had taken in Simla Conference. May God give him strength to fight against the odds and conquer the battle'.¹¹³

On 21 August 1945, the British Viceroy in India announced that elections to the central and provincial assemblies would be held in the coming winter. The Muslim students got activated with this announcement. They started their campaign for the success of All India Muslim League. This was a rare opportunity for the Muslim League to prove that it was the only organization that represented the Indian Muslims. The students were doing utmost to prove that.

PMSF started with the formation of an election board for the campaign to provide an effective propaganda tool to the Muslim League in its effort of winning the Muslim seats. Training programmes were launched to prepare students in the propaganda tactics and how to convince Muslim masses about the importance of their vote for the League. They were told about the circumstances of the specific constituencies so the group which was going to that area should deal with the people according to the requirement.¹¹⁴ The work done by the students of Islamia College Lahore was remarkable.¹¹⁵

Islamia College MSF opened an electoral office with the title of MSF Islamia College Election Directorate inside the college. Incharge of

¹¹¹ *Inqilab*, 7 April 1945.

¹¹² Minutes of the Final Meeting of Simla Conference, 14 July 1945 cited in Nicholas Mansergh, *The Transfer of Power 1 September 1944-July 1945*, Vol.V (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1974), p.1243.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 12 July 1945.

¹¹⁴ Sarfaraz Mirza, *op.cit.*, p.37.

¹¹⁵ This was later published by Baidar Malik in his book Baidar Malik (ed.), *Faisla Kun Marhala* (Urdu) (Lahore: Pakistan Study Centre, 1987), p.153.

the office and care-taker of the record keeping was Syed Qasim Rizvi. Sartaj Aziz was appointed as treasurer of the Election Directorate.¹¹⁶ Different departments were formed inside the college to take care of different fields like department of pamphlet, medicine, distribution of pamphlet, finance etc.¹¹⁷ Students were sent in groups firstly for the campaign of 1945 central legislature elections. Five groups of picked workers from Islamia College Lahore toured two constituencies in the northern Punjab. Great work was done by the group that went to Lyallpur under the leadership of Mr. Qasim Rizvi. The time was short so they had to work for eighteen hours a day and had to sleep in their loudspeaker lorry.¹¹⁸

After the campaign for the central legislature's elections, Muslim students continued their work for the provincial elections. Letters were written to the Muslim League candidates asking about their demand of volunteers. Forty five Muslim League candidates asked for help. The students were advised to perform like holy warriors and follow Holy Prophet's life style while on their visits in the villages.¹¹⁹ The Governor of Punjab accused that the Muslim League and the Muslim students projected communal propaganda.¹²⁰ Only in the first week, from 11 December to 18 December 1945, more than hundred students in twelve batches went to Lyallpur, Gojra, Kasur, Chunnia, Lahore, Tehsil Okara, Gujranwala, Montgomery, Ferozpur, Muktasar and Gujrat.¹²¹

A group of eleven students was sent to the constituency of Lahore Tehsil. This group had the facility of using a small bus. It visited all the villages within three days. After reaching a village, they used to start their work with the recitation of the Holy Quran on loud speaker.

¹¹⁶ In the beginning, it was started with few chairs and desks. Later it was covered with tents. This office worked in a very organized manner. The care-taker kept the record of the constituencies of Punjab, the number of students sent there, date, the name of the Muslim League and the opposition candidates, and other related issues. Sartaj Aziz in interview with Syed Salah ud din Aslam cited in *Bun Ka Raha Pakistan* (Islamabad: Gul Publihers, 1993), p.180.

¹¹⁷ Interview with Mustafa Kemal Pashaw, Lahore, 5 March 2005.

¹¹⁸ Report of the Students Activites for 1945-46, Election campaign, SII: Document No. 99, Shamsul Hassan Collection (SHC), NA, Islamabad.

¹¹⁹ Ian Talbot, 'The 1946 Punjab Elections', *Modern Asian Studies*, 14 (1980), p.78.

¹²⁰ Glancy to Wavell, 16 January 1946, in Lionel Carter compiled and edited., *Punjab Politics 1 January 1944-3 March 1947 Last Years of the Ministeries* (Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2006), p.167.

¹²¹ *Dawn*, 21 December 1945.

After it, at least one student delivered a speech in the local Punjabi language, while the rest of the students spread in the gathering to convince the villagers individually and to raise the slogans. The same thing was repeated by this group in every village. One popular poem was always read to convince the people:

One government one symbol
One prophet one Holy Quran
Zindabad Muslim League
Zindabad Pakistan

This Kashmir and this Punjab
Sirhad, Sind, Balochistan
One saintliness one Place
One shariah one faith
One body and one soul
One appearance one dignity

One government one symbol
One prophet one Holy Quran
Zindabad Muslim League
Zindabad Pakistan¹²²

The Muslim students, as advised by the Quaid-i-Azam, celebrated their victory day on 11th January 1946 for their outstanding performance in winning the central legislature seats.¹²³ One such gathering was also organized at Islamia College Lahore. Even after the victory, the students continued with their effort and told their friend and relatives about the agenda of the Muslim League.¹²⁴

Some groups of students traveled long ways to reach the constituency for canvassing. Khurshid Ahmed Yusfi told that he was sent as deputy leader of a group of eleven students. On 7 January 1946, this group left for Delhi on Bombay Mail. They took another train from there and after covering the distance of fifty four miles, they reached Hodal Station and started their work, which continued for some days. This group could only come back on 20th January.¹²⁵

Muslim students converted some impossibilities into possibilities. Dera Ghazi Khan was a very difficult constituency as the people were uneducated and under strong influence of the Unionist landlords. Unionist party was hopeful for its success but due to the great

¹²² Mohammad Hameed Bhatti in interview with Nasrullah Khan Nasir, broadcasted on Bahawalpur Radio Station, GM 1990, F/2, PMWT, Lahore.

¹²³ Baidar Malik, *Faisla Kun Ma'arka*, p.52.

¹²⁴ *Dawn*, 11 January 1946.

¹²⁵ Baidar Malik, *Faisla Kun Ma'arka*, pp.53-54.

efforts of the students, the Muslim League won the elections there.¹²⁶ Syed Asad Hussain Shah along with some other students was ordered to go to Shakergarh. There, the Unionist candidate was in a strong position whereas Muslim League's candidate was not very popular. They remained there and continued to face hardships but there was no sign of disappointment on their faces.¹²⁷ At some constituencies Muslims students were physically tortured by opposition *gondas*.¹²⁸ They bore all hardships for the Muslim League's success.

The Communist students approached the peasants and workers specifically and influenced them with the concrete demand of Pakistan. Prominent among them were Mian Iftikharuddin, Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, Ahmed Saeed Kirmani and Sheikh Rashid.¹²⁹

The Muslim students of Islamia College had adopted some effective methods to convince the voters in favour of the Muslim League. For example Dr. Rafique with his group reached Bhale De Rathan, which was a strong Unionist constituency as local *zamindars* were under great influence of the Unionist landlords. The batch of students disguised themselves in the rural dresses and placed themselves in a local gathering of around fifteen hundred people. A bearded Unionist got up, praised his candidate and instructed the people how to stamp the ballot paper. After this he started abusing Quaid-i-Azam and declared him heretic. He said, 'Musalmano! He had sold Mosque of Shaheed Gunj to Sikhs'.¹³⁰ All the six students rose up and said in one voice that this person was a great liar and was talking without any evidence. They told them that they were natives of Lahore and had seen the movement. The fact was that Shaheed Gunj Mosque was sold by the British to the Sikh. After this all the people started raising anti-Unionist slogans and the whole gathering went to caste vote for the Muslim League.

The students of all the other areas were also working for the League candidates of their areas. In Sialkot, MSF of Murray College sent thirty students to different rural areas to propagate the League creeds and ideas.¹³¹ Khawaja Mohammad Tuffail invited the students of Prince

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.65.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.80.

¹²⁸ One such incident took place at the constituency of Muzafar Ali Qazalabash of Tehsil Lahore. The opposition spoke in an unethical way, which was not tolerable for the students and in result of heated talks, they attacked the students. Sardar Rashid of the area settled the issue, *ibid.*, p.73.

¹²⁹ Hamza Alavi, *op.cit.*, p.79.

¹³⁰ Interview with Dr. Rafique Ahmed.

¹³¹ *Dawn*, 11 November 1946.

of Wales College Jammu for the same cause at Sialkot. Amanullah Khan Niazi, the president of Gujrat MSF, visited many areas of the district with the other students. He even visited some dangerous zones.¹³² Abdul Hamid Bhatti, student of Law College visited Jallundhur, Amritsar, Sialkot, Lyallpur and Sargodha for canvassing. Karamat Ali, student of D.A.V College Lahore visited the surrounding rural areas of Lahore for the same purpose.¹³³ A group of Mianwali MSF left for extensive tour of rural areas for propaganda in connection with the large congregation of the peasants especially at Kozian, Darya Khan and Bhakur.¹³⁴ A group of Multan Muslim students led by Syed Ali Nawaz Gardezi after touring the villages reached Montgomery on 12 January 1946. A branch of the Federation was opened there and an organizing committee was set up to carry on the work satisfactorily.¹³⁵ Muslim students of Lyallpur also participated in the campaign actively. Six groups consisting of thirty students went for a week's tour. Another group of five selected students went to Sargodha.¹³⁶ Students of Montgomery also sent a report of its activities to the head office of PMSF in which it was said that its students had visited the whole district. Students of Sargodha visited as many areas as possible in the district to make the victory possible for the Muslim League.¹³⁷ Khawaja Abdur Rashid, the organizing secretary of Gujranwala MSF, visited many villages accompanied by other students of the college and campaigned for the Muslim League.¹³⁸

The people of the backward areas like Okara, and many others were really benefited by the students' work. In some other areas like Khanewal, Dasuya, Dera Ghazi Khan, students visited each and every street even home and were successful to turn the tables on the Unionist Party.¹³⁹ A group of ten Muslim students of Punjab went to Sindh for election campaign. During their stay, they visited three constituencies: Hyderabad, Mirpur and Nawab Shah. They toured villages on feet exhorted Muslims to defeat the traitors and to ensure a stable ministry in the province. The visit of Punjabi students was highly appreciated by the Sindh Muslim League leadership.¹⁴⁰

¹³² Hakim Aftab Ahmed Qurshi, *op.cit.*, p.101.

¹³³ Interview with Karamat Ali Khan, PMWT, Lahore, 12 February 2005.

¹³⁴ *Dawn*, 19 January 1946.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 28 January 1946

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 29 January 1946.

¹³⁸ Interview with Khawaja Abdur Rashid, telephonic, 15 March 2005.

¹³⁹ *Dawn*, 10 January 1946.

¹⁴⁰ *The Eastern Times*, 11 December 1946.

Muslim students generally sent the details of their campaigns to Quaid-i-Azam. In one of the letters, secretary of PMSF wrote to him:

The students are working in right earnest, carefree of the difficulties, which they encounter in the shape of inadequate conveyance, rough weather and accidental sickness. Their determination is really praiseworthy and is a message to the idle. They have pledged not to rest till they sound the trumpet of Pakistan in every corner of the Province and convey its message to every individual.¹⁴¹

With this letter, weekly report of the students work was sent, which included the details of the number of students; the names of the constituencies, the days of their work in the constituencies and other details. The detail of one constituency is as under:

Gujrat: 15 students, from 15-12-45 to 22-12-45

10 students, from 23-12-45 to 30-12-45

Gujrat is the center of the Unionist Supremacy and Political diplomats believed definite failure of the Muslim League candidates from this constituency. Our students have worked so enthusiastically that the atmosphere now seems entirely changed in favour of the League candidate. People have pledged not only to vote for the League candidate but also to sacrifice their very lives if occasion arises at the altar of the League to win National Freedom.¹⁴²

Similar reports were sent about Campbellpur, Lahore Tehsil, Khushab, Muktesar, Okara, Jullundhar, Hoshiarpur, Gurdaspur, Chunion and Talagung. The result of this whole struggle of the students was positive and the Muslim League won the elections securing a large number of Muslim seats in Punjab. The services of students, especially of Islamia College, were later on accepted and appreciated by the Muslim League high command and in a big gathering, the students were awarded with the certificates of 'A', 'B' and 'C' categories on behalf of the Islamia College MSF. These certificates were called *Mujahid-i-Pakistan Certificate*.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Abdul Ruzzaq, Secretary of PMSF to Quaid-i-Azam, students II, Document No.79. F/399, SHC, NA, Islamabad.

¹⁴² First General Report of the Activities of the Islamia College Muslim Students Federation, SII, Document No. 80, SHC, Islamabad.

¹⁴³ Interview with Dr. Rafique Ahmed. The certificates were awarded to the students on the basis of the days they spent out of their homes and cities. 'A' class certificate was given to those, who worked for more than fifteen days continuously out of their cities.

The students always tried remarkably to generate financial resources by themselves. Only at few occasions, they demanded money from the Muslim League high command. Mian Mohammad Saeed, a student of Islamia College, collected funds so enthusiastically that he was called, 'mad (lover) of Pakistan'.¹⁴⁴ He visited Punjab, Sindh and Balochistan and collected 60,000 rupees for Pakistan.¹⁴⁵

Civil disobedience movement: The students' role was not finished with the conclusion of the election process. They had to see another challenge in the shape of the coalition government formed in the Punjab by the Congress, Akali Sikhs and the Unionists. The Muslim League had won seventy-three out of the eighty-six seats reserved for the Muslims in the provincial legislature. Unionist won only thirteen Muslim seats; Akali, the Sikhs Party won twenty-three and Punjab Congress had won fifty-one seats. The Muslim League was the largest party in the Punjab but the Congress plus Unionist intrigues deprived it of forming the government. The three smaller parties formed coalition government and Khizer Hayat was appointed as the premier of Punjab.¹⁴⁶ Muslims all over the province observed strikes. On 9 March 1946, Muslim students of Punjab took out a big demonstration. They took a *charpai*, filled with grass and broken utensils, covered with a white piece of cloth. This symbolized mourning of Khizer Hayat ministry in Punjab. Thousands of students along with general public set off from Islamia College. They reached in front of Diyal Singh College and then King Edward College. After crossing Nila Gunbad, they reached Gol Bagh. The demonstrators raised anti-Khizer government slogans through out the way. After delivering some speeches at Gol Bagh, they went towards Lower Mall and wanted to go to the secretariat or to the residence of Mian Mohammad Rafique and Khizer Hayat, but were stopped by the police. They could reach only in front of Sanaton Dharum College. There Hindu and Sikh students started letting stones and bricks at the Muslim students. Mohammad Malik, a student of Islamia College was in the front lines. While throwing the bricks back at the other side he was hit back badly on the head. He was taken to the hospital, but he died the next day. PMSF held a big public meeting in Lahore on 15 March 1946 in the memory of Mohammad Malik, celebrating Malik Day. A resolution was passed and it was requested that Muslims of Punjab should wear black garments to protest against the

¹⁴⁴ GM, 1992, F/399, PMWT, Lahore.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ Syed Qalb-i-Abid, *Muslim Politics in the Punjab 1921-47* (Lahore: Vanguard Books Pvt. Ltd., 1992), pp.291-301.

coalition ministry. By another resolution, the meeting appealed to the Muslim boyscouts to boycott the forthcoming scout rally in Lahore, scheduled to be held to say farewell to Sir Birtrand Glancy, the Governor of Punjab.¹⁴⁷

The British Government, meanwhile, sent a three member Cabinet Mission to India in March 1946 to negotiate a settlement of independence of India.¹⁴⁸ The Muslim League accepted the plan, presented by the Cabinet Mission. Apparently, it seemed that the Quaid had compromised on Pakistan but in reality he did not. The students and other quarters of the Muslim population were not ready to sacrifice Pakistan at any stage, but as it was their Quaid's decision, so they kept quiet. Nehru issued a statement and said that the plan had been prepared with his advices, so they could recommend any change in it. At such kind of remarks the Quaid-i-Azam rejected the plan at once and the Muslim students appreciated the decision. The PMSF passed a resolution and reposed their complete faith in Quaid-i-Azam. They said that Muslims of India would not accept a constitution that did not determine the Muslims' demand for Pakistan.¹⁴⁹

The Muslim students were not ready to accept the Interim Government made by the Viceroy, only of the Congress leadership. In this tense situation, Khizer Hayat Khan imposed ban on the activities of the National Gaurds, a wing of the Muslim League,¹⁵⁰ on 24 January 1947. Khizer wanted to check the popularity of the National Gaurds, though it was a peaceful organization. On that day, the Punjab police raided the office of the Muslim League and arrested League leadership. As a protest students staged anti-government processions and demonstrations. In one such procession at Anarkali Bazar in Lahore, police arrested twenty-four students, however, the procession still marched forward and thus the civil disobedience movement started.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷ *Dawn*, 18 March 1946.

¹⁴⁸ The Mission comprised three members of the British Cabinet including Staford Cripps, A.V. Alexander and Lord Pathick Lawrence. In the history of United India, the Cabinet Mission was the last effort to suggest a system that could keep the Indian federation intact. The mission presented a system that suggested that India would be divided into three groups on religious lines. The three sections of provinces would have a great deal of autonomy leaving the central government with foreign affairs, defence and communications only.

¹⁴⁹ *Inqilab*, 17 April 1946.

¹⁵⁰ Telegram, E. Jenkins to Lord Pethic Lawrence, Wavell Papers, 26 January 1947 cited in Mansergh, *The Transfer of Power*, Vol.IX, p.556.

¹⁵¹ Malik, *Yaran-i-Muktab*, Vol.1, pp.502-4.

This movement continued till complete restoration of civil liberties¹⁵² on 3 March 1947 and Muslim students remained very active through out the movement. They took out processions on daily basis. Hundreds of them were sent to jail. This was the first occasion that the Muslim students had experienced jail but for a very sacred cause. These students in jails continued their work of spreading awareness about the demand for Pakistan among other prisoners.

Along with demonstrations, Muslims observed strike on 10 February 1947. On that day, students took out such a huge procession that the Lahore city was paralyzed for three hours. The government was so worried with these daily processions that education minister, Ibrahim Baig, requested the students of Islamia College Lahore who formed the vanguard of the movement, to ‘realize their responsibilities to take all necessary steps to see that the students refrain from participating in active politics’.¹⁵³

Government had imposed ban on all pro-Muslim League newspapers. Students issued, after cyclo-styling, a new newspaper with the title of *Spit Fire*. All the movement-related news was printed in that newspaper. Police, especially the non-Muslim police, adopted harsh attitude towards Muslim students. At many places students were tear-gassed, lathi-charged and were taken many miles away from the city, where they were dropped out from the buses. From many miles away they had to come back to the city by foot.¹⁵⁴

The civil disobedience movement spread to the other districts of Punjab. In Gujranwala, its momentum was very high. Students were arrested by the police and were sent to district jail. Villagers had also accompanied the students in these processions.¹⁵⁵ Sialkot MSF made a plan and decided that some specific students such as Syed Rifaquat should go underground so that the momentum of the movement could not be harmed. He was arrested and released by the police many times. He never slept at home during the movement. These kinds of hardships had to be faced by them to make the movement successful.¹⁵⁶ A young student of Jhang lost his life after he was beaten by the police.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵² Qalbi-i-Abid and Massarrat Abid, *Punjab Politics: Dyarchy to Partition* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 2012), p.403.

¹⁵³ Sarfaraz Mirza, *The Punjab Muslim Students Federation*, pp.374-75.

¹⁵⁴ M.J. Awan, *Tehrik-i-Azadi Mein Punjab Ka Kirdar*, pp.227-28.

¹⁵⁵ Interview with Khawaja Abdur Rashid.

¹⁵⁶ Syed Salahud din Aslam in interview with General (Retd.) Syed Rifaquat cited in Syed Salah-ud-din Aslam, *op.cit.*, pp.204-5.

¹⁵⁷ *Dawn*, 27 February 1947.

The demonstrations were held in several cities. In a newspaper of 17 February, it was reported that one demonstration was taken out at Mianwali, but no one was arrested, another at Lyallpur, which was dispersed. Gujrat observed another. One demonstration was taken out at Montgomery. Hindu population of Dera Ghazi Khan was fearful of the demonstration of the students but later accepted the situation.¹⁵⁸

The first experience of the Muslims, in general, and the students, in particular, to come out on the roads to achieve their objective proved to be successful after thirty-four days and Khizer government resigned on 26 February 1947. Throughout the movement, students showed exemplary patience.

When the civil disobedience movement started in the NWFP many batches of Muslim students from Punjab were sent there. Later, they went to help their Pathan brothers during referendum campaign of 1947.¹⁵⁹ The students also helped settle the refugees when they came to Pakistan without anything.

Conclusion

Punjab, the Unionist based province, was converted into the Muslim League-based province mainly due to students' services which they rendered under the banner of the PMSF. They used different strategies to popularize the idea of Pakistan including holding of Pakistan conferences, opening of study circles and Pakistan libraries, celebration of special days in reference to Pakistan Movement and last but not the least, through rural propaganda programs in which they directly conveyed the message of Pakistan to the common people. The students' role and their stand on important national and political issues also mattered a lot in the success of the movement. Their contribution for the national cause started after passing of the Lahore Resolution in 1940 inspite of the hinderances created by Unionist and the Congress students. PMSF reacted to political issues like offer of August 1940, Quit-India Movement of 1942 led by Congress, and Sir Sikandar Hayat's joining of Viceroy's Defence Council. PMSF was critical of anti-Muslim League steps of Khizer Hayat's government of the Punjab and on Gandhi-Jinnah talks of 1944. The role of PMSF in 1945-46 elections was dynamic which brought grand success to the Muslim League in the province. Without them, traditional power structure in the Punjab could not be

¹⁵⁸ *Paisa Akhbar*, 4 February 1947.

¹⁵⁹ Sarfaraz Mirza, 'Quaid-i-Azam and the Muslim Youth', *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, No.4 (October 1992), p.20.

broken.¹⁶⁰ PMSF was with the Muslim League on all political issues related to the Punjab and to the Muslim's betterment at all India level. PMSF opposed establishment of coalition government in the Punjab after 1946 elections. It also followed the Muslim League policy on Cabinet Mission proposals and on interim government. The Punjab students, with other social groups, participated actively in the Civil Disobedience Movement and brought quick success to the movement. This research thus establishes that without PMSF's active support, it would have been very difficult for the Muslim League leadership in the province to seek popularity among the people and to strengthen its position in the Punjab. The real success of Pakistan campaign in Punjab was due to the faithful commitment and services of zealous Muslim students of the province.

¹⁶⁰ David Gilmartin, *Empire and Islam: Punjab and the Making of Pakistan* (London: J.B.Tauris and Co. Ltd. Publishers, 1988), p.207.