

**THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN PAKISTAN MOVEMENT
(A Case Study of Muslim Women from the Punjab)**



By

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Abstract

The role of women in the overall development has remained important throughout the human evolution process. Like many other countries, the history of Pakistan has also witnessed its women participating in almost every aspect of life to create a new homeland for their upcoming generations. Our literature is filled with many names who played their crucial roles during the inception of Pakistan. However, the role of women during the process of independence could not achieve its due credit. Therefore, this thesis highlights the role of many women who laid their efforts and political movement for the creation of Pakistan. This study is based on historical literature review and secondary source of data in order to bring all individuals at one place in the shape of literature. This study, however, provides an in-depth analysis of Muslims women of Indian Punjab who provided their services as rehabilitators, political and social activist and most of all, as Muslim Women to have their own separate land; Pakistan.

Acknowledgment

I would like to take this opportunity to acknowledge some of the individuals who helped me a lot in making this thesis a valuable document. I would, certainly, start with my supervisor, Prof. Fazal Rabbi for his guidance and playing an eminent role as mentor as well. Prof. Shahid Siddiqui, who provided me with an insight analysis with the topic. I am also grateful to the staff of the Department of Pakistan Studies and History for their social and emotional support. My class fellows and colleagues who kept my encouragement alive to make this task done. Last, but not the least, I am so much grateful to my parents for having a complete faith in me and providing me an opportunity to pursue for M.Phil. degree.

Dedication

To my parents

Introduction

“No nation can rise to the height of glory unless your women are side by side with you; we are victims of evil customs. It is crime against humanity that our women are shut up within the four walls of the houses as prisoners. There is no sanction anywhere for the deplorable condition in which our women have to live. You should take your women along with you as comrades in every sphere of life.” (Muhammad Ali Jinnah, 1944)

Pakistan’s Movement was started by the Muslim of the subcontinent under the dynamic leadership of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and from the platform of Muslim Leagues, when the Pakistan Resolution was passed on 23rd March 1940, at Lahore, Punjab. This grand meeting of the All India Muslim League is considered the starting point of the Pakistan movement as it passed the Pakistan Resolution and marked the beginning of the struggle for a separate homeland for the Muslims. Muslims based their two-nation theory on a separate homeland. The fact is that this ideology came into being when the first non-Muslims in the subcontinent converted to Islam and the religious powers here not only opposed but also resisted it. The founder of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, had declared in 1940 that India was inhabited by two nations and that the solution to the concerns of Indian Muslims lay in the establishment of a separate state for them.

The establishment of Pakistan is the result of a long struggle waged by the Muslims of the subcontinent to protect their separate national identity, and the role of women has been crucial in this endeavour. Under the leadership of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, our forefathers have endured great patience and a long struggle for Pakistan attainment and have sacrificed their lives and property in this regard. The role of women in the Pakistan Movement cannot be ignored. They worked alongside men and participated in Pakistan Movement.

Muslim women of the subcontinent had played an everlasting role in the struggle for the establishment of Pakistan. They created awareness among the Muslim women of the subcontinent for independence and organized them to play an active role in the struggle for the establishment of Pakistan. The role of the founder of Pakistan for women's rights was not limited to politics; he also encouraged women in the subcontinent through her political and legal struggle and led their side by side in the freedom struggle. Due to the same political role about women in the freedom movement of Pakistan, Muslim League has a dynamic political, organizational section of prominent women. The inception of Pakistan is thus the contribution of those great men and side

by side of women, who have rendered great services and sacrifices to achieve this country.

As a Muslim-majority province, Punjab had an important place in Muslim politics and the full support of this province was necessary for the effective presentation of the views of Indian Muslims. “Punjab had proved itself to be a key role in terms of the participation of Muslim women in various spheres of ‘public’ life in the years leading up to independence and partition. Indeed, its proud tradition of providing women with access to education was a testament to this reputation and that contributed to the politics of the Muslim League. Lahore’s role as a centre of Muslim women’s education in Punjab directly helped to create a pool of potential support for the League by the 1940s. Many of the women who participated with vigour in the pro-Pakistan agitation of the mid-1940s had (to some extent or other) shared common educational experiences which shaped their political responses.”

From the province of Punjab, Fatima Begum, Begum Tasadduque Hussain, Begum Viqar-un-Nissa Noon were amongst those women who delivered valuable services from the platform of Muslim Leagues, participated in the political life, and also founded various organizations for the socio-economic uplift of the Muslim women of the Punjab province. Their contribution to the freedom of movement of Pakistan by actively contributed to the liberty and uplifting of the women of British India is very prominent and influential. Their social-cultural and political services for the uplift of the Punjab society in particular and generally for the Muslim women of the subcontinent is the focus of this study.

I. Statement of the Problem

The Muslim women’s role was crucial during the Pakistan movement and it left astonishing imprints on Pakistani politics. The great women from the province of Punjab, “who devoted their lives for the cause of independence and the establishment of Pakistan, is a role model for today Pakistani young generation”.

II. Aims/Objectives of the Study

The objective of this study is to explore and analyze the role of women in the Pakistan movement. How they participated in the political activities of Muslim Leagues and other organization for the cause of the freedom of Pakistan. The objectives of the study are as under.

- To examine the Muslim women role in the creation of Pakistan
- To explore the role of the women from Punjab in the Pakistan Movement

- To analyze the role of Fatima Begum, Begum Jahan Ara-Shah Nawaz, Viqar Un Nissa and Begum Tasadduque Hussain in the Pakistan Movement.

III. Research Questions:

Following are some research questions of this study:

1. How women participated in the freedom struggle of Pakistan?
2. What was the role of the Muslim women from the province of Punjab in Pakistan's movement?
3. How, when and where Begum Jahan Ara-Shah Nawaz, Fatima Begum, Viqar Un Nissa and Begum Tasadduque Hussain participated in the Pakistan movement?

IV. Significance of the Study

It is important to deeply study the Muslim women of Punjab contribution and efforts in the Pakistan movement, focusing on the role in creating political awareness and social uplift of Muslims despite sociological limitations and constraints of the sub-continent. Little work has been done on the contribution of women from Punjab in the Pakistan movement, so this research work will be an effort to highlight their role and sacrifices for the cause of Pakistan.

The women's role in the Pakistan movement from the province of Punjab is an important topic to be explored. It will be beneficial for the students of Pakistan Studies particularly and general for the readers interested to understand the genesis of Pakistan's Movement.

V. Delimitation

This research work has examined the role of women in the Pakistan Movement and specifically, the role of women from the Punjab province of Pakistan, which has been analyzed in detail. The focus of this study is on the four Muslim women personalities from the province of Punjab, who actively participated in the politics of the sub-continent from the platform of All India Muslim League i.e. Fatima Begum, Begum Jahan Ara-Shah Nawaz, Viqar-un-Nissa and Begum Tasadduque Hussain.

VI. Research Methodology

In this study, historical research methods are used. The basic research method for this study is qualitative and analytical. The information, literature review and data have been extracted from primary and secondary resources. Secondary sources such as books, magazines, newspapers and journals etc have been used. There are many books and related other huge literature available on

Pakistan's Moments. However, primary sources have been also utilized such as documents, speeches, statements, etc. The national archives of Pakistan was consulted for this research work. To collect data-info different libraries and research centres have been approached including the National Library of Pakistan and the National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research.

Literature Review

Dushka Saiyid book "*Muslim Women of British Punjab: From Seclusion to Politics*". London: MacMillan, 1998, is about those forces which bring changes the position and status of women in the British Indian Punjab. Her study is the examination of the role of political leaders like Jinnah and government reforms that transformed women career. Jinnah role in encouraging the Muslim Leagues' women is also discussed in the book.

The Book of Azra Asghar Ali, "*The Emergence of Feminism among Indian Muslim Women*". Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), is a detailed examination of the emergence of feminism in the subcontinent. It's unveiled the history of Muslim women active participation in society. The focus of this book is the socio-cultural environment of the society and how women made efforts to bring changes in it. This book has little discussion on the political role of the Muslim women who participated in the Pakistan struggle.

The book "*Quaid-i-Azam's Correspondence with Punjab Muslim leaders*", edited by S. Q. Hussain Jafri, is a documentary study about the letters of the key leaders of the Muslim League with Jinnah and his responses. Those letters also include the letter Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain, wrote to Jinnah on 19 March 1944 "We are very keen that you should meet the leading citizens of Lahore, representing all shades of opinion".

The article of Dushka Saiyid "**Quaid-i-Azam on the Role of Women in Society**" is a good analysis of the Jinnah emphasis on the participation of women in the politics of the subcontinent. Jinnah various occasions mentioned in his speeches, statements about the role of women under the flag of Muslim Leagues. He formed a subcommittee of the Muslim League for women and personally take interests in it. It was his efforts that the women played its major role in the freedom of Pakistan. She noted that "It was the Quaid-i-Azam who broke away from the accepted and traditional view of the role of Muslim women in society, and brought about a radical transformation in it." She noted that on many occasions Jinnah encourages women to participate in active politics as equal partners of men when the freedom for Pakistan was launched. She further noted that "this was a period when the norm was women to be in seclusion and housebound." The

article did not discuss any particularly women role in the Pakistan movement.

The article “*Women as participants in the Pakistan movement: Modernization and the promise of a moral state*”, written by David Willmer, is one of the comprehensive studies on the role of women participation in the Pakistan movement. It gives detail about the emerging of the female political leadership of the Muslim League in Punjab and the mass participation of women in the Pakistan movement from 1940 to 1947 covering varieties of issues related to women politics. He wrote that “the political awakening of Muslim women seemed to be inextricably linked to the struggle for a separate Muslim state in India. The question that this paper deals with, however, is whether, the Pakistan movement had a surplus of meaning for women over and above the nationalism of the Muslim League and why it was that many Muslim women were, in Begum Jahan Ara's words, more impatient for Pakistan than men.”

Another article was written by Ilyas Chattha, “**After the Massacres: Nursing Survivors of Partition Violence in Pakistan Punjab Camps**”, has explored the condition of the Punjab relief camps where the survivors of the partition refugees were kept and the women of Punjab served bravely for their help days and nights. The services of a few of the great ladies during the refugees' crises are also discussed in this article.

Sarah Ansari, “**Winds of Change: The Role of Women Activists in Lahore before and After Partition**,” has presented a detailed account of the role of women activists of Lahore during the partition and afterwards. Her concentration of the article is about the status of women in Punjab. However, she also discussed few issues related to the Pakistan movement where the women of Punjab rendered services for the cause of Pakistan.

The book, “*Musalmanan-i-Punjab Ki Samaji Aur Flahi Anjumanain: Aik Tajziyati Mutalah*” of Ahmed Saeed is a nice work on the welfare organizations of Punjab even remained active in the freedom movement, where the Muslim women from Punjab actively participated in those organizations and served for the cause of humanity at the partition crisis.

Khawar Mumtaz and Farida Shaheed book “*Women of Pakistan: Two Steps Forward, One Step Back?*” is a unique study of the leading characters of females in Pakistan. Though the book mostly covered the -post-partition era, it also includes few pages on the role of women in the Pakistan movement.

The most important book related to this thesis is the book of Sarfaraz Hussain Mirza, “*Muslim Women Role in the Pakistan Movement*”, which provide a detailed study of women

participation in the Pakistan movement. It is a general description of the most important events where women actively participated in the freedom struggle. It has also included a short biography of few ladies of the Pakistan movement who rendered valuable services for the cause of the Muslim League. Some ladies of the province of Punjab were also discussed in this book. However, the book doesn't provide any detailed studies on the role of four ladies of the province of Punjab, which is the focus of this thesis.

Other related pieces of literature on the aforementioned topic of the thesis are: "*Freedom at midnight*" (by Dominique Lapierre, Larry Collins, and Madhav Mordekar), *My Brother* by Fatima Jinnah, "*The Heart Divided*" by Mumtaz Shah Nawaz, "*Father and Daughter: A Political Autobiography*" by Jahan Ara Shahnawaz, are worthy literature related to Pakistan movement and the role of women in politics.

However, none of these books and articles has provided any detailed study on the role of Fatima Begum, Begum Jahan Ara-Shah Nawaz, Viqar-un-Nissa and Begum Tasadduque Hussain in the Pakistan movement. Having found the gap in the existed literature, this thesis is a small effort to cover the gap and present a preliminary study on the role of Muslim Women of Punjab in the Pakistan Movement while focusing on the above four ladies services.

Organization of this Study

Apart from the introduction that deals with the scheme of study, statement of the problem, aims and objectives and significance of the study, research questions, research methodology and review of literature, this study is comprised of five chapters.

Chapter 1 "Freedom Movement of Pakistan: Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Women Politics", has examined the Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and encouragement of women to political participation in the Pakistan movement. Pakistan movement, the role of the Muslim League, various provinces, and particularly Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah emphases on Female Leadership have been examined in this chapter.

In chapter 2, is about the role of women in Pakistan's Movement. In this chapter, the role of prominent women from across Pakistan in the freedom movement has been examined in detail.

The roles of women from the province of Punjab (Fatima Begum, Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain, Begum Jahan Ara-Shah Nawaz and Viqar-un-Nissa) in the Pakistan movement have been examined in Chapter 3, 4 and 5. Their activities, participation, led the processions, organized the public meetings and active involved in the politics of the sub-continent

from the platform of All India Muslim League, have been analyzed.

The conclusion deals with the overall outcome of this research work and a bibliography is placed at the end of the thesis.

Chapter 1

Freedom Movement of Pakistan: Quaid-I-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Women in Politics

The movement for the freedom movement was started by the Muslims of the subcontinent under the dynamic leadership of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and from the platform of Muslim Leagues, when the Pakistan Resolution was passed on 23rd March 1940, at Lahore, Punjab. This grand meeting of the All India Muslim League is considered the starting point of the Pakistan movement as it passed the Pakistan Resolution and marked the beginning of the struggle for a separate homeland for the Muslims. Muslims based their two-nation ideology on a separate homeland. The fact is that this ideology came into being when the first non-Muslims in the subcontinent converted to Islam and the religious powers here not only opposed but also resisted it. The founder of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, had declared in 1940 that India was inhabited by two nations and that the solution to the concerns of Indian Muslims lay in the establishment of a separate state for them.

1.1 Pakistan Movement

In 1940, the 27th Annual Meeting of the Muslim League was held in Lahore from March 22 to 24 in which Muslim leaders from across the country and ordinary Muslims participated. On the second day of this historic meeting, a resolution was passed on March 23, which later became known as the Lahore Resolution and the Pakistan Resolution. The resolution, tabled by Sher-e-Bengal Maulvi A.K. Fazal-e-Haq called on the British government to establish “independent and sovereign Muslim states” in Muslim-majority areas of India (i.e., the northeast and north western regions), the constitutions of these states should provide adequate and effective protection for the religious, cultural, economic, political and administrative rights and interests of minorities in consultation with them. Similar protections should be used to protect the rights of Muslim minorities in those parts of India. The resolution noted:

“Resolved that it is the considered view of this Session of the All India Muslim League that No constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principle, namely 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 o constitute the Independent States in

which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.”¹

This resolution was the masterpiece of the sentiments of the Muslims of India and the voice of their hearts, so when it was presented before the gathering for approval, the turbulent sea of Muslims full of passion and faith was stirred and "Long live the Muslim League," "Long live the Quaid-e-Azam," he said, waving his hand in the air and approving the resolution. Everywhere there was a spectacular sight as Muslims from all over India, old and young, children and even women attended this historic gathering.

After the adoption of the Pakistan Resolution on March 23, 1940, Lahore was the centre of activities especially of the Muslim League Punjab the Muslim League started holding meetings and processions every day. The green crescent flag of the Muslim League started flying everywhere. In this regard, the All India Muslim League, especially the Muslim League, used to travel across Punjab with a large number of provincial and district leaders.

As a Muslim-majority province, Punjab had an important place in Muslim politics and the full support of this province was necessary for the effective presentation of the views of Indian Muslims. Therefore, according to the decision of the Muslim League (the heart of Punjab), was selected for the approval of the historic meeting of the All India Muslim League in March 1940. At the end of the meeting, the Quaid-e-Azam said in his presidential address, "India and Muslims belong to two different philosophies, social customs and literary traditions. They do not marry each other or eat together and, they belong to two different civilizations, which are based on conflicting ideas and concepts. Their concept of life is different from each other and their heroes and history are different. Heroes of one side are often undesirable personalities for the other. In their history, the defeat of one side has been the victory of the other side. These two nations are the majority and the minority. Keeping them together in one state will lead to the spread of dissatisfaction in the country. Muslims are a separate nation in every respect and they should get their homeland, their territory and their state”.

A look at the historical references show that Two Nation Theory” was first put forward in writing by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, who was the first person in the subcontinent to ponder over the reasons for the failure of the 1857 war of independence and to conclude that it were they Hindus to have a prejudice against Muslims which has not diminished despite a thousand years of Islamic

¹ *Text of the Pakistan Resolution*, The Text is available at:
<https://pbase.com/bmcmorrow/image/140584822>

rule. The statement that to Nation Theory is not an invention of the minds of Muslims, but a reaction to the opposition of Hindus to Islam, is enough to test the truth by simply stating the fact that the two-nation theory was put forward by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan.² Despite this, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah joined the Hindu majority party Congress in the early stages of his political career and remained a supporter of Hindu-Muslim unity and the common struggle for independence. But later on, when the All India Muslim League, a separate political party formed for Muslims was established, Jinnah joined and in the later years that political party launched a movement for a separate Muslim country for India and at last achieved in August 1947, whereas Jinnah was the founder father.

The role of women in various provinces and especially of Punjab in the freedom movement of Pakistan cannot be forgotten. Along with men side by side women from Punjab always contributed to the freedom movement of Pakistan.

1.2 The Role of Provinces in the Pakistan Movement

The role of the four provinces of Punjab, Sindh, NWFP and Balochistan, has also been very important in the movement for the establishment of Pakistan. These provinces played their full role in the struggle for independence. All provinces of Pakistan, take an active part in the freedom struggle for the Muslims of the subcontinent. From various, the eminent leadership of the Muslim League spread the message of Jinnah to all corners of the subcontinent. The role of different provinces in the Pakistan movement is as follows.

The Role of Punjab

Punjab, “had proved itself to be a key location - or site - in terms of the participation of Muslim women in various spheres of ‘public’ life in the years leading up to independence and partition. Indeed, its proud tradition of providing women with access to education was a testament to this reputation” and that contributed to the politics of the Muslim League. “Lahore’s role as a centre of Muslim women’s education in Punjab directly helped to create a pool of potential support for the League by the 1940s. Many of the women who participated with vigour in the pro-Pakistan agitation of the mid-1940s had (to some extent or other) shared common educational experiences which shaped their political responses”.

² Abdul Majid, Abdul Hamid, and Zahida Habib. "Genesis of the Two Nations Theory and the Quaid-e-Azam," *Pakistan Vision* 15, no. 1 (2014): 180.

Punjab was the largest province in terms of population and resources. But due to mutual conspiracies and collusion of Hindus and British, the people here were suppressed. When the Pakistan Resolution was passed in Lahore in 1940, the largest city and capital of Punjab, the Muslim League spread the idea of Pakistan all over Punjab. In the 1945-46 elections, the Muslim League won a majority in the Punjab Provincial Assembly by winning about 90 per cent of the Muslim seats. Apart from men, the women of Punjab mobilized the people of Punjab for independence. They formed the Punjab Muslim Students Federation and demanded an independent Muslim state. In 1941, Quaid-e-Azam presided over the Pakistan Conference held at Islamia College, Lahore. He strongly opposed the Unionist government of Punjab.³ Women of Punjab also took full part in this movement. During the civil disobedience movement in Punjab, a brave woman Sughra Fatima threw down the British flag from the Punjab Secretariat and waved the flag of the Muslim League in its place. Thus; the “enthusiastic support of Muslim women in the city (and Punjab more widely) for the idea of ‘Pakistan’, was linked to a history of local political activism had dated back to the time of the Khilafat movement”.⁴ The role of the province of Punjab in the freedom Movement is discussed in detail in the coming chapters.

Province of Sindh

Sindh province is known as Bab-ul-Islam. To reduce the Muslim majority in this province, the British made it a part of Bombay province. Due to the struggle of the Muslim League, Sindh became a separate province under the Hind Act of 1935. Sindh was the first province in which the Muslim League passed a resolution in October 1938 calling for the Muslim-majority provinces to be governed by Muslims. This resolution preceded the March 1940 resolution of Pakistan. In the 1945-46 elections, the Muslim League won a majority in Sindh province and formed its government. The services of the Muslims of Sindh are unforgettable. Sir Abdullah Haroon, Muhammad Ayub Khoro, Qazi Fazlullah, Sheikh Abdul Majeed Sindhi, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Pirullah Bakhsh, Ji. Allana and Qazi Muhammad Akbar were the prominent leaders who made the Muslim League popular in Sindh province. Ulema and the religious leaders of Sindh also played a significant role in this movement.

³ Ian A. Talbot, "The 1946 Punjab Elections." *Modern Asian Studies* 14, no. 1 (1980): 65-91.

⁴ Naumana Kiran, "Political Awareness among Women in the Punjab: A case study of their role in the Pakistan Movement." *Pakistan Journal of Women's Studies= Alam-e-Niswan= Alam-i Nisvan* 20, no. 2 (2013): 51.

Sindh has the special advantage that the first annual meeting of the Muslim League was held in Karachi in December 1907. The Sindh Muslim League passed a resolution in 1938 which for the first time called for the establishment of a Muslim government in the Muslim-majority provinces. This resolution will eventually be a prelude to the Pakistan Resolution. In March 1943, in the Sindh Assembly same demand was presented, the Sindh Assembly passed this resolution immediately. Throughout the struggle for independence, the people of Sindh remained loyal and devoted to the Pakistan Movement.⁵

Province of N.W.F.P.

The people of NWFP have a reputation for their bravery and religious mentality. Constitutional reforms began in 1927 at the request of Quaid-e-Azam in N.W.F.P. In 1940, Sardar Aurangzeb endorsed the Pakistan resolution. Through the efforts of “Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, Justice Sajjad Ahmad Khan and Khan Bahadur Khan, the Muslim League Conference was held in Abbottabad in 1939. This conference became a means of instilling the spirit of freedom movement” in the Muslims of NWFP. Muslim League offices were opened in many districts, thus the Muslim League movement flourished rapidly. “Religious leaders played a significant role in the movement. The Students of Islamia College Peshawar and Edward College” highlighted the concept of Pakistan, amongst masses. As a result of this movement, Congress lost ground in the province and the Muslim League became a popular political party. Thus, on 14 August 1947, the North-West Frontier Province became part of Pakistan.

It was difficult to organize most of the women in NWFP as it was considered very impractical to come out of the houses and be a part of the procession due to the strict ban. However, under the leadership of the Quaid, women organized themselves and showed great courage after men. The rise of women in a province like NWFP, where women were participating in politics was restricted, became troubling to the British.

Like Fatima of Punjab, Begum Sardar Haider of NWFP also took off the Union Jack of the Secretariat and raised the flag of the Muslim League. To stop the train on the Bala Hissar Bridge, the women lay on the tracks and many were injured, but ignoring the injuries, they reached the radio station in Peshawar and attacked the building. They had no weapon, but only passion for Pakistan.

⁵ Riaz Hussain, “The Sindh Muslim League: Formation, Problems and Role in the Freedom Struggle of Pakistan”, *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, 32, No.2 (2011), 133-154.

When the referendum was announced in NWFP, it was the women who went door to door to make people aware of the existence of Pakistan, even though there was a Congress ministry and it was not an easy task to shape public opinion in favour of Pakistan. With the political insight, wisdom, and understanding, of Jinnah, the women have been trying to shape the public opinion in favour of Pakistan, which is why 90% of the votes went in favour of Pakistan.⁶

Province of Balochistan

Balochistan was the largest province in terms of area, but the British always tried to keep it backwards. Qazi Muhammad Issa of Balochistan joined the working committee of the Muslim League in 1939. He formed the Muslim League in Balochistan and many tribal leaders joined it including Mir Jafar Khan Jamali, Mir Qadir Bakhsh Zehri, Sardar Baz Khan and Nawab Muhammad Khan Jomezai of Balochistan. Soon the Muslim League became a popular party in Balochistan. He held meetings of the Muslim League in different areas and conveyed the message of Quaid-e-Azam to the people. Pakistan Day was celebrated on March 23, 1941, in Quetta. In which a large rally of people was taken out under the leadership of Qazi Muhammad Issa. “Balochistan Muslim Students Federation was established in 1943. At the time of the establishment of Pakistan, the Royal Jirga of Balochistan decided to join Pakistan”.⁷

1.3 Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Women’s Politics

“No nation can rise to the height of glory unless your women are side by side with you. We are victims of evil customs. It is a crime against humanity that our women are shut up within the four walls of the houses as prisoners. There is no sanction anywhere for the deplorable condition in which our women have to live.” (Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah-1947)

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah was one of the greatest leaders of the 20th century who achieved an independent country Pakistan for the Muslim of the subcontinent. He was a liberal man and fully aware of the success the freedom movement of Pakistan with women participation. He tried his best to utilize the potential of women in the creation of Pakistan. His role in empowering women of India and especially in the political arena is unforgettable. This section examined the Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and encouragement of women to political

⁶ Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, “Women and politics in North West Frontier Province”, *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, 19 (1998), 67-80.

⁷ Naumana Kiran, “Marginalised Groups in Balochistan and their Contribution in Pakistan Movement”, *JPUHS*, Vol.26, No.2, December, 2013, 67-82.

participation in the Pakistan movement.

A meeting in memory of Quaid-e-Azam was held at Caxton Hall in London on September 15 1948. One of the speakers was Miss Egatha Herin addressed the audience in these words. When Quaid-e-Azam was studying in London, the women's suffrage movement was gaining momentum, but the number of our sympathizers and supporters was limited. However, the young Jinnah always attended our meetings. He has always spoken out in defence of women's suffrage. Even then, he had no fear of backing an unpopular cause or a difficult cause. She said “When Jinnah was a student in London, the suffragette movement was gathering momentum; ...young Jinnah always came to our meetings and spoke in defence of the vote for women. Even then he was not afraid of championing an unpopular cause”.⁸

Jinnah was liberal and always stood for human rights. Indeed, he was never afraid to support an unpopular cause or a difficult cause and that is why a few years later he took up the cause of protecting the interests of the Muslim minority in India and since he has to spoke for the equal political rights of women. He immediately included women in the movement which was started by the Muslims.

At the instruction of Jinnah, the leadership of the Muslim League agreed to provide space for women in politics. Even before the Pakistan resolution was passed, in a meeting of the Muslim League held in Patna in December 1938, the “Muslim League Women Sub-Committee” was formed and the following resolutions were passed, as women needed to be given their part in the politics of India. The meeting decided to set up an All India Muslim Women Sub-Committee with the following members as per its requirements (they will have the option to add more members) for:

- Establishment of Provincial and District Women Sub-Committees under the District Muslim League.
- Making a large number of women Muslim League workers.
- Strong propaganda to raise political awareness among Muslim women all over India.
- To guide and advise those who are well related to them in all matters for the welfare of the Muslim community.

The following is a list of women members who were fortunate enough to join the first sub-

⁸ *Dawn*, May 1, 2020.

committee of the Muslim League:

“Punjab: 1. Begum Shahnawaz, 2. Mrs Rashida Latif, 2. Lady Jamal Khan, 3. Lady Abdul Qadir

Bombay: 1. Miss Fatima Jinnah, 2. Mrs Faiz Tayyab Ji, 3. Begum Hafeezuddin

Bengal: 1. Begum Shahabuddin, 2. Mrs M. M. Isfahani

UP: 1- Begum Habibullah, 2- Begum Aizaz Rasool, 3- Begum Wasim, 3- Begum Muhammad Ali, 3- Begum Nawab Ismail Khan, 3. Miss Rachel Khatun

CP: 1. Miss Nadir Jahan of Seoni, 2. Begum Nawab Siddique Ali Khan

Bihar: 1. Lady Imam, 2. Begum Akhtar

Assam: 1. Mrs Ata-ur-Rehman, 2. Mrs J. Khan

Sindh: 1. Mrs. Tayyab Ji, 2. Lady Hidayatullah, 3. Begum Shaaban, 3. Lady Haroon

Madhya Pardesh: 1. Begum Haji Saadullah Khan, 2. Mrs. Khawaja Allah Bakhsh

Delhi: 1. Mrs Hussain Malik, 2. Mrs Najamul Hassan, 3. Begum Rehman

Madras: 1. Mrs. Ayesha Kalha Morohaji, 2. Mrs Qureshi”

These leading members of the Muslim League Working Sub-Committee did a valuable job in raising political awareness among women. They conveyed the message of the Muslim League from door to door and also introduced the message of the Muslim League to the women who were completely indifferent to politics. Begum Hussain Malik and Begum Kishore Rehman, members of the Women's Sub-Committee, set up a branch in Delhi to implement the objectives of the resolution. Its activities were limited to social welfare work till the time of the meeting of the Muslim League to be held in Delhi in 1943.⁹

Jinnah encouraged women to take part in the politics of the country. Begum Shaista Ikram Ullah wrote that it is certainly an honour to invite someone to speak at the Quaid-Azam Memorial Lectures as it allow allows expressing his days in the company of Quaid-e-Azam, even if only for a short time. I have received this honour simply because, fortunately, I belong to a family whose members fought for freedom and as such were also lieutenants and followers of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Quaid-i-Azam believed that women should participate in politics. He did not come up with the idea when he started the Movement of the Muslim League, but long ago he believed that women should participate in politics.

⁹ Faraz Hussain Mirza, *Muslim Women Role in the Pakistan Movement* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1969), 65-68.

It is “perhaps no coincidence, therefore, that key speeches, in which League leaders such as Jinnah addressed the need for Muslim women to identify with the demand for Pakistan, were delivered in Lahore during this sensitive period. For instance, it was at the 27th session of the All-India Muslim League held in Lahore in March 1940 (at which the famous Pakistan Resolution was passed) that Jinnah made his famous comment that if political consciousness is awakened amongst our women, remembers, your children will not have much to worry about.”¹⁰

Jinnah deployed similar rhetoric when he addressed a meeting of the Punjab Girl Students Federation that, was held at the Jinnah Islamia College in 1942”: “I am glad to see that not only Muslim men but Muslim women and children also have understood the Pakistan scheme If Muslim women support their men, as they did in the day of the Prophet of Islam, we should soon realise our goal.”¹¹

Likewise, it was at a women’s fair, or mina bazaar, held at the end of 1945 in Lahore to honour Jinnah’s birthday, that Begum Jahanara Shahnawaz insisted that “Muslim women are fully alive to their responsibilities today and are more impatient for Pakistan than men”. When women took to the streets of the city in sizeable numbers to take part in pro-Muslim League demonstrations over the winter of 1946-47, this was heralded as “the first such mass public mobilisation of women anywhere in pre-independence India”.¹²

On the grounds of “precedents, it was not perhaps surprising that a growing number of women in the freedom movement should become convinced that Jinnah’s vision of ‘Pakistan’ offered Muslim women a better, brighter future, as far as their rights as enshrined in Islamic law were concerned. Indeed, these kinds of perceptions help to explain why support for the movement for Pakistan spread as enthusiastically as it did to girls’ schools and colleges, at least in urban parts of the Punjab”.

This resolution of March 23, 1940, marked the beginning of a revolutionary chapter in the

¹⁰Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada (ed.), *Foundations of Pakistan: All-India Muslim League documents, 1906-1947, Vol. II, 1924-1947* (Delhi: Metropolitan Book Company, 1982), p. 328.

¹¹ Dushka Saiyid, *Muslim Women of the British Punjab* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), 90. See also Sara Ansari, ‘Winds of Change?: The role of women activists in Lahore before and after partition’, *Pakistan Vision* 9. No. 2, <http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/studies/PDF-FILES/Winds%20of%20change-%20the%20role%20of%20women%20activists%20in%20Lahore%20before%20and%20after%20partition.pdf>

¹² David Willmer, “Women as Participants in the Pakistan Movement: modernisation and the promise of a moral state”, *Modern Asian Studies*, 31, 3 (1996), pp. 573-590.

political history of the Indian subcontinent. The Muslims of India fully endorsed the Lahore Resolution in the strongest possible terms and proved that now no power in the world can stop them from reaching the destination of the Muslims of India which has become clear. Such activities and party classifications had created a new spirit in the ranks of Muslim women. This was the reason that when the historic meeting of the Muslim League was held in Lahore in 1940, at that time Muslim women were fully aware of the demands, ideologies and fundamental differences of Muslims in India with Hindus. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah has already encouraged Muslim women to participate in the Muslim League activities fully.

Just two months before the annual meeting of the Muslim League in 1940, the women of the Provincial Women's Sub-Committee had launched a well-organized campaign to make the meeting a success. In this regard, he held several meetings at different places. The Women's Sub-Committee directed the District and Primary Sub-Committees to provide financial support to the Sub-Committee as per their capacity and to provide as many women volunteers as possible. In this regard, a women's reception committee was formed under the chairmanship of Lady Abdul Qadir and later Nawabzadi Qaisara Begum was made its chairperson. The committee was tasked with organizing women volunteers to care for the guests attending the meeting. A separate section was allotted at Islamia College Cooper Road Lahore for the stay of the guests and the women leaders of Lahore also dedicated their residences to the guests.

To make this meeting a success, a full meeting of Muslim women of the Provincial Women's Sub-Committee was held in February, which was chaired by Lady Abdul Qadir. The meeting asked Muslim women to step out of their secluded lives and unite under the banner of the Muslim League. On this appeal, the women leaders stepped up their efforts in their respective areas. There is hardly a notable place where women workers have not reached and they have not conveyed the message of the Muslim League. Therefore, in two months, the women had created a conducive atmosphere before the annual meeting of the Muslim League in Lahore. According to an authoritative report of this historic occasion, the special aspect of this meeting was that for the first time a large number of women attended such an open meeting.¹³

Fatima Jinnah, the leader of Muslim women, was also present at the historic meeting. Speaking in Urdu, she expressed her deep satisfaction and said: Muslim women are playing a

¹³ Faraz Hussain Mirza, *Muslim Women Role in the Pakistan Movement* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1969), 65.

significant role in the political arena. She added: A few years ago, no Muslim woman was seen in the practical political arena, but today I am very satisfied to see that she is complete to face all kinds of problems and crises. Are ready.

In his presidential address, Quaid-i-Azam mentioned the early activities of the Muslim League and highlighted the importance of the role of women in the League. He said:

“You may remember that we appointed a committee of ladies at the Patna session. It is of very great importance to us because I believe that it is essential for us to give every opportunity to our women to participate in our struggle of life and death. Women can do a great deal within their homes, even under purdah. We appointed this committee intending to enable them to participate in the work of the League. The objects of this central committee were:

(1) To organise provincial and district women's sub-committees under the provincial and district Muslim Leagues:

(2) To enlist a larger number of women to the membership of the Muslim League:

(3) To carry on intensive propaganda amongst Muslim women throughout India to create in them a sense of a greater political consciousness, because if political consciousness is awakened amongst our women, remember your children will not have much to worry about:

(4) to advise and guide them in all such matters as mainly rest on them for the uplift of Muslim society. This central committee, I am glad to say, started its work seriously and earnestly. It has done a great deal of useful work. I have no doubt that when we come to deal with their report of work done we shall feel grateful to them for all the services that they have rendered to the Muslim League.”¹⁴

At the “end of the meeting, a resolution was passed urging the Muslim women of the subcontinent in general and the Muslim women of Punjab, in particular, to increase the number of women members in their respective areas and to vote in favour of the mission of the Muslim League. Smooth the public”.

Two days after the meeting, on March 25, Quaid-e-Azam addressed the students at Islamia College for Girls in Nawan Kot at the invitation of the college's working committee. On this occasion, the name of the college was changed to Jinnah Islamia College for Girls. In his welcome address,

¹⁴ *Address by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah at Lahore Session of Muslim League, March, 1940* (Islamabad: Directorate of Films and Publishing, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1983), pp. 5-23.
http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00islamlinks/txt_jinnah_lahore_1940.html

Quaid-i-Azam emphasized the importance of women's participation in the national struggle and said: "I have always maintained that no nation can ever be worthy of its existence that cannot take with them their women. No struggle can ever succeed without women ever participating side by side with men. There are two powers in the world. One is represented by the sword and the other by the pen. There is great competition and rivalry between the two. There is a third power stronger than both. That is the woman. It is woman and woman alone who can teach a man how and when to use the sword or pen when the occasion arises."¹⁵

The appreciation and encouragement of "Jinnah made a way for the women to actively participate in the Pakistan movement side by side with me. As Azra Khanum, a student at the Lahore College for Women who called upon Muslim men to educate Muslim women in a speech delivered at the Town Hall in November 1942, women supporters of the League were adamant that they should participate in the Pakistan movement as the equal partners of men".¹⁶

In April 1943 the All India Muslim League met in Delhi. This meeting was very important because the Muslim League had been organized under the chairmanship of Quaid-e-Azam and had gained momentum in the last six years. The storms of opposition and trials were always stronger than ever. The significance of the meeting was so great that it was being held in the royal capital and it was imperative that the meeting be a great success and that is what happened. This was the most spectacular and spectacular meeting of the Muslim League and some important female members of the Delhi branch of the League worked hard to make it a success. The receptionist set up a reception committee to arrange for the accommodation of the women delegates and also tried to raise funds for the league.

Selling tickets to the Muslim League's reception committee was a difficult task, as Delhi was the reepicentre of official government and the wives of government employees were indifferent to all political matters. Begum Shaista Ikram Ullah I said: "Will you buy a Muslim League ticket?", " Oh! No, my husband is a government employee. ", "But that doesn't mean you

¹⁵ Faraz Hussain Mirza, *Muslim Women Role in the Pakistan Movement* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1969), 49-50. See also <http://www.pakistan.gov.pk/Quaid/messages.html>.

¹⁶ Sarah Ansari, "Winds of Change?": The role of women activists in Lahore before and after partition", *Pakistan Vision* 9, no. 2. <http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/studies/PDF-FILES/Winds%20of%20change-%20the%20role%20of%20women%20activists%20in%20Lahore%20before%20and%20after%20partition.pdf>

have to sell your soul." But the tactic didn't work, but it did make me realize that I'm very emotional and we don't need an end. I kept busy with his work and kept selling tickets to those who wanted to buy, I kept working to the best of my ability, so the meeting proved to be very successful. Quaid-e-Azam's procession was taken out from the streets and bazaars of Delhi. The next day, he delivered a three-hour presidential address. It was during his speech that it was announced that the Fazle Haq ministry in Bengal had come to an end.

On the afternoon of the third day, the women's meeting was presided over by Lady Haroon that had passed many similar resolutions reiterating the objectives of the League. Until now, the emphasis has been on women's reform and education. It was a matter of great pride for the Muslim women of the Muslim League that we were holding their meeting, as before that they were used to attend all the men's meetings of the Muslim League. In these meetings, a separate place was reserved for veiled women. It was so important that women sat right in front of the men, "but we did not hear a word of complaint from any of the audience, nor was there any whisper about our behaviour, although the majority of those in the audience were conservatives"

Begum Shaista Ikram noted that this was a great achievement and it was possible because Quaid-e-Azam used to bring Miss Fatima Jinnah with him to attend the meeting. Quaid-e-Azam had already reached the point where he could do whatever he wanted and the people would accept it, so it was okay for Miss Fatima Jinnah to attend the general meeting of the Muslim League and we could attend the men's meetings. -Begum Aizaz Rasool addressed the meeting. Begum Bashir Ahmed donated generously to the league. The era of women in nation-building had begun with this meeting.

Less than two years after the formation of the Muslim League Women's Sub-Committee, the Muslim Women's Students Federation was also formed. Earlier, the Federation of Muslim Students had come into existence under the presidency of Raja Sahib Mahmood, but in the presence of the veil of our society and other restrictions, it was not possible for female students to work alongside men, so the Federation of Muslim Students was established separately. Raja Sahib Mahmood Abad appointed Begum Shista Ikram Ullah as the convener of this committee. Besides, the first official of this committee was three female students who belonged to a college in Delhi and who were sent by Miss Fatima Jinnah. Their names are Miss Ayesha Hussain (President), Miss Hamira Hashmat Ali (Secretary) and Miss Tahira Mazhar (Treasurer). These young girls were intelligent, talented and idealistic, although none of them lived up to the expectations that were

initially placed on them, meaning they did not emerge in Pakistan's political arena.

In February 1941 women decided to hold a conference at the Anglo-Arabic College in Delhi. Although it was a small event, it was very important because the conference was attended by unmarried girls from different cities with different views. They all had to stay with people who were strangers to their family. In those days it was considered a great revolution on the part of the women who participated in the event. About a dozen delegates attended the meeting. Miss Tazeen Habibullah from Lucknow, Miss Sultana Qazi and Miss Zahra Qazi from Meerut and prominent and experienced Muslim League activist Fatima Begum from Lahore. She was accompanied by a delegation from the college of six girls. Their participation enhanced the prestige of the meeting and made the conference a success. Their attitude and support were encouraging to other girls and women who attending the meeting. However, the meeting was not attended by many women the reason this was that no one was interested in politics or political conference in those days. However, they continued the proceedings of the conference as if it was a very big and real conference. Miss Fatima Jinnah had promised to inaugurate the conference but due to illness the conference could not be inaugurated by her, so it was inaugurated by Begum Kishore Rehman. Begum Rasool presided over the conference and delivered her impressive speech. At the first meeting of the All India Muslim Women's Committee, the young delegates delivered enthusiastic speeches and then passed resolutions emphasizing the demand for the establishment of Pakistan and strongly condemning the racist attitude towards Urdu.

The second annual conference of delegates was held at the Muslim Girls College in Aligarh. As the conference was being held in Aligarh, it was a big conference. Among the participants and delegates of the second conference was Miss Zari Sarfraz (who has been a prominent member of the National Assembly of Pakistan) and by that time Begum Mumtaz Shahnawaz had also joined the Federation and Muslim Women Sub-Committee. Their involvement greatly strengthened the role of women in politics.

Attempts were also made to establish branches of the Muslim Women's Sub-Committee in other parts of India. Its branches were established in C.P. and Bengal. Quaid-e-Azam was trying his best to organize the Muslims of the subcontinent to spread the demand for the establishment of Pakistan. Apart from encouraging men he also tried his best to guide and encourage women efforts too. Whenever the All India Muslim League met, there was also a meeting of the Muslim Women Sub-Committee and Quaid-e-Azam would attend its activities and give time to inspect the

Women's National Guard. He paid his respects by attending a meeting of the Muslim Women's Students Federation in Delhi in March 1944. The meeting also took place in the same spacious hall of the Anglo-Arabic College, but this time not only was the hall filled with attendees, but many were standing in the porches and gardens of the college. The crowd was pointing to the pace of work that had awakened political consciousness among women.

Quaid-i-Azam recognized the equal participation of women in politics. Women were also subjected to the disciplinary action that was for male members too, and when Quaid-i-Azam ordered men not to cooperate British government's war efforts, women were also required to do the same. Quaid-i-Azam expected that those who joined the Muslim League would not spare any sacrifice for the cause of Pakistan.

Begum Shistha Ikram Ullah wrote that "I was asked by the Government of India to attend the Pacific Relations Conference" in 1945, but Quaid-e-Azam did not allow me to do so. On several occasions, he took the trouble to explain the reason for the refusal with great patience in detail. He agreed and when I got up to leave, he added that you will become the representative of the Muslim League in a dignified manner. There I will have the full right to speak on behalf of the Muslim League. He remembered that because Pakistan came into being, Quaid-e-Azam ordered me to go to the United Nations as Pakistan's representative (delegate) but "I could not go due to ill health. They sent me next year but I'm sorry he didn't live long enough to let me know he was right".

Quaid-i-Azam not only encouraged sentimentality and enthusiasm women of the subcontinent to participate in the Pakistan movement, but he also taught women to be realistic in their approaches. He was seen returning the jewellery given by women for the Muslim League fund and said that find out what your husband's think before you do because they appreciated solid and practical work rather than dramatic action.

How Quaid-e-Azam used to train someone's mind from women Begum Shistha Ikram Ullah told her own story. When I was first criticized in an article in the *Hindustan Times*, I approached Quaid-e-Azam. I expected sympathy from them. "After entering politics, I should expect this kind of criticism," he said. "It's a testament to the fact that your deeds are being valued." There was always a pile of newspapers next to Quaid-e-Azam's chair. He picked up a copy of the *Hindustan Times* and took a brief look at the article I had mentioned, and then carefully placed the newspapers there for a moment without saying anything. He said: "Every day the newspapers write

very bad things about me, but if I take their effect, think what will happen then?” I was embarrassed and as soon as I got up to leave, he added: “You don't have to worry about trivial things”. In later years, whenever I was confronted with the worst kind of criticism, I remembered these words of Quaid-e-Azam.¹⁷

Begum Shistha Ikram Ullah noted that once, at a dinner party, someone attacked the leader. “I lost my temper”. Later I mentioned this tragic incident to Quaid-e-Azam. He said it was a trivial matter. “You shouldn't be so angry”. I mentioned this to Quaid-e-Azam because he was accused of arrogance, but no one with personal arrogance would take such an accusation lightly. Those who denigrate him often say that he was selfish, arrogant and arrogant, but I can only say that I have never found him like that. They were isolated. He did not talk nonsense and did not try to impress anyone with his behaviour.¹⁸

At the time of political turmoil in India, the Quaid always listened to everyone including women with great patience and always managed to convince them about the truth. This is not because they do not value the opinions of others or force their opinions on them or do not respond to the arguments of others but because he has full confidence in the truth and authenticity of his point of view and he persuades others. He did not force anyone to obey. The Quaid did not have time for people who did not believe in the truth and did not give importance to those who came up with the idea of debate for debate.

Addressing Muslim Women in Peshawar Jinnah said “I am very glad that our women are coming forward... women can always play a great part. It is said that the hand that rocks the cradle rules the nation... Our Islamic history shows that women have always worked shoulder to shoulder with men... No nation can ever achieve any big thing unless we take our women with us.”¹⁹

Quaid-e-Azam was a man of insight; he was a man who acted according to his beliefs. When he was young he advocated for women's rights and when he returned from London he enrolled his young sister in a convent school and this was unique to the Muslims of that time and the sect to which they belonged. It was very unique for him because the men of this sect were also far behind in terms of education but if Quaid-e-Azam had any intention, he would put it into

¹⁷ Farah Gul Baqai, ‘Begum Shaista Ikramullah: A Woman Who Dared’, *Pakistan Journal of History & Culture*, 21, no. 2 (2000), 99-104.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Mahmooda Hashmi, “Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Female Leadership,” *Pakistan Journal of History & Culture*, 22, no. 2 (2001): 153.

practice without wasting time and when his sisters came under his jurisdiction, so he enrolled her in school.

A few years later, when he was elected president of the newly organized Muslim League, he promptly introduced a resolution that established the Muslim League Women's Sub-Committee and the establishment of the Muslim Women's Students Federation. Ordered and as soon as the best members were elected for the first Legislative Assembly, they also fixed two seats for women. Begum Jahan Arai from Punjab, Shah Nawaz and the first two women from East Pakistan were selected. Just a few weeks after the formation of Pakistan, when the first delegation was sent to the United Nations, a female delegate, Begum Tassaduq Hussain, was also included.

Every organization formed in the first few months after the formation of Pakistan, such as the All Pakistan Red Cross Society, the NTB Association and the UNICEF branch of the United Nations Children's Fund in Pakistan, women were also included by him. It is the result of Quaid-e-Azam's encouragement that women were first able to take part in the struggle for independence and then after the establishment of Pakistan tried to solve the great problem of refugee resettlement and other issues and continued its contribution to the development of the country and the nation.²⁰ Thus under the dynamic leadership of Jinnah, the Muslim women and girls gathered and give a lot of sacrifices to achieve this country.

²⁰ Mahmooda Hashmi, "Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Female Leadership", *Pakistan Journal of History & Culture*, 22, no. 2 (2001): 149-159.

Chapter 2

The Role of Women in Pakistan Movement

“I have always maintained that no nation can ever be worthy of its existence that cannot take with them their women. No struggle can ever succeed without women ever participating side by side with men. There are two powers in the world. One is represented by the sword and the other by the pen. There is great competition and rivalry between the two. There is a third power stronger than both. That is the woman. It is woman and woman alone who can teach a man how and when to use the sword or pen when the occasion arises. It is woman and woman alone who can teach a man how and when to use the sword or pen when the occasion arises. The Muslim League is not quite oblivious of the vital importance of taking their women with them so that they also participate in the national struggle.” Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah (March 25, 1940).²¹

Muslim women of the subcontinent had played an everlasting role in the struggle for the establishment of Pakistan. They created “awareness among the Muslim women of the subcontinent for independence and organized them to play an active role in the struggle for the establishment of Pakistan. Amongst those women, few of them are: Fatima Jinnah, Begum Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar, Begum Salma Tassaduq Hussain, Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz, Begum Rana Liaquat Ali Khan, Begum G.A. Khan, Begum Nazir Talha Muhammad, Begum Aizaz Rasool”, Agha Tahira Begum, Begum Hameed Al-Nisa, Begum Shirin Wahab, Begum Shafi Ahmed, Begum Iqbal Hussain Malik, Begum Professor Sardar Haider Jaffer, Begum Geeti Ara, Begum Hamdam Kamaluddin, Begum Farrukh Hussain, Begum Zari Sarfraz, Begum Shaista Ikramullah, Fatima Begum, Begum Viqar-un-Nisa Noon, Lady Haroon, Khawar Sultana, Begum Zahid Qureshi (Umta-ul-Hameed Razaullah, Umta-ul-Aziz, Noor-ul-Sabah, Begum Sahibzadi Mahmooda, and Begum Shamim Jalandhari.²²

The establishment of Pakistan is the result of a long struggle waged by the Muslims of the subcontinent to protect their separate national identity, and the role of women has been crucial in this endeavour. Under the leadership of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, our forefathers have endured great patience and a long struggle for Pakistan attainment and have sacrificed their

²¹ Government of Pakistan, <http://www.pakistan.gov.pk/Quaid/messages.html>
<http://www.pakistan.gov.pk/Quaid/messages.html>.

²² Faraz Hussain Mirza, *Muslim Women Role in the Pakistan Movement* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1969), 29-35.

lives and property in this regard. The role of women in the Pakistan Movement cannot be ignored. They worked alongside men and participated in Pakistan Movement.

The role of women in the political and social spheres has been enviable and worthy in the freedom movement of Pakistan. It is a historical fact that until 1947, there was a great movement in British India under the banner of women's rights to give women the rights they deserved. The founder of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, used to say in favour of women's rights and was providing full intellectual and moral support to this movement. It is a historical fact that the males' members of the All India Muslim League done a great job to achieve Pakistan, but it is also a historical fact that the women of the Indian subcontinent were also active in the Pakistan Movement. Those women were playing their pivotal roles and had full, academic, political social identity and reputation. However, after the dynamic political role of the founder of Pakistan, these unique women found a platform and mission to organize their work.

Many great women remained active, fearless activists in the practical, social, educational, political, a field in the twentieth century. These were the women who not only awakened the political consciousness in the common, housewife but also instilled the spirit of the movement for a separate national identity so that women could emerge from their homes and become a practical force in the struggle of Pakistan. It was this power that made women such a fearless wonder that they did not fear any imperialism or Hinduism but united in the pursuit of a great cause of patriotism.

Quaid-e-Azam was also very active in the women's movement in the freedom movement of Pakistan and even encourages non-Muslim women to support the cause of the Muslim League. Many prominent women's activist, paid tribute to the Founder of Pakistan for his consistent support, that Quaid-e-Azam always came to our meetings at our invitation, each time supporting our movement with strong arguments.

The role of the founder of Pakistan for women's rights was not limited to politics; he also encouraged women in the subcontinent through her political and legal struggle and led their side by side in the freedom struggle. Due to the same political role concerning women in the freedom movement of Pakistan, Muslim League has a dynamic political, organizational section of prominent women. The inception of Pakistan is thus the contribution of those great men and side by side of women, who have rendered great services and sacrifices to achieve this country.

In this chapter the role of prominent women from across Pakistan in the freedom movement

of Pakistan has been examined and focused on few ladies i.e. “Ms Fatima Jinnah, Bi Amaan, Begum Rana Liaquat Ali Khan, Fatima Sughra, Begum Shaista Ikramullah, Nusrat Abdullah Haroon, Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz and Begum Zari Sarfraz” etc have discussed.

2.1 Ms. Fatima Jinnah

Quaid-e-Azam's beloved and kind sister Fatima Jinnah was born in Karachi on July 30, 1893. She studied as a dentist but after the tragic death of Muhammad Ali Jinnah's wife in 1929; she dedicated her life to his elder brother and remained close to Jinnah throughout her life. Fatima Jinnah followed Quaid-e-Azam step by step in the struggle for Pakistan and “played an important role in the awareness of Muslim women. She was an active member of the All India Muslim League where she serves as the Vice President” of the Branch. According to Sharif al-Mujahideen, people did not know the fact that wherever Jinnah went in 1940s, Fatima Jinnah was with him who taught Muslim women during the struggle for independence to walk side by side with men in this struggle. The two, brother and sisters gave a clear message to the nation that there is no difference between men and women. These are two equal wheels of the same car. Fatima Jinnah with her brother Quaid-e-Azam spent many years and never left him alone.²³

Fatima Jinnah wrote “whenever he went, I was with him. It was a heartening sign to see that the Muslims were getting over their lethargy; and the increasing number of people that turned out to listen to him indicated the growing hold the Muslim League was beginning to have over their minds, as well as of his growing personal popularity. As he spoke of the gigantic strength that the Muslims had in their hands, which could become decisive in determining the shape of any scheme of political reforms in the future if they all stood united, loud and prolonged applause would rend the air. He thundered with the voice of an inspired leader” added “As he ended his speech on the soaring crescendo of promise and hope, the huge gatherings would shout, Muslim League Zindabad, Mohamed Ali Jinnah Zindabad.”²⁴

So the name of Ms. Fatima Jinnah needs no introduction. She not only united the women in the Freedom Movement of Pakistan but also took care of all the comforts of the Founder of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Above all, at a critical juncture in history when millions of Muslims in the subcontinent was attached to Quaid-e-Azam and the Muslim League

²³ Riaz Ahmad, ed. *Pakistani Scholars on Madar-i-Millat Fatima Jinnah* (National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Centre of Excellence, Quaid-i-Azam Univ., 2004), 164.

²⁴ Fatima Jinnah, *My Brother* (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy, 1987), 3.

for the cause of Pakistan, and Jinnah was ill, she stood with her brother and did not disclose his illness and keep it secret. Later on, Hindus and Britishers kept commenting that if we knew about the illness of Quaid-e-Azam, the plane of the division of India was not to be implemented.²⁵

In the freedom movement of Pakistan, the services of Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah are unforgettable. She awakened the Muslim women of the subcontinent to take part in the freedom movement of Pakistan and organized them to take the lead. Due to her active role, men, as well as women, became active in the streets of the subcontinent for the cause of Pakistan. Not only that, but she did great service by serving the founder of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. If the deprivation and slavery of the Muslim Ummah had made his brother restless, then the sister would not have spent a single minute in calming the restless heart of this great brother. He was so busy in the struggle for independence remains committed to hard work and dedication in their work that he even took care of his declining health, she took care of the comfort of Quaid-e-Azam every day and night.²⁶

She was a true successor to her brother Quaid-e-Azam in political insight. On one occasion, Quaid-i-Azam himself, referring to the services of his sister Fatima Jinnah, said, "Miss Fatima Jinnah is a constant source of help and encouragement to me. In the days when I was expecting to be taken as a prisoner by the British Government, it was my sister who encouraged me and said hopeful things when revolution was staring me in the face. Her constant care is about my health. - Quaid-i-Azam, 9 August 1947."²⁷ There is no need for a further explanation after Fatima Jinnah's political services were acknowledged by her brother, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

Fatima Jinnah's life is an unprecedented struggle. She fought exemplary for the establishment of true democracy and, like his great brother, pursued the politics of principles till her last breath. Fatima Jinnah used to say that Quaid-e-Azam's harshness is about his objective of getting Pakistan but in his normal life he had a very funny, compassionate and gentle temperament and had great respect for women. Fatima Jinnah says that once when Quaid-e-Azam came home from a secret meeting of the working committee of the Muslim League, he was asked about the decisions taken there. Quaid-e-Azam smiled and said, "Why should I tell you, I am yours." I am not a representative; you ask your representative Begum Muhammad Ali Johar what the decision

²⁵ Ibid. 32.

²⁶ Riaz Ahmad, ed. *Pakistani Scholars on Madar-i-Millat Fatima Jinnah* (National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Centre of Excellence, Quaid-i-Azam Univ., 2004), 197.

²⁷ Fatima Jinnah, *My Brother* (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy, 1987), 11.

was. Fatima Jinnah said, "I talk to them but they do not say anything." The Quaid-e-Azam replied with a smile. "I am glad to hear that they do not tell you anything, although it is very difficult for women to remain silent."

Fatima Jinnah asked the women to gather in Meena Bazaar for the financial support of the Muslim League. Thus, on her initiative, Muslim women started setting up in Meena Bazaar. The income from these bazaars was deposited in the fund of the Muslim League. Inaugurating at Meena Bazaar in Lahore in April 1944, Ms Fatima Jinnah said, "I am very happy to see that you have set up a Meena Bazaar so that women can also lend a hand to their Muslim brothers. And we have to help, lend a hand and encourage them to improve the economic condition of the nation. I firmly believe that our sisters will help them to improve the economic condition of the nation. "

In the life of Quaid-e-Azam, Fatima Jinnah effectively remained with him from 1929 to 1948 and even after the death of Quaid-e-Azam, she lived from 1946 to 1967, but in this second period, his personality Thus, his thoughts and character emerged in such a way that his mental grip on modern politics and affairs was incredibly complete and strong. In response to Ayub Khan's criticism of the 1965 presidential election, Madar-e-Millat had said, "Ayub may be an expert on military matters, but I have gained political insight directly from the Quaid-e-Azam and this is the department." In which the dictator is ignorant.²⁸

When it comes to the role of women in the Pakistan Movement, the services of Ms. Fatima Jinnah and the sacrifices cannot be forgotten. She dedicated her whole life to his brother and country and nation. She was awarded the title of "Mother of the Nation" in recognition of her services. Begum Muhammad Ali Johar took an active part in politics despite strict restrictions. She was the from those ladies leader of the subcontinent who supported the Pakistan resolution.

2.2 Bi Amaan

Bi Amaan is a respected and proud name of the Indian subcontinent. She was the mother of Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar and Maulana Shaukat Ali. During the Khilafah Movement, she persuaded Muslim women to play their part in the Khilafah Movement under the toughest veil. She was also a great nationalist, to boycott foreign products, wheels were made and distributed in

²⁸ Ahmad, Riaz, ed. *Pakistani Scholars on Madar-i-Millat Fatima Jinnah*. No. 116. National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Centre of Excellence, Quaid-i-Azam Univ., 2004 and Naureen Talha, "Fatima Jinnah's Life." *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* 46, no. 2 (2009): 67-78.

the villages, and women were encouraged to spin yarn and make cloth for their garments, Khadar was made beautiful and charming. In this whole process, a valuable national and Islamic role of Biman is a golden chapter of history. When her sons Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar and Maulana Shaukat Ali were arrested, she said, “Hundreds would spring up where one had been arrested.” Born in 1852, her father took part in the War of Independence 1857 for the sake of religion, homeland and was martyred. This great woman's Islam-friendly and high-profile role inspired women in the subcontinent to work for the national interest.²⁹

2.3 Fatima Sughra

Fatima Sughra, the woman who waved the Muslim League flag at the Secretariat, was an active member of the Pakistan movement and was only 14 years old. She was taken into custody but this brave girl did not give up and kept mobilizing the Muslim women. That is why the women stood up for Pakistan without fear of baton charges, tear gas and the difficulties of detention. Happened Fatima Sughra was one of the prominent activists of the Pakistan movement who took full part in this struggle at a very young age and created a place for herself. When the struggle of Pakistan was at its peak, she was studying in 10th class at that time. Ms. Fatima Sughra took down the British flag from the Civil Secretariat during the movement in 1946 and waved the flag of the Muslim League. He was awarded the National Lifetime Achievement Award and the Pride of Performance Award by the Government of Pakistan.

The story was told by Ms. Fatima Sughra as “When I took down the British flag and replaced it with our Muslim League one, I don’t think I knew what I was doing. It wasn’t planned. I was rebellious at that age, 14, and it seemed like a good idea. I was not prepared for it to become such a big symbol of independence. They even gave me a Gold Medal for Services to Pakistan. I was the first ever to receive one.”

The story of the Fatima Sughra was described by Justice Nasira Javed Iqbal in these words “In a very short time, the lithe young girls Fatima and Zareena had climbed over the wall and rushed towards the flag, Zareena had pushed her upwards and Fatima had taken off the Union Jack and replaced it with the League flag. She says she still remembers how loudly they all chanted slogans of Pakistan Zindabad after that, even though she was only a little girl.”³⁰

²⁹ Faraz Hussain Mirza, *Muslim Women Role in the Pakistan Movement* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1969), 32-33.

³⁰ *Dawn*, September 26, 2017, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1360098>

Fatima Sughra, who hoisted the Muslim League flag at the Secretariat, is a respected name in the Freedom Movement of Pakistan. The descent of the Union Jack and the hoisting of the flag of the Muslim League was an event that doubled and multiplied the spirit for the struggle of the Freedom Movement of Pakistan. Fatima Sughra once said, “She often asked her father Agha Jan to let me go to women's meetings, but Agha Jan would stop me. She says that one day a procession was moving towards the Civil Secretariat, I was also participating in it, the police had surrounded it, a voice was raised from the crowd that we will wave the flag here; this voice gave me a strange feeling. And giving strength, I immediately pressed the green satin flag which I was waving under my armpit and climbed on the iron door of the Secretariat. I walked towards the building without fear of the police. I waved this flag even if I lost my life. And then she succeeded in her intention. When the civil disobedience movement started in the subcontinent in 1946 and 1947, a lot of Muslim women were put in jails. When the common women come into the protest, there were also arrested. Fatima Sughra was also one the protested. Due to her ambitious spirit, her parents were worried and she was sent to Peshawar. There she stayed in the company of many women who also took down the British flag from the Peshawar building.³¹ This courageous step of Fatima Sughra in British rule will always keep her alive with respect in history.³²

2.4 Begum Shaista Ikramullah

Shaishtha was the spirit of the Muslim Girls Federation. It was not easy to organize young girls in those days, but she did not give up at any point in this difficult phase and she managed the students all over India. Who emerged as the vanguard of the Pakistan movement and made a proud and solemn contribution to the establishment of Pakistan. Begum Shaista Ikramullah belonged to a high-ranking Suhrawardy family of Bengal. Born in July 1915, she studied English and religion. She graduated from Calcutta University in 1933 with a B.Sc. She passed the MA examination with distinction and has been “associated with King's College London and the School of Oriental Studies”.

Hassan Suhrawardy was an advisor to the British Minister of India. His daughter, Dr. Shaista Ikramullah, was a well-known female leader, diplomat and well-known writer of the

³¹ Chiade S’Sea, “Partition and Pakistan,” *The Guardian*, August 14, 2007.
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/aug/14/pakistan-india>

³² Faraz Hussain Mirza, *Muslim Women Role in the Pakistan Movement* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1969), 138-139.

Tehreek-e-Pakistan. Begum Shaista Ikramullah used to write fiction under the name of Shaista Akhtar Suhrawardy before her marriage and her fiction was published in important literary magazines of the time like Humayun, Adabi Dunya, Tahzeeb Niswan and Alamgir etc. In 1932, she married Mr. Ikramullah, who became the Foreign Secretary of Pakistan after the formation of Pakistan. She adopted the nickname "Shaista Ikramullah".

In the days of Tehreek-e-Pakistan, she also took an active part in the freedom struggle and remained a member of the Bengal Legislative Assembly. Begum Shaista Akramullah worked day and night to strengthen the Tehreek-e-Pakistan in Bengal. Thanks to her efforts, she introduced many women of Bengal to practical politics.

Begum Shaista Ikramullah has worked hard for women's education and women's development. To highlight the importance of education among women, Begum Shaista Ikramullah also released messages from All India Radio Station, Radio Pakistan and the BBC. Begum Ikramullah was an elected member of the working councils of Calcutta, Aligarh, Delhi and Sindh University. She became an official member of the Muslim League in 1940.

In 1942, at the request of the Mother of the Nation, Fatima Jinnah, she organized the first conference of the Muslim Women's Students Federation against the organization of Hindu students. In the days when women in the UK were demanding the right to vote, conscientious, courageous women like Begum Shaista Ikramullah were contesting elections and she was elected a member of the Constituent Assembly of India. She was also a member of the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan after the formation of Pakistan. He worked hard for the resettlement and rehabilitation of refugees. He worked in refugee camps in the early days of Pakistan. Deliver tents and comforters. Find respectable employment opportunities for migrant women. After the formation of Pakistan, he represented Pakistan in the United Nations and served in Morocco. Her writings include a collection of fiction, Incomplete Effort, Proverbs and Idioms of Delhi Women, From the Parda to Parliament, Letters to Nina, Behind the Well and A Critical Survey of the Development of the Urdu Novel and Short Story. One of the reasons for Begum Shaista Ikramullah's fame is that she was well-liked by former Crown Prince Hassan of Jordan and former Foreign Minister of Bangladesh Rehman Subhan. The government of Pakistan awarded him the Nishan-e-Imtiaz in recognition of his services. Begum Shaista Ikramullah passed away on December 10, 2000, in the United Arab Emirates. She is laid to rest in the compound of Hazrat

Abdullah Shah Ghazi's shrine in Karachi.³³

Bagum Shaista Ikramullah used to write fiction under the name of Shaista Akhtar Suhrawardy even before her marriage and her fictions were published in the important literary magazines of that time Humayun, Adabi Dunya, Tahzeeb Niswan and Alamgir etc. In 1940, she received her PhD in Novelism from the University of London, the first Indian woman to receive a PhD from the University. In the days of Tehreek-e-Pakistan, he also took an active part in the freedom struggle and was a member of the Bengal Legislative Assembly. She was also a member of the First Legislative Assembly of Pakistan after the formation of Pakistan. After the formation of Pakistan, he represented Pakistan in the United Nations and served in Morocco. Her writings include a collection of fiction, Kushish Natamam, Delhi Women's Proverbs and Idioms, From Parda to Parliament (From Parda to Parliament), Letters to Nina, Behind the Well and A Critical Survey of the Development of the Urdu Novel and Short Story.³⁴

2.5 Nusrat Abdullah Haroon

Prominent female leader Lady Abdullah Haroon was born in “Iran. She was born in 1886 and settled in Karachi with her parents. In 1914, she married Sir Abdullah Haroon. She was the founder of a women's organization in Sindh called Anjuman-e-Khawateen. The main objective of this organization was to rectify the poor economic and social condition of women in Sindh. She was a strong supporter of women's education”.

Begum Nusrat Haroon started her political career in 1919 during the Khilafah Movement in Sindh Province and traveled all over Sindh, raising awareness among women. Begum Nusrat Haroon also hosted Begum Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar. In 1938, she was nominated to the Central Sub-Committee of the All India Muslim League for Women. In Sindh, she was elected president of the women's sub-committee worked day and night to bring it up. When the Women's National Guard ceremony was held in 1943 and 5,000 women participated, the Quaid addressed the women and said that women have to work as soldiers and then we will be able to get Pakistan. She used to attend the meeting of the Muslim League and was also nominated as a member of the working committee of the Sindh Provincial Muslim League. After the formation

³³ M. Reza Pirbhai, “From Purdah to Parliament’: The Twentieth Century According to Shaista Ikramullah.” *Hawwa* 14, no. 3 (2016): 278-309.

³⁴ Mahmooda Hashmi, “Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Female Leadership”, *Pakistan Journal of History & Culture*, 22, no. 2 (2001): 149-159.

of Pakistan, Begum Nusrat Haroon dedicated herself to improving the socio-economic condition of women. To make his mission a success, she opened schools, colleges for orphanages in different areas under the name of Sir Abdullah Haroon Trust, and her name lives today because of his charitable work and humanitarian service.³⁵

2.6 Begum Rana Liaquat Ali Khan

Begum Rana Liaquat Ali was the first lady of Pakistan, the wife of the first Prime Minister of Pakistan Liaquat Ali Khan, a member of the Pakistan movement and the first woman governor of Sindh. Begum Rana Liaquat Ali was born in 1912 in **Lucknow**, British India. She received her early education at a women's high school in Nanny Tal and MA in Economics and Sociology from Lucknow University and remained a teacher for a while. In 1933, Khan married Liaquat Ali Khan. She founded the All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA), a women's organization. She Participated in the UN General Assembly in 1952 as Pakistan's Delegate. In 1954, she was the Ambassador to the Netherlands and later to Italy and also the Governor of Sindh. Begum Rana Liaquat Ali died in Karachi in 1990 due to cardiac arrest and the premises of Mazar-e-Quaid buried next to Liaquat Ali Khan.³⁶

Rana Liaquat Ali was a highly educated woman who travelled to remote areas of the country and played a key role in organizing the Muslim League and volunteered for the Muslim League. Rana Liaquat Ali Khan was born in February 1910. She was highly educated. In 1929, she graduated from Lucknow University with a first-class degree in Sociology and Economics. She is the first woman on the subcontinent to write research papers on the role of women in agricultural development. She wrote an essay on "Women's Role in Agriculture in UP Province" which was declared the best essay of the year. Begum Rana Liaquat continued her discussions with Lady Mountbatten and other important women to highlight the importance of the two-nation ideology. It was the greatness of Pakistan's eminent women that they demanded a separate homeland and achieved it. Kept the British government fully informed of the Muslim point of view. It was not at all that the British or the Hindus were unaware of what the Muslims wanted. Begum Rana Liaquat paid full attention to the resettlement of refugees; she worked day and night

³⁵ Faraz Hussain Mirza, *Muslim Women Role in the Pakistan Movement* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1969), 131-132.

³⁶ Rumana Husain, *Tasveeri Kahani Sislsila: Begum Rana Liaquat Ali Khan* (Karachi: Oxford University, Press, 1990).

in Lahore and had set up a headquarters in the name of Quaid-e-Millat. She would go to the refugee camps to inspect herself, interrogate the sick and be always on the move to help them.

In April 1933, she married Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan. When Quaid-e-Azam first met Liaquat Ali Khan in London, she also attended the meeting and she left the luxurious life of London and came to India at the request of Quaid-e-Azam and asked women to work for the Muslim League. Attracted Begum Rana Liaquat Ali Khan built schools and industrial homes for Muslim girls and rendered invaluable services for their education and training. Begum Rana Liaquat Ali Khan has set up an industrial home under the Cottage Industry Association to acquaint migrant women with handicrafts. She has set up a Gul Rana Nusrat Industrial Home in Karachi. Has the honour of representing Pakistan as ambassador in the Netherlands, Italy and Tunisia. In 1959, the government of Pakistan awarded her the distinction. From 1973 to 1976, Begum Rana Liaquat Ali Khan also served as the Governor of Sindh. Just as Benazir Bhutto has the honour of being the first woman Prime Minister of Pakistan, so has Begum Rana Liaquat Ali Khan the honour of being the first woman Governor of a province. The freedom movement of Pakistan has a long list of distinguished women who have done significant work for the country and the nation.³⁷

2.7 Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz

Two daughters of Muhammad Shafi from the Muslim League leader, “Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz and Begum Geeti Ara Bashir Ahmed” also played an important role in the Pakistan Movement. Begum Geeti Ara, was prominent among the women who raised the awareness of the Pakistan movement in Punjab. Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz is also one of the prominent women in the freedom movement of Pakistan. She was the daughter of Sir Mian Muhammad Shafi, the great political leader who proposed the name All India Muslim League.

Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz became the first woman member of the All India Muslim League. As a female political member of the All India Muslim League, she represented Muslims in all three roundtable conferences. She also attended an international conference of workers, including a meeting of the League of Nations. Among the important political leaders invited from Britain to the Round Table Conference in 1930 were Begum Jahan Ara and her father and daughter Mumtaz Shahnawaz from the family. Before the formation of Pakistan, Begum Jahan Ara was “twice elected a member of the Punjab Assembly, while after the formation of Pakistan, she was

³⁷ Faraz Hussain Mirza, *Muslim Women Role in the Pakistan Movement* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1969), 132-133.

elected a member of the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz's daughter Mumtaz Shahnawaz also fought for a separate state for the Muslims. Her role in the freedom movement” is examined in detail in the next chapter.³⁸

2.8 Begum Zari Sarfraz

An important role in Tehreek-e-Pakistan is also played by Begum Zari Sarfraz whose real name was Zarnagaar. Begum Zari Sarfraz was not only an activist of the Pakistan movement but also after the establishment of Pakistan as a politician she spent her entire life for the betterment of women. She belonged to a distinguished and wealthy family of the Mardan area of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Begum Zari Sarfraz attended a historic meeting in 1940, which gave her a special role in the life of the Muslims for the approval of a separate state and their demands. In 1944, she became a regular member of the Muslim League. She was elected as the General Secretary of the Mardan Muslim League. In 1945, she was elected General Secretary of the Mardan Muslim League. -Due to her hard work day and night, the Muslim League also won a key seat in the by-elections. She also did great service by leading demonstrations on the occasion of Civil Disobedience and Viceroy Lord Mountbatten's visit to Peshawar in 1947.³⁹

2.9 Begum Mohammad Shafi

Begum Mohammad Shafi was the first Muslim female journalist of the subcontinent, she was born in 1898 in Meerut. His grandfather Khan Bahadur Ghulam Nabi was the Chief Minister of Meerut who was the Extra Assistant Commissioner, Minister of Finance and Prime Minister of the State of Bahawalpur. His father Sajjad Nabi Qureshi, despite being a Tehsildar, was a Sufi man and often engaged in Nawafil and Wazaif. At the age of 16, she married Syed Shafi Ahmed Begum Shafi came to know that her husband was an Ahmadi after marriage but she obeys her husband in life. After the death of her husband in 1941, Begum Shafi also entered the field of journalism and started a weekly "Dastkari".

Before that, she was also an ardent member of the Muslim League. In 1938, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah made her the caretaker of the local women's department and later nominated her as a member of the working committee. She attended press conferences and meetings with all India Muslim Leagues committees and subcommittees. Sarojini Naidu hugged you and openly admitted that the burqa did not hinder your progress. Begum Shafi Ahmed also

³⁸ Ibid. 128-129.

³⁹ Ibid. 138-139.

attended the Shimla Conference and the inauguration of the Provisional Government in 1946 as a correspondent. He also rendered significant service to the protection of Muslims in the subcontinent.⁴⁰

2.10 Begum Nishat-ul-Nisa

Begum Hasrat Mohani is a heartwarming figure in India's freedom struggle and one of the few courageous and dynamic women of the twentieth century. Her real name was Nishatul Nisa Begum, but she was called and remembered as Begum Hasrat Mohani. She was one of the few women in India whose husbands used the power of the pen against the British for the sake of Indian independence and also took the lead in anti-government rallies and movements. During this time, the women encouraged their husbands, who had been beaten, arrested and punished, and urged them not to back down from their cause, assuring them that they were with them in every difficult time. Begum Hasrat Mohani not only saw and endured all this but also continued to fulfil her responsibilities at home and also worked for the movement.

On one occasion when Hasrat Mohani was arrested by the British, Begum Hasrat Mohani enlisted in the freedom movement and took part in the movement alongside her husband. If the history of Mujahid women of India is written, then Begum Hasrat will be mentioned.

Nishat Al-Nisa Begum was born in 1885 in a Mohan family. According to the constitution of the time, he received formal education in Persian and Arabic. After the marriage, he also looked at the newspaper and other works with Hasrat Mohani and helped him at every opportunity. Nishat Nisa Begum was a member of the All India Congress Working Committee. Begum Hasrat Mohani's determination and perseverance and her activism and patriarchy set her apart from other women and all were impressed by her personality and actions. Prominent and prominent leaders and personalities of the time have acknowledged the courage and sacrifices of Begum Hasrat Mohani. Begum Hasrat Mohani was a strong supporter of women's education. Adverse circumstances, the pressures of mobilization, and financial difficulties, along with other responsibilities, quickly exhausted her and she became ill. On April 18, 1937, this great woman, who dreamed of India's independence and seemed to be active in the field, met the real creator.

2.11 Amjadi Bano Begum

Amjadi Bano Begum is one of the brave and courageous women who fought for the establishment of a separate homeland for the Muslims of the subcontinent. Amjadi Begum was a

⁴⁰ Ibid. 116-117.

very prominent personality in Rampur. She was born in the state of Rampur in 1885. Her Begum Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar's name was Amjadi Bano. She was the daughter of Azmat Ali Khan. Her father died when she was a child, and her grandmother raised her. Her education was arranged at home as there was no educational institution for Muslim girls at that time.

On February 5, 1902, she was married to Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar, who was dear to her. Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar was passionate about the independence of his country. He was a great Muslim leader. In 1919, when Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar was sent to jail in connection with the Khilafah Movement, Begum Muhammad Ali Johar, Amjadi Bano Begum became involved in practical politics.

It would not be wrong to call Amjad Bano Begum “the first Muslim woman political leader in British India. This was a time when women were confined to their homes and their responsibility was to take care of their home and children, she was a woman of that time. She joined the Khilafah Movement and accompanied Maulana on every journey, even after the death of Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar on January 4, 1931”, she continued his mission.

She attended the annual meeting of the Muslim League in 1917. In 1920, she was elected Secretary of the All India Khilafah Women's Committee. In 1930, she “attended the London Round Table Conference with her husband, Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar”.

Begum Muhammad Ali Johar's greatest achievement was to create political awareness among the women of India along with B. Aman. Begum Maulana Muhammad Ali took an active part in the historic meeting of the Muslim League in 1940 in which the Lahore resolution was presented. She was the only female leader on the subcontinent to support the resolution. She wholeheartedly participated in the Muslim League and continued the national service of Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar. Amjadi Bano Begum was the only woman to support the Lahore Resolution on March 23, 1940.

When Amjadi Bano Begum was appointed by the Quaid-e-Azam as a member of the Working Committee of the Pakistan Muslim League, the committee had twenty-five members and she was the only woman among them. On the occasion of the 27th Annual Meeting of the Muslim League held in Lahore from 22nd to 24th March 1940, a resolution was drafted by the All India Muslim League which was passed in the form of a resolution in the meeting of the people. As “a member of the committee, Pakistan participated in drafting this historic resolution. At the annual meeting of the All India Muslim League” on March 23, 1940, she spoke in support of the Lahore

Resolution on behalf of Muslim women in India. She was the first “leader of the All India Muslim League to call the resolution the Pakistan Resolution”. The name of the Indian press was ridiculed as such and the word Pakistan became very common. She also laid the foundation for “a separate wing for women under the All India Muslim League”. In the 1946 elections, she was elected unopposed from UP. He passed away on March 20, 1947, before the formation of Pakistan.⁴¹

Other women

Begum Salma Tassaduq played an active role in making ordinary women members of the Muslim League after the establishment of the women's section of the Muslim League. When the riots broke out in Punjab, the secretary of the relief committee was Begum Salma Tassaduq. In these riots, women acted with courage. Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz participated in three round table conferences and exercised her right to represent Muslim women. These were the women who played a key role in the civil disobedience movement and marked their names forever in history.

Apart from these above discuss ladies; Nusrat Khanum also played an important role in the awakening of women. She belonged to Sindh. She was a strong supporter of the Khilafah Movement. Lady Maratab Ali, Fatima Begum, Begum Iqbal Hussain, Begum Nawab Muhammad Ismail, Noorul Sabah Begum, Begum Salma, Begum Shaista Ikramullah became increasingly involved in the Pakistan Movement and perform their outstanding services and worked day and night and addressed large gatherings. Through their efforts, the common man also came to know why the establishment of Pakistan is necessary. These women made great sacrifices in this freedom movement and breathed new life into them.

For the freedom of Pakistan, Quaid always encouraged Muslim women activists. He often said that there is a third force besides pen and sword and that is women! There is no denying the fact those women’s political consciousness and practicality, is necessary for the rise of a nation. Their role in the freedom struggle was in no way inferior to that of men and their deeds in the freedom movement became not only a significant part of history but also immortalized which is also a beacon for today's women.

⁴¹ *Friday Times*, March 29, 2019.

Chapter 3

Fatima Begum and Pakistan Movement

The Pakistan Resolution of 23th March 1940 in Lahore has a great significance in the history of Pakistan, which changed the destiny of the Muslims of India. This day reminds us of how the Muslims, through constant struggle for Pakistan, and escaped from the persecution of the British and the Hindus. The role of women in the Pakistan movement has been as significant as that of men. They were countless women who dedicated their lives to the cause of Pakistan. The everlasting character, greatness and spirit of these women and their desire for a separate state for Muslims were no less than that of men, so it would not be wrong to say that the active participation of women in the face of social restrictions has breathed new life into the Pakistan movement. In this chapter, the role of Fatima Begum in the Pakistan movement from the province of Punjab has been examined.

Some dominant political leaders are associated with the struggle for the formation of Pakistan. The sacrifices of so many indigenous workers and regional chiefs are hardly acknowledged. Fatima Begum is one of such unacknowledged and uncelebrated victor without her endeavours Muslim League was not up to becoming a deeply rooted body amid the women of Punjab as well as North Western Frontier Province. This part aims at highlighting and examining Fatima Begum role as the leading lady for driving women of Punjab to actively participate in politics. Alongside the research demonstrate the role of Fatima Begum as a philanthropist and compassionate human who did her best to settle down the sufferer of the 1946 commotion in Bihar and to ease the women while the carnage and partition of Punjab occurred.

This part of the chapter is intended to bring in lame light the role and contribution of Fatima begum in creating political awareness among the women of Punjab and the North-Western frontier province so the focal point and recentre of the paper remains on the questions how does she performed such a magnificent role as an individual in the society, how her college the Islamia college, the only college for girls at that time played this dynamic role in the creation of Pakistan and how she made use of her writing skills and how much impact she created through her writing. Through Islamia College, she created political awareness amongst the women of Punjab as well as the north western frontier province. As an individual Fatima begum through her dynamic

personality and writings ensured women participation in politics and in this way the spirit of women political activism and participation she created in Women of Punjab set the grounds of success to all Indian Muslim League struggled for the creation of Pakistan. She definitely had an aura of a leader and champion and she served the Muslim women of North Western Frontier Province and Bihar especially by inculcating in them a political awareness of their roles to be played in the freedom movement of Pakistan. Her dynamic contribution and magnificent role to settle the Muslim sufferer, the refugees from Punjab-partitioned, Bihar 1946 commotion and communal riots are very gigantic because Fatima Begum performed this role as philanthropist and humanitarian.

The main focus of this section is to explore and see the role of Fatima begum in uniting, arranging, organizing the women of Punjab and how does she create political awareness in them and her contributions and efforts for the Muslim League to be the winning body in the provincial elections of 1946 in Punjab as well as in the noncooperation movement too. Fatima Begum was the leading lady of the Punjab provincial women Muslim League in arrangement and rehabilitation of the Muslim migrants generally as well as the Muslim women migrants and, sufferers particularly.

The gifted and dynamic lady Fatima Begum was born in 1890 and she died in 1958. Her father name was Maulvi Mehboob Alam who was not at all an orthodox and stereotypical man, he was the man with wisdom and positive beliefs and views regarding women education, he believed in equal rights, opportunities and education for both male and female genders, so he was a proud father to her daughter. No doubt her father had liberal thoughts towards his daughter education inculcated the spirit of doing the best in Fatima begum personality and she returned twice to her father by promoting and propagating the cause of girls' education in the province. She finished her high school in 1901 in private but she also successfully acquired the Munshi Fazil, the highest degree of the time in the oriental branch of knowledge. Fatima Begum the blessed and charismatic lady also served as a teacher too for a brief period of time to a near about community school.

Services of Fatima Begum (Bint-i-Mehboob Alam)

Fatima Begum was not only working for the cause of women of Punjab particularly she was working for the other areas too, so this part is dealing with the role and services of Fatima Begum in meeting the aims and objectives of Jinnah in the formation and making of the nation. Fatima was a lady with a great humanitarian approach she played her humanitarian role enormously not

only at the provincial level but at the national level too. So her humanitarian contribution, efforts and role are also being discussed in this part of the study.

3.1 Literary Services

Fatima Begum even at the very ripe age of twenty-five attended several inaugural events, few of these attended inaugural ceremonies were the inauguration of the “Muslim Girls School”, “Aligarh Zenana Madrasah” in the year 1915. Fatima Begum went there in the company of Lady Shah Din and Lady Shafi. The leading lady at the opening ceremony of the school was lady Bhopal. Fatima Begum was also included in the inauguration of the “Muslim’s women conference” at Aligarh. It was instituted subsequently school inauguration. Lady Bhopal chaired the session and addressed the audience while there were seven more women who talked to the gathering, Lady Shah Din and Fatima Begum represented Punjab. Fatima speaks on the importance of English education and she particularly emphasized the inclusion of girls in Modern English education. She further talked about the downside of not learning English, because she feared Muslim will lack behind Hindus if they refuse not to equip themselves with English education. Fatima Begum emphasized the inclusion of more educated and broad-minded others. Afterwards, Fatima assisted to set up a branch of “Muslim’s Women Conference” at Lahore and also organized its third yearly session successfully in 1918.⁴²

Fatima Begum also remained the controller and administrator of the “Girls Muslim College” in Bombay in 1930. Fatima was continuously in communication with Jinnah and she brought in the knowledge of Jinnah the issues and problems faced by the ladies of Punjab particularly and of the other areas generally. Some practices and customs also highlight her role as being a teacher to Jinnah on Urdu and she is also identified for writing several Urdu speeches for Jinnah, she was moved back to Lahore in 1937 by Jinnah to work for the cause of Muslim ladies in Punjab. While Moving back to Punjab she prudently worked with the establishment of “Jinnah Islamia Girls College “she advocated the cause of girls education on one side and creating a foundation for the propagation and germination of the ideology of the Muslim League among the Muslim ladies of Punjab on the other side “Jinnah Islamia Girls College was established in Nawan Kot in 1938 and it was founded on the private property of Fatima Begum. Jinnah himself

⁴² Saiyid. M. “Muslim Women of the British Punjab”, *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* 54, No. 2, (July-December, 2017 278), 58-61.

“inaugurated the “Jinnah Islamia Girls College”.⁴³

“Jinnah Islamia Girls College” was founded at the time when congress was in the reign of powers. The agendas and purpose of the Wardha Scheme of Education were never Muslim culture and religion friendly. Secondly, Fatima Begum was not satisfied with the missionary education system, as these schools were propagating their own culture and religious practices and these schools were neither enlighten nor providing the right dutiful education to Muslim girls so in “Jinnah Islamia Girls College” particular and exclusives pre-arrangement was as organized for girls religious education and parda. This was a great opportunity for the girls of middle-class families and other families to get an education and play a positive role in the making and formation of Pakistan.⁴⁴

Contribution through Writings

She was rightly deserved to be the first Muslim lady journalist. She learnt the art of writing, checking and improving the text from her father. She was doing an editing job for twice a month magazine ‘*Shareef Bibi*’. Later on the reprinting of the ‘*Shareef Bibi*’, she turned into the editor of another monthly published magazine for women with the name ‘*Asmat*’ where her narratives, writings and periodicals were published. Afterwards, Fatima begum begins to distribute and issue once a week a magazine with the name ‘*Khatoon*’.⁴⁵ As education play a very dynamic role to modify liberalize thoughts and cognition, so the agenda and motto behind both of these magazines where she used to write ere were to develop the concept of moral training and creating in their awareness about their rights to get an education and actively participate in the political process for the creation of Pakistan.

The key articles and periodicals printed in the magazine *Shareef Bibi* were related to the Birth of a child, the development of children, the mother and the infant health and care, education for all, the kind mothers, the civil rights and liberties, the acknowledged and dominant ladies of united India. These particular periodicals enlighten the hearts and minds of the women particularly

⁴³ Jahan Ara Shahnawaz, *Father and Daughter: A Political Biography* (Karachi: OUP, 2002), 183.

⁴⁴ Sarah Ansari, “Winds of Change: The Role of Women Activists in Lahore before and After Partition,” in Massarrat Abid and Qalb-i-Abid ed., *History, Politics and Society: The Punjab* (Lahore: Pakistan Study Centre, 2012), 95.

⁴⁵ Ibid. 95.

and people generally by giving solid reference from the divine book. In ‘*Khatoon*’ her short stories on the moral character of the women ‘*loyal wife*’, benefits and rewards of tolerance, patience, kindness, humanity which intended and aimed at the formation and strengthening of domestic affairs, ‘*Reward of the tolerance*’ and ‘*loyal wife*’ are the only two examples for it. Fatima Begum ‘s other periodicals, short stories, narratives, account, essays intended to create an exemplary, capable, dynamic and strong Muslim women. Fatima Begum has also written on her travel story *Ziyarat-i-Dyar-i-Habib*.⁴⁶

Affiliation with “Anjuman-i-Khatunan-i-Islam” and “Anjuman-i-Hami-i-Begmat-i-Urdu”

Fatima Begum role and contribution was not only limited to the aforementioned prominent roles, she was joint secretary of “Anjuman-i-Khatunan-i-Islam” the Association for the Muslim ladies’ and secretary of Anjuman-i-Hami-i-Begmat-i-Urdu, the association for the preferment and elevation of the cause of the Urdu, these two bulbous and dominant organizations which were grounded and based in the Lahore. In those times it was a common practice that women used to keep their identities secret and camouflage it with a short or abbreviated name so as Fatima Begum used her abbreviated name that was F.B. There were other prominent ladies too whose role was also significant like lady Shafi who was heading both organizations, and obviously there were some significant members too like a wife of Fazal Hussian, wife of M.Yaqoob and daughter of M.Shah. The meetings were scheduled and called on mevery month. Fatima Begum used to accompany her mother to attend the monthly meetings of these associations of the women.⁴⁷ Fatima Begum as the Personal Assistant to Lady Shafi used to pen down the talking points, minutes and significant details of the meeting. Besides getting publish these details in the periodical and paper ‘*paisa Akbar*’ with her secret, abbreviated name F.B or daughter of Mehboob. Fatima Begum participated enthusiastically in the meetings of both associations of women and she was a great orator, speaker and reciter.

Fatima Begum being an active participator in the meetings of the women association collected the funds, for the sufferer of Balkan and Turablas and she herself gave in charity her gold ears wearing. The funds collected were presented in the gathering of the “Muslim women

⁴⁶ Ibid. 95-100.

⁴⁷ Ahmed Saeed, *Musalmanan-i-Punjab Ki Samaji Aur Flahi Anjumanain: Aik Tajziyati Mutalah* (Social and Welfare Organizations of the Muslims of the Punjab) (Lahore: Idara-iTekiqat-i-Pakistan, 2004), 70.71.

Association”. “Muslim women association for the support of Urdu” was also mainly routed and managed by her. Fatima Begu invited and requested various legendary and literary personalities of Urdu to pen down for the women and cooperates to share their writings in the “Muslim women association for the support of Urdu”. The active participation of Fatima Begum in several spiritual and societal affairs actually prepared and groomed her for a more significant and bigger role for the future years to come in political affairs.

3.2 Socio-Political Services

Fatima played a very solid role in uniting, organizing and motivating the Muslim ladies of Punjab. She inculcated in them the spirit of political awareness. Fatima Begum initiated the efforts from her college through her sensational and “emotional speeches on daily basis in the college morning assembly” so as to make them ready to participate in the making of the nation from the very establishment of the college. She was a lady with magical words, her Excellency at oration and speaking had a strong influence on the teachers and students obviously.

Fatima Begum’s “Jinnah Islamia Girls College” served actively the lady guests of the Muslim League of 1940 session to make it successful for the Muslim League. A subcommittee of the “Women Reception Committee” was appointed by the “Punjab Provincial Women Muslim League” and Begum Qadir was managing the affairs of the reception committee and it was her duty to organize the women volunteers to meet the needs of the guests of the Muslim League session. Begum Fatima College for girls served the female guests throughout the session and it was used as a guest house too to manage and serve the ladies of the other provinces and areas. So her services were not only limited to Punjab.⁴⁸

Soon after the annual conference of the Muslim League Fatima begum organized Muslim Women League separate session at her college. Many honourable guests and girls students delivered their enthusiastic speeches and they also sang the Pakistani songs which showcased their true feelings about Pakistan and their essence to practically make a move to make it happen. Towards the end, Jinnah made a speech to the guests and host and he highlighted the role of women in the progress and success of any movement. He uttered in his speech no progress is possible without the active participation of the women.

⁴⁸ Sarfraz Hussain Mirza, *Muslim Women’s Role in the Pakistan Movement*, (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1981), 233.

In 1941 Fatima Begum helped the president of “Punjab Muslim student federation Hamid Nizami to establish the women segment of the federation. There were more than 500 members of Fatima Begum College who were active members of the women federation. Fatima Begum and her college was the very key base of the women federation of “Punjab Muslim student federation”. She and her college served broadly to facilitate the task of Jinnah and the Muslim League by propagating Muslim League ideology in the mind of the ladies of Punjab.

Fatima Begum also became the “active member of the Women Central Subcommittee of Muslim League” in Punjab. She was the active soul behinds the opening of various branches of the “Provincial Women Muslim League” in the various districts of Punjab. She opened one of the “Provincial Women Muslim League” branch at Murree in the year 1944 and she also established and founded another branch of it in the Lyallpur in 1943.⁴⁹

Pakistan Conference

Fatima played a very significant role in organizing Pakistan conferences in March 1941 in Lahore. The Pakistan conferences unveiled the opportunity to the people of Punjab to propagate their ideology through these conferences and Meetings. Islamia College for girls served significantly for propagating the ideology of the Muslim League to women which grounded the work easy for the Muslim League. As a Principal of the college, she encouraged the women and girls to work for the cause of Pakistan without any reward.

The delegation of the Pakistan conference went to the Islamia College for support. Fatima Begum being the alprincipal of the college ensured the philanthropist, humanitarian and all kind of support for the cause of the formation of the nation and state. While at the conclusion of the “Pakistan conference” a separate meeting of girl’s students was called at “Jinnah Islamia Girls College” and Jinnah spoke to the girls gathering of college on the need behind the formation and creation of a separate homeland for the Muslims of united India. She also invited Jinnah to Lahore when the second session of the Pakistan conference happened at Rawalpindi. Her style and aura of inviting Jinnah erewere also unique i.e. as you are coming to speak “Punjab Muslim student federation” Rawalpindi on 4th of March 1942, we had sent for you an invitation to see the girls federation at Lahore too to motivate them to ensure their contribution side by side with their brothers for the formation of Pakistan. Meanwhile, she ensured Jinnah that the Punjab Muslim

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

student federation is doing its best to propagate and make known muslim league ideology to the masses through her women power in the Province of Punjab.⁵⁰

Jinnah was keen to speak to the students and especially of the students of Fatima Begum College. He very warmly addressed the girl's students of "Jinnah Islamia college" that he felt the joy to see that not only man and women have realized and understand the immediate need for the formation but the children too. He also highlighted the significance and importance of women participation in the process of the cause of Pakistan i.e. if women participated equally for the cause of Pakistan would become a reality soon. Her college once again stood first in managing the affairs of the third session of the Pakistan conference which occurred in March 1944.

1946 Elections

Elections in 1937 were lost by Muslim League in oblivion so elections in 1946 were very significant for the Muslim League to prove its success for the organization to be the representative body of the Muslims of United India. In the electoral campaign election in 1946, Fatima played a very important role to make the Muslim League campaign successful. She visited almost near and far areas of Punjab to motivate the women to contribute their role by polling their votes so she was also a source of women active participation in the elections in 1946. Fatima Begum made extensive visits to west Punjab to ensure women participation in the elections. She pens down the report of her visits to Jinnah.⁵¹

Fatima Begum wrote to Jinnah that's she has spoken to the women gathering of Gujarat, Gujranwala, Wazirabad, Jhelum and Rawalpindi and she lead and control the meetings of these areas and she enrolled about 400 ladies in the Muslim League women section. These gatherings and meetings had positive results all over the places and one of the women who were previously strong supporter and partisan of congress is now turned into a true devotee and partisan for Muslim League.

Fatima Begum not only worked as an individual for the cause of the Muslim League and Pakistan but her active role in the party cannot be overlooked at, she did her best to provide assistance and guideline to her students and teachers for the cause of Muslim League. She along

⁵⁰ S. Q. Hussain Jafri, ed. *Quaid-i-Azam's Correspondence with Punjab Muslim leaders* (Lahore: np, 1977), 400.

⁵¹ Amarjit Singh, "Foundation of Pakistan: A Study of the Women Leadership of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League," *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* 45 No. 1 (JanJune 2008): 7.

with lady Fahmida and Khalida Rathore visited the areas of Lahore often to motivate the ladies to cast their vote for Muslim League. Many teachers of Fatima Begum College made visits to Muslim Mohala's to ensure that the ladies of these areas of Lahore voted for Muslim League. Many ordinary ladies of these areas were enrolled as members of the Muslim League and they voted for Muslim League. Fatima Begum also invited Khurshid Anwar to motivate and talk to girls of her college. He not only spoke to the girls of her college but invited them and urged them for joining the "Muslim women National Guard" to strengthen and support the man of the "National Guard" to amplify their energies for the apprise end objective 'Pakistan.'⁵²Civil Disobedience Movement/Direct Action Movement.

Once again Fatima Begum was the part and parcel of the Punjab Muslim League's civil disobedience movement. Fatima Begum made long and extensive tours of the province of Punjab; she also presided over enormous womenfolk gatherings and motivated them to do their best for the cause of the Muslim League. She presided a huge gathering of womenfolk in Lahore and passed the resolution that women will play a full role in the formation of Pakistan for the Muslims of the subcontinent and they would sacrifice all of their wealth or any other worldly possessions for the greater cause of the nation. They would not even fear sacrificing their beloved sons for the dignity and prestige of Pakistan. She also discouraged Congress and the government from negative propaganda planning against the due rights of the Mussalmans of the subcontinent. In the same gathering, Jinnah's leadership was entrusted.

Fatima Begum also rendered her services against the Khizar Hayat coalition government; she acted as leading lady to the "Civil Disobedience Movement of Muslim League". Two women marches were organized one on the Lawrence road and the other one at the temple road. She took a lead of the procession of the temple road, along with her college girls and other women. Tear gas was used against them in both the procession but she and her ladies continued their march on the temple road and she reoriented the march and took the ladies and girls to the chambers of the assembly, there the things took an ugly turn and lathes were charged against them and many students fainted while tear gas was operated and spread against them. The girls were taken to the hospital, Lady Shah Nawaz witnessed that Fatima begum and many of the ladies and girls who were part of the march were detained but later they were set free without any does and don'ts.

⁵² David Willmer, "Women as Participants in the Pakistan Movement: Modernisation and the Promise of a Moral State," *Modern Asian Studies* 31, 3 (1996): 581.

Fatima Begum college teachers and students under the guideline and leadership of Fatima Begum took part in the procession of the Civil Disobedience Movement actively. Lady Rathore along with other teachers and students also played a significant role in processions and she acknowledged her services and college girls and other ladies service well that none of them was sacred or terrified by the tear gas but they continued their march.⁵³ Though initially many of them were detained by the police later they were set free by the police. But Fatima begum actually provided favourable and conducive training and motivation to her college girls and other ladies so Fatima BBegum was the main lady behind all this zeal and zest of these major contributions and services as she was the alprincipal of Jinnah Islamia Girls College.

Contributions for the Women of Khyber Pukhtunkhwa

Jinnah opted for Fatima begum for the reorientation of frontier women. No doubt the frontier Muslim League was created in 1939 but it could not do a better role for the cause of the Muslim League. Another reason behind the reorientation of Frontier League was that in NWFP there was a significant hold of pro congress Khudai Khidmatgars movement of Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan. The central authority commanded her to structure the frontier Muslim League on the lines for the cause of the Muslim League struggle. She visited NWFP in 1945 for the reshuffling of the frontier league. There was a significant number of female students of her Islamia college Lahore who had a home town in the Frontier. These educated ladies also helped Fatima begum for the greater cause of reshuffling the Frontier Muslim League body. She stayed at the residence of Nazir Niaz who was a teacher at the government school in Peshawar.

Nazir Niaz also arranged women meeting at Islamia Club Building. She also invited her students and other ladies of her influence to attend the gathering. Two daughters of justice Shafi named Bilquis and Munawar also attended the meeting along with Razia Butt, Fahmida Shareef, Mumtaz Jamal and other prominent ladies. Fatima Begum talked about the need for the formation of Pakistan. She introduced in them the high spirit in the young generation. The Frontier Muslim League was restructured the same day.⁵⁴ Respected Lady Qazi Mir was appointed as the president, Zari Sarfaraz was appointed the vice president, and Lady Wahab was appointed “general secretary

⁵³ Naumana Kiran, "Political Awareness among Women in the Punjab: A case study of their role in the Pakistan Movement." *Pakistan Journal of Women's Studies= Alam-e-Niswan= Alam-i Nisvan* 20, no. 2 (2013): 51-56.

⁵⁴ Syed Salahuddin Aslam, *Bunn Ka Raha Pakistan*, (Pakistan was Created) (Islamabad: Gul Publishers, 1993), 306

and lady Haider as propaganda secretary” of the Frontier Women Muslim League. In the same meeting, two resolutions were passed respectively one for the promotion and propagation of Urdu and the establishment of women Degree College for girls in Frontier and the second resolution was passed in the meeting about the unanimous trust in the leadership of Jinnah. A subcommittee of about 12 women was framed to make public the coming session of the Muslim League.

Fatima Begum resided twice a month in the frontier in April 1947. She proceeded to many meetings and she not only encouraged girls students to play their parts but to the boys' students of Islamia College for boys too. She showed them that the need for time action is to join their hands in tours and visits all around the country to guide and educate the people on the obstacles and issues. Fatima Begum also took a procession to the Premier and Governor of the Frontier Dr Khan sahib, brother of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan of Khudai Khidmatgars.⁵⁵ She brought in his notice the ill-treatment given to Muslim League volunteers was heart-rending. The Governor sympathized but Premier took no notice of their ill-treatment and said jails were their own choice so they should taste their own medicine.

Fatima BBegum stood tall with the women of NWFP to make Civil Disobedience Movement a success story. Fatima Begum side by side with other women like Lady Tasaduk, Lady Ahmed, lady Hammed and Mrs. Sadique took tours and rounds of the whole of the province and spoke to a huge gathering of Womenfolk at Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat and Mardan. Once Fatima Begum returned from KP she remarked that now the ladies of Frontier are motivated for the success of the Civil Disobedience Movement and they are aware of their roles. They now understand that they have not to lag behind their male parts in the success of the civil disobedience movement and the success of Muslim League ideology.

Fatima Begum worked with heart and mind to propagate the success of the Muslim League in reality. While the referendum campaign was started soon after the third June plan for the independence of India and Pakistan. She with other Women power like Lady Shah Nawaz, Lady Tasaduque spoke to the rallies of women and they also communicated with the chiefs of the tribes. These ladies speeches were translated into Urdu by Lady Shereen Wahab, Begum of a well-known advocate of NWFP. Fatima Begum efforts to train the less experienced and naïve ladies of NWFP were huge. Her motivation to these ladies brought much success for the KP. Ladies of KP

⁵⁵ Muhammad Anwar Khan, *The Role of KPK in the Freedom Struggle* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 2000), 231.

acknowledge her contributions and efforts many times.⁵⁶

4.3 Humanitarian Services

Fatima Begum was not only a known educationist and politician but she was a magnificent benevolent and humanitarian. She from an early age participated in the activities of fundraising and charity .she gathered funds for the Muslim sufferer of the Balkan and Turkey in the year 1912 from the women association platform. She also assisted Mir Aziz from Amritsar in laid -down a foundation of women association for the widow ladies of Punjab in 1927. She opened the office of *Anjuman-i- Darul-Khawateen* Punjab at her house in Kocha Khurasan. She offered her services to the organization as a secretary too. She also opened a vocational training school soon after a period of six months of this organization opening. The ladies of wealthy and prominent families offered monetary service in addition to the many other essential services. She requested the ladies to acquire stitching services from this vocational school to provide help and assistance to the students of the Centre.

Bihar Riots and her Humanitarian Services

Fatima Begum was a great humanitarian her services are not only limited to the province of Punjab in fact she has served the people of India as a whole in one or another way. She served the sufferers of Behari communal riots. The terrible condition of Muslims of Bihar was unknowns until 26 October but it became known to the people in Punjab and across India by the 4th of November. This terrible news of Muslims sufferer of Bihar when reaches the public ear, people from all across India volunteered to move and help Bihar Muslim in trouble. F.B also along with the group of other ladies from Punjab reached Bihar. Fatima Begum helped about 400 Behari sufferer to move to Punjab .she provided them protection, shelter and food. She volunteered space and place for the construction of the colony from her own property.

Fatima Begum was part of the Community gathering of Punjab women which took place in “Barkat Ali aMuhammadan Hall” these ladies there demanded the removal of the ministry of the Bihar as it could not provide protection to the Muslim minority of Bihar. They also emphasized the need for the introduction of the rule of the governor in the province. She also spoke to the audience and gatherings of the people and brought in their notice atrocities done to the Muslims

⁵⁶Ibid., 231-233

of Behar by the evil and senseless foe.⁵⁷

Migrant's Calamity and her services

The leadership of ml also tried to provide all required help to refugees individually and collectively too. The gifted and great humanitarian lady appointed the ladies of ml to do their duties as nurses to the refugees and not only to look after them well but to provide and serve them food and apparels in a timely. The task of recovering the seized lady was a question with no answer.

Both the government of Pakistan and India signed a dominion accord to seek the seized children and ladies from both sides of the border. "The accord which was signed between Pakistan and India on the issue of recovering the abducted ladies got completed in three phases first from September 1947 to December 1948, second and third phases of the recovery was completed from December 1947 to July 1948 and August 1948 to December 1948".⁵⁸ Fatima begum along with other ladies work strenuously to recover the abducted ladies. Lady Shah Nawaz on an account explained that refugee crises time Fatima Begum was the vice president of the Women Wing Muslim League. She was asked by the central leadership of the Muslim League to ensure the recovery of women from Punjab. She made extensive tours of east Punjab along with lady Tasaduk, Taj Sultana and many other prominent ladies for the cause of recovering the abducted ladies. These ladies wore the uniform provided by Lady Fatima so as they could be identified as the workers of AIML and could perform their services for the recovery of seized women.⁵⁹ The recovered ladies were first gathered at the office, these abducted ladies were provided with temporary residence and shelter too. After their recovery advertisement in the radio and newspaper were Made so that their families and relatives could communicate with them and took them to their home. Many of these seized ladies were Molested and raped repeatedly their condition was too bad not only physically but mentally and psychologically too. Many have not gone to their home because of either shame or their children.

Fatima Begum not only mentally assisted these ladies but served them food, dine and clothes.

⁵⁷ Hakim Aftab Ahmed Qurshi, *Karwan-i-Shauq* (Urdu) (Lahore: Idara Tehkiqat-i-Pakistan, 1984), 229, 433.

⁵⁸ Kamran Asdar Ali, *Surkh Salam: Communist Politics and Class Activism in Pakistan, 1947-1972* (Karachi: OUP, 2015), 12.

⁵⁹ Raghuvendra Tanwar, *Reporting the Partition of Punjab, 1947 Press, Public and Other Opinions* (New Delh: Manohar Publishers and Distributors, 2006), 434. Also see Taj Sultana to his Brother, posted on January 19, 2013 by Azfar Abbas, azfar5.wordpress.com/2013/01/19/unknown-heroes-taj-sultana.

She accompanied them, heard their stories and cried along with them. There is no doubt that woman of West Pakistan, the government of west Punjab Made hard efforts to settle these abducted women issues which were praised in different areas too.

Even after the creation of Pakistan, the services of Fatima Begum had not ended for the people of Pakistan. Fatimah Begum along Taj Sultana laid the foundation of Fatima Girls College in Lahore, near the vicinity of Lahore high court on the Jameel Hussian road. Both of these ladies moved from one home to another home to motivated parents to let their girls for getting an education. Besides this Fatimah Begum founded vocational training institutes for the poor abducted ladies particularly and other ladies of the province and area generally. She set the ground for the success of the Muslim League along with other ladies and she is the principal of Islamia College ensured her students' active role too along with the teachers in the Pakistan Movement. Fatima Begum the great lady died in the year 1958, she lived life for others welfare and prosperity.⁶⁰

Summary

Although some people are not highly celebrated without their services and contribution, the attainment of bigger goals seems distant, similarly without the generous and excellent role and contribution of Fatima begum, the task of the formation of Pakistan under the umbrella of the Pakistan Movement seems distant. She not only created awareness among the women of her province but for other provinces too. She served the sufferer of the Bihar riots generously and provide them space and shelter.

Fatima Begum through her writings, social welfare organizations not only created awareness among the women but also prepared them to fight with the challenges. She wholeheartedly served the abducted ladies of Punjab. She laid the foundation of various vocational institutes for the welfare of Migrants on one side and for the ladies of the province of Punjab generally. She served as a great humanitarian and philanthropist with the utmost kindness. Her girl students of Jinnah Islamia College while serving the guests of All India Muslim League sessions and meetings, and thus participated actively for the success of Muslim League ideology and Pakistan Movement. It was her will, to lead and sacrifice for the cause of the Pakistan Movement which cannot be ignored but still, she is at the top of the list of the unsung and unacknowledged

⁶⁰ Fazila_Yacoobali Zimindar, *The Long Partition and the Making of Modern South Asia, Refugees, Boundaries, Histories* (Karachi: OUP, 2008), 7.

victors and leader of the Pakistan Movement.

Her meetings with the people to convince them to send their daughters to get an education was visible because her strong impact on the people made them realize to send their daughters not only to schools and colleges but to participate actively in national Movements. She was the first female journalist of India, her contribution to journalism still requires research and analyses from a female researcher point of view too. She proved justly that no Movement can be successful if the womenfolk are not included justly .she advocated women education on one side and she herself acted as a Role Model for the women of Punjab particularly and for the whole of Pakistan generally.

Chapter 4

Begum Salma Tasadduque Hussain and Pakistan Movement

Mahmuda commonly known as Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain was born “in August 1908 in Gujranwala. She was the daughter of Main Fazal Illahi. She received her education in the best family environment where she is to understand the value of art and literature. She was married to Dr. Tasadduque Hussain” in 1922. After her marriage, she continued her education and was graduated from the University of Punjab. From the platform of the All India Muslim League, she rendered great services for the creation of Pakistan. In the coming pages, the role of Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain from Punjab in the freedom movement of Pakistan has been examined.⁶¹

Socio-Political Services of Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain, as Representation of All India Muslim League in Punjab

The demand for an independent country for the Muslim of the sub-continent was strengthening day by day after the 1930 presidential addresses of Allam Muhammad Iqbal. After a self-imposed exile for four years in England, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah also came back to India to reorganize All Indian Muslim Leagues and to prepare the Muslims for the coming elections. In April 1936, in Bombay, a meeting of the Muslim League Council was held, and Central Parliamentary Board was established. In June 1936 of the Muslim League meeting in Lahore Provincial Parliamentary Boards of Muslim Leagues were opened in various provinces. However, the result of the 1937 elections was not satisfactory for the Muslim League while congress succeeded in the formations of congress ministries in various provinces. The reason behind the failures of elections was that Muslim League did not reach the grass root level of Muslims, while the women representation in politics was almost ignored. The question of the active participation of Muslim in the Muslim League and active politics of the country was given importance in the Lucknow and Patna Sessions of the Muslim League.

Wife of the Nawab of Surat, Begum Haif-u-din was the first lady who took up the matter of women participation in active politics under the platform of the Muslim League. She talks to Jinnah on the matter and he agreed that soon a section of Muslim women under the banner of the Muslim League would be established. Thus in the Muslim League annual session in Patna in 1938, the matter was resolved. The resolution of inclusion of women in politics was moved by Begum

⁶¹ Faraz Hussain Mirza, *Muslim Women Role in the Pakistan Movement* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1969), 133.

Habibullah that “Muslim women should not only confine their activities to the hearth and house but should come out of their seclusion, acquaint themselves with problems and events of the modern world and marshal their energies to protecting Muslim rights and interests.” After discussion, the resolution was passed. The Text of the resolution noted:

“Whereas it is necessary to afford adequate opportunities to women for their development and growth in order to participate in the struggle for the social, economic and political emancipation of the Muslim nation in India, this Session of the All India Muslim League resolves that an All India Muslim Women's Sub-Committee be formed of the following members with powers to co-opt with the following objects in view:

(a) to organize provincial and district women's Subcommittees under the Provincial and District Muslim Leagues; (b) to enlist a large number of women to the membership of the Muslim League; (c) to carry on intensive propaganda amongst the Muslim women throughout India in order to create in them a sense of greater political consciousness; (d) to advise and guide them in all such matters as mainly rest on them for the uplift of the Muslim society.”⁶²

The women members who were appointed to the Central Sub-Committee of Muslim, from the province of Punjab Begum Salma Rasadduque Husain long with Begum Shah Nawaz, Lady Jamal Khan, Mrs. Rashida Latif, and Lady Abdul Qadir were appointed. It was the first time that an appeal for organizing Muslim women under the banner of Muslim Leagues was made and thus the formation of a central committee with membership to women was established. Later on, women representation in the provincial and district sub-committee was gradually incorporated. The formation of this committee and the representation of women in the committee gave a political consciousness to the Muslim women. Now they had the platform to contribute to the active politics of the country. After the reorganization of the Muslim League by Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the women of various provinces decided to reorganize themselves and take a wider part in the political activities.

In the province of Punjab, women had already established the “Punjab Provincial Muslim Women’s League” organization and engaged their activities to these organizations. However, their activities were confined to social reforms, educational services and hardly participated in politics. The Patna session of the Muslim League gave them new platforms in Punjab to be more actively

⁶² Resolutions of the All India Muslim League from October 1937 to December 1938, published by (Nawabzada) Liaquat Ali Khan, Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League, Delhi, 53-60.

involved in the politics of the subcontinent. From the province of Punjab, women i.e. Fatima Begum, Begum Shah Nawaz, Tassaduq Hussain, Vaqar un Nissa, Lady Shafi, Hijab Imtiaz, Begum Saif-u-Din, Begum Asadullah Khan, Begum Qalandar Ali Khan, Begum Mirza Baiz Khan etc were doing their great jobs as social workers and political activists.⁶³

The formation of the Punjab Provincial Women's Sub-Committee gave a chance to Begum Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain to be actively involved in the politics of the country. When she was nominated to the Council of the Muslim League in 1941, she worked hard for its cause days and nights. Due to her active services in the committee, she was elected to the position of Secretaries in 1942 of the Punjab Provincial Women's subcommittee. She was thus busy in the social and political uplift of the Muslim women of Punjab.

In 1938, at Patna, the annual session of the All India Muslim League was held where the issue of women participation in the Muslim League was resolved. Muslim League -sub-committees in various provinces were established. From the province of Punjab, Begum Salma Tasadduque Hussain, Begum Shah Nawaz, Begum Abdul Qadir, Lady Jamal Khan, and Begum Rashida Latif were appointed as the members of the Muslim League.

Under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam, the Muslims of the subcontinent started their struggle for achieving an independent country, consisted of those areas where Muslims were in majority. After the Pakistan resolution, a new phase of great effort and sacrifices of the leadership of the Muslim League could be seen, whereas the women population was actively involved in the politics of the country when various provincial Muslim women subcommittee were formed. Under the guidances of Jinnah the women of those committees courageously participated and spread the cause and voice of the Muslim League throughout British India.

Begum Salma being a member of the Punjab Women Muslim League committee made several visits to the various districts of the province and propagated the agenda of the Muslim League. In her speeches, she focused on the importance of the Pakistan Resolution and the struggle for an independent state for the Muslim within India. She also arranged symposiums and distributed Muslim League Literature. With her efforts, a number of Muslim League branches were opened at the level of districts, tehsils and towns, thus the message of the Muslim League reached the whole of Punjab province even in the remote areas.

⁶³ Faraz Hussain Mirza, *Muslim Women Role in the Pakistan Movement* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1969), 42-43.

In April 1943, Begum Salma was taken to the Muslim League central sub-committee where she rendered great services for the cause of Pakistan. It was the Patna session of the Muslim League in April 1943, when the central subcommittees were reconstituted. From the province of Punjab along with Salma Tasadduque Fatima Begum, and Bashir Begum also participated.

After this Muslim League session, an independent session of the Women Muslim League was held on 24th April 1943. The session of the Women central committee was presided by Lady Abdullah Haroon, she stressed in her speech and told women to be ready for any type of scarifying for the goals of the Muslim League. The draft of the program was finalized besides politics is focused on the socio-cultural uplift of women. So the Muslim women of the subcontinent were directed that apart from political activities, they must also focus on the social uplift of the society too.

In the session, Salam Tasadduque moved two resolutions and both of the resolutions were passed. The first resolution was about inheritance rights and the amendment of the Shariat Bill. The second was about public participation in the cause of the All India Muslim League. It called for the Muslim of the subcontinent to get together under the banner of the Muslim League to achieve their own country. Both of the resolutions were passed.⁶⁴

As the secretary (propaganda) of the Punjab Provincial Women's Subcommittee (PPWS), she encourages the women of Punjab to fully participate in the Pakistan movement. At the Lahore meeting of the committee on 13th January 1942, she said "one has to pay a price for everything obtained. Pakistan has its price and if we wish to achieve that goal, we shall have to pay its price to the utmost". In the same meeting with her efforts, the committee displayed a full-sized wall map of Pakistan, to be displayed in every home as a reminder to the women shall always remember the cause of Pakistan, and the efforts they needed for the cause. In the meeting, a resolution to endorse the leadership of Jinnah was also passed. A large number of women were also given membership in Muslim League. At the end of the meeting, annual elections for the office of the Punjab Provincial Women's Subcommittee were held, and Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain was the joint secretary of the committee.

On behalf of the Girls student federation, the Provincial Women Subcommittee of Punjab had sent an invitation to Jinnah which was accepted and thus on November 21, 1942, the meeting was held, which was attended by a large number of women and girls students, in the Municipal

⁶⁴ Ibid. 46-47.

Garden Lahore. Before the speech of Jinnah, a number of women and girls delivered their speeches in the meeting. In her speech, Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain assured the great leader Jinnah that the Muslim women of Punjab were ready for the sacrifices of their lives for the cause Muslim League. She told that the Muslim women/girls are free from the bondage of slavery and would contribute to ensure that their language and culture would flourish in the land of Pakistan.

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who was presented in the meeting, appreciated the courage and speeches of women, and their active in participating for the cause of Pakistan. Jinnah encouraged the women and young girl students that they should work side by side with the men for achieving an independent country for the Muslim of the Subcontinent. He noted “I am glad to see”, “that not only Muslim men but Muslim women and children also have understood that Pakistan scheme”. He noted, “No Nation can make any progress without the co-operation of its women. Let Muslim women support their men as they did in the days of the Prophet of Islam, we should soon realize our goal.”⁶⁵

In the early 1940s, Begum Salma appeared to be one of the active supporters of the Muslim League. She considered the formation of the subcommittee of the Muslim League an effective instrument in the awakening of the Muslim women in response to Jinnah with “unprecedented enthusiasm and vigor”.⁶⁶

In the month of December 1943, the annual session of the Muslim League was to going to be held in Karachi, in this regard the Punjab Provincial women subcommittee decided to participate in the session wholeheartedly. A comprehensive report on the women activists in Punjab was also prepared by the provincial branch of Punjab to be presented in the women central committee. When the session of the central women subcommittee of the Muslim League held on 24th December it was attended by at least 5000 Muslim women, including Salam Begum from Punjab.

A well-dressed girl’s band of the session was seen by Jinnah with happy and in his address he focused on the role of women in the freedom struggle. He emphasized the need for such women National Guard representing the whole country. He exposed that in the coming years' women should work side by side with men, and hoped that the Muslim League women would work like

⁶⁵ Ibid., 57-62

⁶⁶ Karin A. Deutsch, *Muslim Women In Colonial North India Circa 1920-1947: Politics, Law And Community Identity* (University of Cambridge, July 1998), <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/1322887.pdf>

soldiers and would work day and night to achieve the goal of Pakistan.⁶⁷

On 19 March 1944 Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain wrote a letter to Jinnah stated "I had just sent my man to Nawab Sahib to inquire if it shall be possible for you to give some time to me and my husband to enable us to pay our respect to you. I learn from him that a very large number of visitors are waiting for an interview and there no likelihood of you being free till tomorrow afternoon. I am, therefore, writing this letter to you. Our main object to see you, apart from paying our respect to you, was to request you to have tea with us on any day that suits you. We shall feel great honour if you could accede to our request. We are very keen that you should meet the leading citizens of Lahore, representing all shades of opinion.

We would like to come and make a personal request in this connection but have chosen to write to you in view of the fact that you are so very busy and possibly you may get booked up till we are able to see you.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely

(MRS.) Salam Tasadduque

Secretary, Punjab Muslim Women League".⁶⁸

Salma Tasadduque in her welcome address to the Girls Students Federation in the Islamia College on 26th March 1944; thanked Jinnah for coming to attend the meeting that "our Federation is but a baby and you will be glad to learn that it has progressed beyond our expectations within a few months." She also referred to women education and the role of "Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam" in promoting women education in Punjab. Salma Begum while mentioned the Girls Students Federation noted that "our Federation has provided centre to all the Muslim girl students who are scattered over different schools and colleges. They meet here to consider and discuss their common problems." Discussing the goals of the federation she noted that "We believe that as students it is our first duty to educate ourselves and to acquaint ourselves with the current political and other problems so that by the time we finish our studies, we should be ready for the coming struggle for the liberation of our homeland." She added "we are, however, training a band of selfless and enthusiastic young girls who, we believe, shall work zealously for our cause, after they have

⁶⁷ Faraz Hussain Mirza, *Muslim Women Role in the Pakistan Movement* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1969), 46-47.

⁶⁸ Z.H. Zaidi, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Papers*, Volume 10 (Islamabad: Government of Pakistan, 1993), 219-220

completed their education”. On the issue of adult education she said that in every Mohalla adult education would be ducintroduced and involved all sectors of women. She ended her speech with assuring Jinnah that “on our part, we assure you of one solid fact, namely, our unbounded zeal for our cause id our sincerity to attain the goal of our ambitions—Pakistan.”⁶⁹

The president of Punjab Muslim Students Federation Zia-u-Islam also reorganized the Girls Students federation and focused on the activities of girls women for the national cause. Begum Salma Tasadduque along with Fatima Begum haswas nominated as a member of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League; their rendered great services that cannot be ignored.

Begum Salma Tasadduque presided the meeting of Muslim Girls students on 27th August 1945, where the focus on speedup of women education, and elimination of unhealthy custom and strengthening their role in the politics of the country was discussed. The opening of the rescentre for the Muslim Culture was also proposed by Begum Salma Tasadduque, and she donated several books for its library.

4.2 Lord Wavell Conference

Lord Wavell called upon a meeting of the Muslim League and congress in June 1945, to resolve the constitutional problems of India. Being a secretary of the Punjab women subcommittee of the Muslim League Begum Salma Tasadduque organized several meeting throughout the province of Punjab, in connection with the conference. In those meeting, several resolutions were passed that showed women confidence in the Muslim League and the leadership of Jinnah. Copies of those resolutions were sent to Jinnah and Viceroy too. However, the Lord Wavell conference failed to achieve its objectives, because congress was not ready to accept the Muslim League as the only representative body for the Muslim of the subcontinent. At the failure of the conference, Lord Wavell announced elections to the central and provincial assemblies. The announcement of elections was a great success on the part of the Muslim League and its women subcommittees. The preparation of elections was soon started and Lahore was the center of those activities.⁷⁰

4.3 Elections 1946

In Lahore on October 11, 1945, a special meeting of the central subcommittee was held on the advice of Jinnah where a resolution was passed noted: “This meeting of the Central Women's

⁶⁹ Faraz Hussain Mirza, *Muslim Women Role in the Pakistan Movement* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1969), 70.

⁷⁰ Ibid. 71-74.

Committee of the India Muslim League calls upon Muslim women all over India to take up the challenge given by Pandit Nehru and other Congress leaders by whole-heartedly supporting the League in the forthcoming elections to prove to the world that Muslim India stands solidly behind its national organisation.”

The committee meeting also decided to send a delegation to NWFP to mobilize the women and collect funds. The delegation included Begum Salma Tasadduque and Fatima, Begum Zubaida, and Begum Karia headed by Lady Abdullah Haroon. The delegation reached Peshawar on 17 October and was welcome by Pushtoon women under the leadership of the province including Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar and Aurengzeb Khan. On the 18th and 19th of October 1945, at Peshawar two meetings were held participated by a large number of women. Begum Salma played a prominent role in the delegation to convince the ladies of the province for financial contribution and enhance their role in the politics of the Muslim League. Rs. 1500 were collected for the funds too. The delegation reached Mardan and Nowshera where a large number of women and expressed their full confidence in the leadership of the Jinnah and Muslim League. They were assured by the women that they were ready for the sacrifices of their lives and property for the league cause.⁷¹ After reaching Rawalpindi to collect funds the delegation then reached Lahore and then went to Amritsar etc. In all these places, Begum Salma remained active with the agenda of the Muslim League. They not only collected funds but also played their role to make ready the women for the upcoming elections.

Punjab was one of the most important provinces of British India, where the 1946 elections seemed to be too tough in front of the Unionist Party. However, Muslim League issued tickets to Begum Salma and Begum Shah Nawaz, and both were elected. Their success was really the active participation of women in the electoral process, which was promoted by Begum Salma in her meeting with the local political activists. The women subcommittee and Women National Guard played also role in organized women of Lahore for casting votes.

The women who struggled to mobilize the masses for political participation also included Begum Salma, who continuously works hard to ensure women participation in the freedom movement of Pakistan where they shall be given the full guarantee of securing their social, legal and political rights. The services of Begum Salma was indeed countless, where she not only won the elections from the Lahore constituency by securing 2073 votes against Rashida Latif (an

⁷¹ Ibid. 44.

independent candidate) but in the same year 1946, she was taken on the working committee of provincial Muslims League of Punjab. Apart from her victory in the elections, she delivered great services for Muslim League during the whole elections process.⁷²

4.4 Bihar Riots

During the Bihar riots, she works hard to help the refugees, went to their camps and stayed for almost two months in the affected areas. She helped the refugees in the resentment process and even provided them shelter in her own home. After the election when the Bihar riots broke out, many Muslim became victims. Jinnah appealed to the Muslim of the subcontinent for their help, and a Bihar relief fund was established. On the appeal of Jinnah, not only men but women also came out for the relief works. In Punjab the women provincial committee held meetings, Bihar Relief Day was observed on November 13 1946, collects funds, clothes and sent to the provincial subcommittee of Bihar. The meeting also passed a resolution and was sent to Viceroy noted that: “This mass meeting of thousands of Muslim women of Punjab unanimously protest against Bihar Ministry's failure to protect life, honour and property of Muslims and call upon you to tell Governor to apply Section 93 and take administration in his own hands otherwise repercussion in Punjab is possible and responsibility will be entirely yours.”⁷³

When the Bihar Relief Women Committee was established Begum Salma participated as a member in the committee from Punjab. When the refugees reached Lahore, they were provided with the necessary arrangement for settlement. The services of Begum Salma were always be remembered in this regard, that apart from helping refugees in the camps, she also provided her residence to the refugees. In order to expedite the work of relief, the Sub-Committee constituted the Bihar Relief Women Committee. From Lahore, the members included Begum Tasadduque Husain and others women from Punjab. The refugees reaching Lahore were given possible assistance and some of them were provided accommodation by the women leaders in their own homes.

Begum Salma was also part of the medical relief party which was sent to Bihar for rehabilitation works. She was also part of the team that contacted the leadership of the Muslim

⁷² Naveeda Noreen and Razia Musarrat, “Women Struggle for Legal Empowerment in Pakistan Historical Overview”, *Journal of Public Administration and Governance*, 4, No. 1 (2014), 140 (134-166)

⁷³ Faraz Hussain Mirza, *Muslim Women Role in the Pakistan Movement* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1969), 81.

League, Congress and Government officials to play their role in the law and order of the province.

Civil Disobedience Movement

Begum Salma Tasadduque Hussain role during the Civil Disobedience in Punjab as well as NWFP cannot be ignored. She was part of the civil disobedience movement by arranging a meeting, gathering women and protesting rallies.

The formation of the Khizar Ministry in Punjab was really shocking news for the men and especially the women of the province who rendered great services for the cause of the Muslim League not only motivated the women of Punjab but also the ladies of other provinces to take part in the freedom struggle. To stop the protest in the province, the Khizar ministry declared the agitation of the Muslim League National Guard, its flag and uniform unlawful, and arrested many women including Salma.

On January 24, 1947, the police made a raid on the house of Sayyid Amir Hasan Shah to arrest him and many women of the Muslim League. Begum Tasadduque was one of the leader reached their and offered their resistance to the police search party, and compelled them to withdraw. On 25th January 1945, Begum Tasadduque along with other 15 members of the Muslim League leaders were arrested by the police and sections 144 was promulgated in the city of Lahore. Begum Tasadduque before her arrest appealed to the women of Punjab to be ready for any sacrifice and encourage them to full participate in the civil disobedience movement. After her arrest, Lahore saw the spirit and zeal of women political activists that have never been experienced by the city.

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The protest was stronger day by day, turned into a mass movement and last the efforts were succeeding, when the British government announced the transfer of power on 20th February and Muslim League leaders including women were released on 26th February 1947. Thousands of men and women gathered the Borstal and Jails of women and welcome their leadership with happy faces and flowers.

Khaliq-u-Zaman wrote that the women of India played a significant role in the freedom struggle. He mentioned that “ladies of noble families, such as... Begum Salma Tasadduq, Begum Noon and Begum Fatima paraded the streets wearing a burqa in peaceful processions, and held

⁷⁴ Ibid. 82- 89.

meetings in defiance of prohibitive orders”.⁷⁵

Sikhs-Hindu-Muslim Riots and the Partition

The resignation of the Khizar Ministry on March 2, 1947, had irrupted Sikh-Muslim riots in India. Salma Tasadduque Hussain was the secretary of the provincial Muslim League Refugees Relief committee, whose services for the affected people cannot be ignored. She was an assignment the duties of receiving refugees from other areas and making their lodging and boarding arrangement in Lahore refugees camps. In such a tense situation Salma Tasadduque Hussain without thinking of her own life visited the affected areas along with Dr. Najib UUddin Ahmed. On March 11, again she visited the affected areas in the company of Fatima Begum. They also look after the arrangement in cams too.

Salma Tasadduque Hussain was also part of the Amritsar riots medical team, sent by the Muslim League relief camp of Punjab on March 17 1947. She made visits to Amritsar under the leadership of Fatima begum, being the president of the women subcommittee.⁷⁶ In these riots, the Muslim population was targeted and mostly women and kids suffered a lot. Many of the females who left for Pakistan never reached, they were raped, killed or converted to Sikhism etc. Salma Tasadduque Hussain noted that the number of abducted women in the riots were around 90,000.

The leaders and workers of the Muslim League had also worked hard to help the refugees on an individual as well as a joint basis. Fatima Begum, the principal of Islamia College for girls, appointed Muslim League women workers as nurses in the refugee camps. They not only looked after the sick and wounded refugees but also regulated the work of providing eatables and clothes to them in time.

Salma Tasadduque sHussain was made the head of Relief Camps by the Provincial Women Muslim League, to organize the work. She presented her own home to be the office of the Central Relief office. The office provides every detail of the refugees’ works. Apart from this, the “women refugees’ relief committee” was another organization headed by Geithi Ara, Salma Tasadduque

⁷⁵ Karin A. Deutsch, *Muslim Women In Colonial North India Circa 1920-1947: Politics, Law And Community Identity* (University of Cambridge, July 1998), <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/1322887.pdf>

⁷⁶ Faraz Hussain Mirza, *Muslim Women Role in the Pakistan Movement* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1969), 95-97.

sHussain was also the secretary of that organization.⁷⁷ Salma Tasadduque sHussain noted the condition of Refugees in Punjab and said “If you go out in the streets of cities, you can see small innocent refugee children who are fighting for lives because of starvation. There is not any arrangement by the government to feed them. . . I fear that these orphans, to whom we hope to become mujahid, would be ended up as street beggars because of the government's insufficiency”.⁷⁸ She also wrote and published a book on the suffering of the people during the riots titled “*Azadi Ka Safar, Tehrik-i-Pakistan Aur Muslim Khawateen* [Travel towards Independence, Pakistan Movement and Muslim Women]”.⁷⁹

Begum Salma Tasadduque sHussain was also part of the Punjab Provincial Women Subcommittee mission to NWFP, who were sent to convince the women of the province to vote in a referendum for Pakistan. Under her chairmanship, the meeting of 2nd July 1947, at Abbottabad was important where one thousand women promised to vote for Pakistan. Including other people efforts, her services resulted in the form of a referendum where the Muslim League was succeeded by securing majority votes. Apart from her political and humanitarian works, Salma Tasadduque sHussain contribution in the field of literature was also remarkable. Apart from the translation of “Cleopatra” her poems and short stories played an important role in the political consciousness of the women of the subcontinent in general and in Punjab province in particular.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Raja Adnan Razzaq, *Refugee Rehabilitation In The Punjab: 1947-55* (PhD thesis Quaid-I-Azam University, 2016), 283

⁷⁸ Ilyas Vhattha, “After the Massacres: Nursing Survivors of Partition Violence in Pakistan Punjab Camps”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 28, Issue 2, (April 2018). 273-293

⁷⁹ Naumana Kiran, “Punjab Migration 1947: Violence against Muslim Women and the Settlement”, *South Asian Studies* 32, No. 1 (January – June 2017): 161 – 176.

⁸⁰ Faraz Hussain Mirza, *Muslim Women Role in the Pakistan Movement* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1969), 113.

Chapter 5

Begum Jahanara Shah Nawaz, Begum Viqar-un-Nisa and Pakistan Movement

The Movement for the creation of Pakistan has witnessed the services of many women representatives under the dynamic leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Begum Viqar-un-Nissa Noon were amongst those women who delivered valuable services from the platform of Muslim Leagues, participated in the political life, and also founded various organizations for the socio-economic uplift of the Muslim women of Punjab. The women's positive role in the progress and betterment of society is very important. Similarly in the case of United India Lady Jahanara Shah Nawaz and Begum Viqar-un-Nissa Noon contribution to the freedom of movement of Pakistan by actively contributed to the liberty and uplifting of the women of British India is very prominent and influential. Their social-cultural and political services for the uplift of the Punjab society in particular and generally for the Muslim women of the subcontinent are examined in this chapter

5.1 Begum Jahanara Shah Nawaz

Lady Shah Nawaz was the daughter of the founding political leader of All Indian Muslim League, Malik Shah Nawaz, who was also a prominent and senior political leader during British colonialism. Lady Jahanara was from well-reputed Arian Family, who moved to Lahore in the 15th century. Begum Shah Nawaz was born in a noble family in the year 1896 and she brought up was carried out on the customary practices of the time, she went to the school near to her residence and studied the Holy Quran too as the social and cultural norm of the time. Her grandfather 'Nazimuddin' enlighten her with English literature, she started from the very basic. Her grandfather was the founding father of the "Anjuman Himayat-e-Islam", as an association for the support of the Muslims.

She was given a novel monthly by her Father, and an order for a monthly novel was put in the order list in advance. In the beginning, her father used to read her books and novels and he was in practice to translate and associate it with the society and people of the time. She recalled her childhood memory when she was not that fluent in English reading yet when his father read for her the novel "Swallow" by Haggard Rider, she requested her Baba to give her the novel, though it was pretty hard for her she gave it read, repeated and twice so that with strenuous efforts and dedication she learnt and read well English novels, however, these English novels also enlighten

her heart and mind with the characters, themes of the English Novels. Begum Jahanara Shah Nawaz was fond of reading and wanted to complete her education even after Marriage, her hubby was Barrister Shah Nawaz who was the known member of the “Central Legislative Assembly” and “Punjab Legislative Assembly. She got her education from Queen Mary School and college. It was a passion for education that even the Principle of the college named Madam Edgley created ease for her academics, even after having one baby girl she could carry on with her studies. She was born in decent and noble family where girls were not being isolated. Her family had all-important talks to both male and female kids and individuals of the Family. So from the very naïve age, the issues and political problems of United India were being discussed with kids to let them know and provide them with the sight about the surrounding and situation of their Muslim brothers and sisters, as oblivion from the surroundings is the real death.

Begum Shah Nawaz efforts and contributions for the ladies of British India are highly significant and prominent because she had chosen to work culturally and socially for the women to set them free and emancipate them from the social and cultural Taboos, which help in shaping the Muslim women of Punjab and India the political future of South Asia. Her father Muhammad Shafi role in politics was guidelines for her to actively participate too in the politics of the country.⁸¹

The Socio-Political Services

The practice of veiling for the ladies was common in British India times, women were previously meant for houses and within the boundary of the house but with the introduction and beginning of women social setups and bodies things took a soothing turn for the Muslim ladies. Begum Jahanara created and supported the social setups for the ladies where within veil they can actively participate in the discussions of the organization, so the social and cultural aspect of women *parda* was continued with the women participation in social organizations. Those ladies who joined the organizations as members or participants got the wider perspective of society, culture and political issues of the time. It offered them for the first time to talk about their common problems in the public gathering and each one learnt something from each other. The Member ladies of these social organizations were having a noble background and they were already somehow equipping themselves with education.

⁸¹ Jahanara Shahnawaz, *Father and Daughter: A Political Biography* (Lahore: Nigarishat Publishers, 1971), 15-36.

The contribution of the Shafi family for the women of United India is very significant as it was Shafi family endeavours and efforts that the women Association “Anjuman Khawateen-e-Islam” was founded when Lady Fatima the unacknowledged victor of the Pakistan movement along Lady Saeeda and Rashida approached the mother of Jahanara to help them for the cause and establishment of the Women Association. The root cause for forming the “Anjuman Khawateen-e-Islam” was to ensure girls education in the society and education was key to rebuilding the social structure.⁸² So when Jahanara father M. Shafi was elected as the Member of the Legislative Assembly for Punjab in 1910, he made efforts for the celebration so, he arranged and organized a *parda* party for his wife in which many other ladies including English ladies too were invited. In one way it was a kind of get together of the ladies and secondly, ladies got an opportunity to come and speak for their issues and problems and embargoes. Such parties and many other parties were arranged at that time which served the purpose of generating funds for the social bodies meanwhile having to exchange to exchange their thoughts on a variety of issues too.

The “Anjuman Khawateen-e-Islam” was not only a social body but it has the capacity to bring changes in the social system of the time as girls education was being promoted and secondly it was addressing the contemporary issues of the time like as an example when Sir Partole Chatterji, Hindu political activists and social reformers talked and patronized Punjabi to be included as a medium of the education and instruction for the folk of United Indian Punjabi province. The Muslim ladies strongly denied it as previously in 1867 the episode of Urdu verses Hindi clash was portraying that such Punjabi schemes of instruction will lead to more controversies. Ladies of “Anjuman Khawateen-e-Islam” denied that such efforts for uplifting Punjabi and at the same time an association for the support of Urdu was established called “Anjuman Begumat Hamati-e-Urdu” in Lahore. Many members of the “Anjuman Khawateen-e-Islam” were part and parcel of the new organization for the support of Urdu. The prominent ladies of the association for the support of Urdu were Begum Shafi, Unsung hero of the freedom movement of Pakistan Lady Fatima, Begum Jahanara. Begum Shafi was at the top management and serving her duties as president and Begum Fatima as secretary and Lady Shah Nawaz was serving as the Manager of finance.

The greater role was performed by the ladies of “Anjuman Begumat Hamiat-e-Urdu” was

⁸² Shahida Lateef, *Muslim Women in India: Political and Private Realities, 1890s- 1980s* (New Delhi: Kali for Women, 1990), 230

not only publishing books, and promoted the cause of Urdu among the people of Punjab but this organization fasten and hasten its efforts to ensure much more participation of women as its members and participants. The fee for the membership of the organization was only 2 rupees. And there was flexibility in the charges of membership for the members as per their social and economic standing in the society. So Urdu was being used in the creation of identity formation for the Muslims of Punjab particularly and Muslims of United India generally. The members of the body were advised and motivated to communicate in the Urdu language although Many of them, well most of them were the Punjabis and they had Punjabi as their Mother's tongue, but Urdu was used as a symbol in identity formation and language was used as a tool to support political life and cause of the Urdu among the Muslims of the subcontinent.

The “Anjuman Khawateen-e-Islam” and “Anjuman Begumat Hamati-e-Urdu” played a greater role in the political life of the women of Punjab but also they contributed at the national level too. With the start of the Khilafat Movement in the Subcontinent, not only men but the ladies of Women Associations played a very key role like they arranged Marches and rallies as well as public conventions to gather more support for the cause of Khilafat Movements, these ladies in their veil showed their appearance in public gatherings and gathered, collected funds for the help of their Muslim Brethren of Ottoman Empire. Begum Shah Nawaz as the key members of the Women’s Association did her job well as a fundraiser for her Turkish. Although Ottoman Empire was reduced to the status of the Republic of Turkey, with the Kamal Ataturk taking the reins of the government yet the contributions of Begum Shah Nawaz and the ladies of the Women Association is very decisive in social, cultural, moral, political arenas. 835.1.1 Literary Services.

The Urdu literature was used as a medium of common identity formation and it was ensuring the linkage and associations of the people with each other. The produced Urdu literature was giving a kind of rebirth to the socio-cultural status of the women in comparison to the literature published previously. It advocated something out of the women rights and issues to be part of these novels and literature. The themes of these novels moved around the womenfolk of the society, their roles, their key characters, their problems, their issues, and the good thing was it was not only giving value to the women issues but was vying at bigger roles for them. So the literature was

⁸³ Ali, Azra Asghar, *The Emergence of Feminism among Indian Muslim Women* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), 12, 256.

offering the solution to the issues faced by ladies that women are not only meant to be inside the four walls for cooking, her societal and cultural participation was reformed by ensuring her political and social participation in key spheres. Urdu literature was used as a source of learning from past experience and it attempted to reduce the social, cultural taboos for Muslim women of the time. The characters in the literature and novels were closer to reality but the element of broadening social and cultural spectrum was also included. A very good example is the role and character of Asghari in the novel of Nazir Ahmed, *Merat-tul- Arus* and likewise another worth quoting example is the *Kahl-u-Jawahir* by M. Muslihudin, both these novels brought the sight of the domesticated roles as well as that women needs to get an education and she needs political association to participate for her wider role and issues of the political life of British India related to women particularly and Muslims generally. Secondly, the Urdu literature gave length and breadth to the role of women that she is not meant for seclusion yet the changing circumstances advocated the inclusion of her in social, cultural Affairs too. So addressing her issues is very important for a better role for her. So Urdu Literature brought an opportunity for the ladies of British India to see their roles within the home and outside of the seclusion.⁸⁴

Consequently, the Muslim women folk were engaged and involved in the political activities too for the national life of British India. The Muslim women from Punjab later on contributed to the national building activities. So they also performed their roles in the activities related to the formation of a nation. In this context, one significant example is the role of the women leaders of Bhopal “Begums of Bhopal” who contributed well her services for better social feasibilities for the ladies and she advocated girl’s education too.

Begum Shah Nawaz reformist novel “*Tehzib-e-Niswan- wa -Turbiyatul-e-Insan*” proved itself a guideline for the Muslim ladies of the subcontinent and motivated and inspired them respectively. She was an inspiration for the womenfolk of the late nineteenth century so similarly sultan begum did a great job of writing on the issues of Muslim womenfolk directly at the beginning of the twentieth century.⁸⁵

In this regard, the roles of these ladies are very significant, for example, wife of Faizi, Budrudins daughter, Lady Fatima, (The lady behind the editing of Shareef Bibi) wife of Mumtaz Ali (the checker and improver of “*Tehzib-e-Niswan*”, and Sugihara Ashraf the social and political

⁸⁴ *ibid.*

⁸⁵ *ibid.*

reformist and good leader. The writings of the Lady Shah Nawaz famously known as Begum Shah Nawaz attempted to change the end goal for the womenfolk of the Subcontinent. Her political opinions and thoughts also sought a greater role for the Muslim women of United India. Lady Shah Nawaz contributed a lot to the Muslim ladies of Punjab and United India, and series of articles and travel stories were written by her. Lady Shah Nawaz wrote for the girl's education at the young age of nine and her first article on women education was printed in "Tehzib-e-Niswan" launched by Lady Muhammad. An autobiography with the title "*Father and Daughter*" attempted to highlight the various political and social participation of lady shah Nawaz in a variety of activities .so she did her best to play the role of political, social and cultural emancipator for Muslim womenfolk of British India.⁸⁶

The printing of "*Hasanara*" by Begum Jahanara Shah Nawaz in 1916 was a kind of revival and rebirth for the social, cultural and political roles being associated with Muslim women folk but still, literature and writing cannot change anything over the night so she had also worried regarding the taboos on ladies which were hard to uninstall as ignorance was prevailing all over. There was gender inequality between women and Men yet her novels "Hasanara" endeavoured to bring an improvement in the life of Muslim ladies of Punjab and United India. The protagonist and lead character of the novel was *Hasanara begum*, who fought well with the difficulties and trouble times. Her father Nawab Blind Jung was one of the known men of Lahore. He was widowed while Hasanara was minor but he never thought to get Marry despite being under the forceful and typical pressure from kith and kins. He was a man with liberal thoughts for her daughter; he was a staunch supporter of the girl's education and gender equality. He loved his daughter against all odds and evils and stood by her, but things turn an ugly turn when her father remained no more. Her greedy kith and kins took away all her possessions and material wealth and left her only with her educational degrees. While leaving her house, her female servant Susan's and her 'aunt Ashraf' she was deep in sorrows but the only thing which was light in the darkness was her education and educational degrees which helped her to fight the menace of evils and troubles plotted in her ways. Hasanara left home and got a teaching job in a school in Amritsar. Her Dedication and honest work brought a good name for her amid students and teachers too, she turned out to be an apple to the Principle of the school 'Madam Marry'. Hasanara academic expedites and experiences appeared

⁸⁶ Jahanara Shahnawaz, *Father and Daughter: A Political Biography* (Lahore: Nigarishat Publishers, 1971), 65-66.

in the form of a book which was a bit of advice for the health of women, the book turned out to be very popular as it created space in every house as it was serving as a guide for every household daily. It got sold rapidly so, her academic works become a source of living. Hasanara with the assistance of the Muslim women conference got admitted to the Delhi College for Medical.” Muslim women conference” was vying her best for the promotion and propagation of the cause of Women education in the subcontinent. After completing her medical degree she got a job at the ladies hospital Bhopal which was offered to her by the women Monarch of Bhopal (Lady Sultan). She continued in the same hospital for the rest of her life and worked for the people of the Nation.

So such writings by Begum Shah Nawaz Jahanara were meant to bring in the lime light and amplify the cause of girl’s education on one side and to introduce in them the spirit of fighting and facing the turbulences eye to eye. In Hasanara, Lady Shah Nawaz created a strong female character which opted the difficult path but right way of struggle for her so through her education she got her dream job and played her role as a writer and doctor both for the betterment of social, cultural and political activism for the Muslim ladies of British India.⁸⁷

Lady Shah Nawaz services were not only meant for the cause of Urdu Literature and for the cause of Muslim women emancipation from social and cultural embargoes but she paid her role and services good enough for the English literature too. Her English and Urdu writings were a source of inspiration for the Muslim ladies of British India either it is Hasanara, her autobiographical account or many other writings were a source of Motivation and inspiration for Muslim ladies of the subcontinent. Her writing focused on the strong and leading character of the ladies and women folk that could face all the hardships with positivity and reached her final destination to have said both in-home matters, her issues, solutions to issues and her will to participate in the national life of the subcontinent.

5.1.2 Political Services

Lady Shah Nawaz was a very observant and dedicated lady even from childhood. She advocated for women rights and education tirelessly. But being a supporter of women rights and liberties was one dimension of her sound personality. Her political contributions were also significant her songs and slogans were not only meant for indoor of the assembly, she practically participated herself too along with other womenfolk. She brought in usefully the talent of God for

⁸⁷ Jahanara Shahnawaz, *Hasanara Begum* (Lahore: Steam Press, 1916), 60-65.

the service, comfort and political activism of the Muslim ladies of the subcontinent. She herself participated and spoke in the public gathering that was organized in the Shimla and Mrs. Annie Besant a known lady attended the meeting too. She wrote:

“I could not sleep that night and went to father’s room early in the morning and told him that I would very much like to speak in the meeting with his permission. He welcomed the idea and I spoke in a mixed gathering for the first time.”⁸⁸

Lady Shah Nawaz was a well aware lady, she knew how to maintain cordial and professional relations with the prominent people of the society similarly Jahanara was in the good books of the female ruler of Bhopal, she met her often to discuss the problems of the ladies of British India and what do they need to do. The creation of the association for women was highly supported by the Shafi family similarly “All India Women Association” was also supported by Lady Shafi and his family. Jahanara was elected as a member of the association to represent Punjab. The sessions and meetings of this “All India Women Association” were called yearly and Begum Bhopal used to lead such sessions. Begum Jahanara attended such Meetings as being the elected member of the association.’ Simon commission was convinced by the known leaders of the Association to include women sharing and input in the progress of the India and Chattopadaya and Mrs. Sarojani advocated the right of vote for the ladies of British India. In the later years Sir John Simon himself confessed it to Jahanara that what is written in Simon commission report for the progress of India was rightly taken its inspiration from the women conference platform, he further uttered that after being attending women conference and meetings. Simon commission realized the importance of including ladies in the progress of the subcontinent and no progress is possible without women participation’s, Mainly women right to suffrage were also highlighted to be part of the predicted future constitution of India. Lady Jahanara served in a personal capacity to the various factions of “Women Association and Conference” she did amazing services as being the president of the provincial branch, vice president of the Conference and member of the RTC were well acknowledged by the people of her time.⁸⁹

Begum Jahanara Shah Nawaz had contributions to women and society in various ways. Her other significant contribution in support of the “Bill of the Age of Consent “because her

⁸⁸ Jahanara Shahnawaz, *Father and Daughter: A Political Biography* (Lahore: Nigarishat Publishers, 1971), 29.

⁸⁹ Jahanara Shahnawaz, *Father and Daughter: A Political Biography* (Lahore: Nigarishat Publishers, 1971), 92.

husband was the only Muslim member of the part of the bill. The bill was introduced in the Central assembly by 'Rai Bahadur' for fixing the age of girls and boys for marriages. Her husband being the only Muslim member advocated and supported the bill and which was kind of a shock to the other people of the assembly who associated it with Islam and *parda*. Jahanara also had a good positive influence on her husband Shah Nawaz too. So he not only ensured the moral say for the bill but talked for legislation and implementation to bring out societal changes. So such social reforms credit also goes to Lady Shah Nawaz too. Her husband key role in the "Select committee" was very significant for addressing the social needs and changes required for the people of the community. She had not left the gallery of the assembly until the bill approval was ensured; she along with other socially active ladies did well for this cause too. She had a discussion with the premier of Canada on the constitutional advance for the people of British India, and he asked her smart questions which she answered smartly. She noted:

"Father and I did our best to explain the case of Indian constitutional advance for freedom and asked for their kind help. I had a long talk with Mr. Bennett, the Prime Minister of Canada, who asked me the most intelligent questions and so gave the opportunity of discussing the question of freedom for the Subcontinent and asking for his support."⁹⁰

Simon commission's another attempt regarding constitutional reforms for the people of the Subcontinent by the British Raj faced criticism from both Hindus and Muslims political organizations and Movements. To settle the issue of Simon commission and report round table conferences were called in London. In these round table conferences, the right of vote for the women of India was immensely advocated. Jahanara and Subrayaan both ensured their participation in the first round table conference by advocating reserved seats on the ground for ladies to maintain and certify the parity. Specially reserved seats were demanded the 120 Million unfortunate women of India who were denied badly of their fundamentals rights, so specially reserved seats should be allocated for them in various constituencies.

Jahanara also met an opportunity to speak in the Indian conference, the first gathering which was being monitored and carried out under the presidency of 'Ramsey Macdonald. Jahanara made a very captivating move while addressing the meeting, she noted:

"We have taken our problems in hand, and are trying to tackle the day by day; with the

⁹⁰ Dushka Saiyid, *Muslim Women of the Punjab from Seclusion to Politics* (Macmillan Press, LTD, 1998), 29, 98.

help of God. We hope to achieve and achieve very soon-that Western freedom of speech and action, combined with Eastern restraint which is the ideal of our womanhood. The social reform of a country depends mostly upon women. Almost as soon as our men got the franchise, they did not hesitate in giving us our share: and now that women of India are coming forward and taking an active part in the political life of the country, the solution to all these problems will not be difficult to find.”⁹¹

She brought her thoughts in the sessions positively and enthusiastically advocating the freedom of expression and thoughts as practice in the western world yet she desired to bring it under the shadow of Islam to associate that expression of freedom to the community lines. She also advocated the universal right of vote for both Male and female and with women participation in constituencies, assemblies will be good for the political and social life of the nation. And with women active participation and the issues faced by the subcontinent would reduce only if women would be given an opportunity to play their part and role.

Participation in the Round Table Conferences

She was immensely admired for her speech in the first session of the “Indian conference” and her thoughts in the first session of the round table conference in London. She was praised by the secretary of the state, Wedgwood, Ramsey Mac Donnell the chairman and Lord Sanky the president. She was also praised by many other Indian leaders and Lord Irvin the viceroy of India wrote a letter of appreciation to Begum Jahanara for doing a wonderful job as being part of the delegation to the conference. And further he talked about framing a better constitution that would be a source of Joy for British India. Jahanara stayed in London and Europe for about 10 months, while being part of the conference she met with many dynamic and senior political leaders of high capacity which proved a source of learning to her too. As she noted:

“I had learnt a great deal and had opportunities of working with some well-known personalities. Coming into contact with unique statesmen of so many countries was an education in itself”.⁹²

She was also announced as the only lady for delegations of 1933 to the Third Round Table

⁹¹ Ali, Azra Asghar, *The Emergence of Feminism among Indian Muslim Women 1920-1947*, 173-74.

⁹² Jahanara Shah Nawaz, *Father and Daughter: A Political Biography* (Lahore: Nigarishat Publishers, 1971), 72.

Conference in 1932, in which she advocated and protected the rights of the women of India. In 1933 she was nominated as the Indian delegation to the Joint Select Committee. She was patronized by many English ladies and social reformists too. Like lady Pathwick, Lady Astore etc. She was moved back from London in 1933 by the month of August. She was also invited to address the students of Punjab University to motivate them and enlighten them with talking points and discussions at a conference related to the predicted constitution of India. Being the only female member of the “select committee” she had double job and roles to play for the rights and protection of the ladies in India. It was not an easy task to get the vote of confidence in the parliament from all ladies or votes of the majority.

When the details of the government of India act 1935 were unveiled it gave 600,000 voter lists for women. The government of India act 1935 somehow broadens the role of ladies by increasing their participation in the social, political and national life of India. Elections of 1937 were held on the provincial part of the act of 1935. In the election of 1937; around eighty ladies were elected to the provincial and the central assemblies. So British India turns out to be standing third internationally for including women in the Assembly.

Member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly

In 1937 Jahanara was elected as a member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly and became the first Muslim lady who was elected as the secretary for the parliament and she served as a parliamentary secretary straightaway up to 1942. While being in the parliament Jahanara advocated well for women rights and the removal of social and cultural restraints imposed on her. She advocated for the health of the women generally and for the better health of the women of Punjab particularly. She gave her speech in the favor of the ladies of Punjab who were unfortunate to have proper or even basic health facilities so every year number of mothers died because of ill health and care for the mother. She questioned the Punjab Assembly that, is it the old traditions that deprived the women of her basic and fundamental rights or is it the Assembly failure despite being active for the last 11 Months could not do good for the fate of the Muslim ladies of Punjab. She also focused on gender equality in the different countries and she also referenced it through Quran that there is no discrimination on the basis of Gender. Women are not only meant for the being in caged in the boundaries of the house. Her good health and her social and political rights will bring her into the constructive realms of the country. She also brought in the spotlight the dark sides of early age Marriages and made its direct relation with the rate of Mortality. She had the

guts of a leader she being parliamentary secretary of Punjab was well awaked and informed about the unfortunate status of the women in British India generally and in Punjab particularly.⁹³

Member of the Defense Council for India

Jahanara role in organizing the war work amid the womenfolk of India is also very significant in the context of World War Second, as Viceroy nominated her for the member of the “Defense Council for India” so demanded Jahanara to make it known and shape the war work amid the ladies of the Subcontinent. Lady Shah Nawaz continued to her membership for the council for the prudent interests of Muslims of the subcontinent. On her suggestion, the women war section was established in Delhi. Lady Shah Nawaz. Jahanara became the overall controller and administrator of the Information Department of the ladies wing. She visited the whole the subcontinent and delivered speeches to a large number of women and men. She was surprised to see the positivity and prevailing awareness among Masses about their basic rights generally and among ladies particularly. A female teacher of the school in North Western Frontier Province in Hazara District advocated the spirit of Jahanara to support the government cause and she surprised her by understanding the need the time action. Furthermore, she spoke with hope and enthusiasm that good times for the nation and ladies of the nation will come soon.⁹⁴

She ensured this Bureau to be a pool of information and platform of various jobs for womenfolk of British India so it was also a way of ensuring, popularizing propagating and including women in all almost all spheres of life. Jahanara being the deputy secretary did her job very well. Jahanara also made constructive and successful moves and initialled ladies periodicals. Two other ladies accompanied her to attend the “Pacific Relation Conference “which was organized in Canada. An article was written by her about the conference to propagate and bring in spotlight the various key features of the “Women’s Movement in India” as well.

While on the tour she had also an opportunity to meet a well-known political futurist at Cairo and Begum Jahanara had a very pensive and thoughtful discussion with her regarding the

⁹³ Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates, 21st March, 1938, Vol.IV-No1. Government Printing, Punjab, Lahore, 1938, 34, in Azra Asghar Ali & Shahnaz Tariq , Begum Jahanara Shahnawaz and the Socio-cultural Uplift of Muslim Women in British India.” *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* (2009): 115–33

⁹⁴ Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates, 21st March, 1938, Vol.IV-No1. Government Printing, Punjab, Lahore, 1938, 34, in Azra Asghar Ali & Shahnaz Tariq , Begum Jahanara Shahnawaz and the Socio-cultural Uplift of Muslim Women in British India.” *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* (2009): 115–33.

advancement of women rights. In recreating the history of India Begum Jahanara role can be identified as a centripetal force that attracted a crowd of ladies towards the central aim of the creation of Pakistan. Jahanara was a source of Motivation and live example of women constructivism for thousands of ladies of the subcontinent. Jahanara through her writing, her organizational roles and as a leading lady of various key organizations attracted a crowd of women to take part in the journey of the creation of Pakistan and the crucial session of the Muslim League in 1940 was attended by her with the greatest zeal and zest and she not only participated in it but she provided many female dignitaries accommodation for the Major female delegates of ML.

The Elections of 1946

Her role in the elections of 1946 is also very prominent because she was also the spirit behind the three-quarter response of the voters in the elections. These elections were very crucial for the victory of the AIML because it has already lost its claim in the elections of 1937 to be the only party for the Muslims in the subcontinent so the similar claim in the elections 1946 was to be tested. After the election Lady Shah Nawaz was again elected the Member of the “Punjab Assembly”. She was sent by Jinnah as a brand ambassador of the Muslim League to be part of the tour to America. But ML could not do much good to formulate the Ministry and yet in Bengal Muslim League Ministry was established. Consequently, several leaders and members of the Muslim League were detained. By twenty-seven January 1946, another set of sixteen league ladies were arrested and later section 144 was imposed to stop the gathering but still ladies arranged Marches for the formation of Pakistan. Lady Shah Nawaz sibling Geteara was actively scheduling and arranging Marches even twice in one day to forbade and worn the government through peaceful Marches not to engulf the right of the Mussalmans of Subcontinent to have a separate homeland for them. The contribution of the Shafi family is bigger indeed, for example when begum Jahanara was in jail her mother also arranged protests of *lathee* charges. Lady Shah Nawaz daughter Tazi was also arrested while she was in jail she crafted and stitched the flag of the Muslim League with their headscarfs along with the assistance of the other girls, and the flag was raised to the attic from where it was visible to all.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ Azra Asghar Ali, *The Emergence of Feminism Among Indian Muslim Women* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), 202.203

Her role after the creation of Pakistan

Soon after the formation of Pakistan, it faced a couple of issues but the problems related to the partition were majorly related to the movement of the people into Punjab, influx of refugee was a big problem, so it needed timely attention to be solved on priority. In this regards, Lady Shah Nawaz and Lady Liaqat Ali performed a very prominent role. These unfortunate migrants reached Pakistan (Punjab) in deprived condition without their property, finance, food and shelter. The person of Lahore also dealt with these migrations kindly and humanly. She advocated and supported fully the monetary self-dependence for ladies for that she requested the ladies to preferring to ensure their economic independencies so she strongly supported the enactment of the bill of “Muslim Personal Law”. She strongly advocated that the ladies of Punjab made a lot of sacrifices and efforts for the creation of Pakistan so their basic demands and independencies cannot be avoided or ignored. So she along with the support of other ladies approached. The Ministry of Mamdot for adding bill regarding the “Muslim Personal Law” in the budget session of the year 1948. While the budget was passed the bill regarding the financial independencies of women was deluded and taken out. So when recommendations regarding women were not included it agitated the ladies. So Jahanara along with other ladies approached various women associations and women conferences and committees for the women to support the women financial independencies bill to be passed, so the bill was added through a joint effort of the ladies of women association and political workers.⁹⁶

Summary

Begum Jahanara Shah Nawaz played a gigantic role, not only in the freedom movement of Pakistan which is commonly known as the Pakistan Movement but side by side she played dynamic services for improving the socio-cultural life of no go areas for the Muslim ladies. She tried to build a strong and true role model of herself for the Muslim ladies of the subcontinent and later for the ladies of Pakistan also. She advocated women education at the time when struggles for the creation of Pakistan was facing hurdles. And it was not even clear either these social and cultural restraints would be uninstalled from her/ladies, or not. She spoke for the inclusion of women in the process of the nation Making. She advocated for their basic rights, rights of education, right of association, right of freedom of expression.

She was a source the subcontinent who developed political associations and who learnt

⁹⁶ Mumtaz Shah Nawaz, *The heart divided* (Lahore: ASR Publications, 1990).

about their rights and who were well awaked through the efforts of Jahanara and many others to speak rights yet maintain their womanhood. She played a role of a kind of social reformer for Muslim ladies of the subcontinent generally and in later years for the ladies of Pakistan, and particularly for the Muslim ladies of Punjab. Her efforts for the right of vote to be given to ladies is very big, her speeches, writings and political association served well the cause of uplifting the status of women. The same ladies who were once thought to be limited and restricted within four walls, arranged processions during the Khilafat Movement and later in the long struggle of the Pakistan Movement.

Her contribution to ladies in the form of literature is also very significant, for example, her novel Hasanara, was written with a perspective of strong women who faced all hardships but they had not given up on their goals and dreams. Similarly, she also narrated her own experiences in her autobiography “The Father and Daughter” to bring in Muslim ladies zeal and zest. So she opted for women strong and leading roles who believed in equal opportunity for both genders and she advocated the most for girl’s education while protecting women rights.

She was the first drop of the rain of water for the Muslim ladies of the subcontinent and Pakistan too because she has seen both phases of creation and created and crafted her advocacy for the right of vote for the Indian women brought a lot of applause for her and her good efforts for the cause of the ladies of India so a political history of British India and Pakistan is uncompleted without the efforts of Jahanara. Unfortunately, she and daughter Tazi witnessed after the creation of Pakistan the reduced moral zeal and zest in the future generation who were more prone and attracted for material advancements. Consequently, it can be stated that the role of her parents and family was also very significant who advocated girl’s educations and their daughters to be educated and participated in public affairs too. so her moderate ‘Ashraf Family’ stood side by side with her in all thick and thins which further supported the leading personality and role of Begum Jahanara to be a source of inspiration and motivation for the ladies of British India and in later years ladies of Punjab generally and ladies of Pakistan particularly.

5.2 Begum Viqar-un-Nissa Noon

The Movement for the creation of Pakistan has witnessed the services of many women representatives under the dynamic leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Begum Viqar-un-Nissa Noon was one of those women who delivered valuable services from the platform of Muslim Leagues, participated in the political life, and also founded various organizations for

the socio-economic uplift of the Muslim women of Punjab. Her services are examined in the following.

Begum Viqar-un-Nissa Noon was the wife of Malik Feroz Khan Noon who was the 7th Prime Minister of Pakistan from 16th December 1957 to 8th October 1958. By birth she was an Australian, born as Victoria in July 1920, married to Feroz Khan Noon in 1945, and became Muslim. The same year Feroz Khan Noon resigned from the Viceroy's cabinet (September 1945) and both left Delhi for Lahore. The city of Lahore was the hub of Muslim politics in the sub-continent. Due to her husband leading role in politics, Begum Viqar-un-Nissa very soon learnt the political situation, Muslim League agenda and public opinion.

The years 1945-47 were tense years in the subcontinent because of the elections, civil disobedience, riots, and partition and esrefugee issues. Begum Viqar-un-Nissa, very soon realize the situation and came out for the help of the Muslim of the subcontinent by actively involved in politics under the banner of the Muslim League. She became a member of the Punjab Provincial Women's Sub-committee. She participated in the electoral politics of Punjab, started a campaign for her husband and Muslim League in the elections, organized meeting, participated in a public gathering, and played an important role in the victory of her husband in the election.

Political Services

In the pursue of Muslim League cause she organized girls students band, volunteers women, and made trips to the major cities of the province to propagate the cause of the Muslim League, for the achieving of an independent country for the Muslim of the subcontinent. When the civil disobedience movement was started in Punjab against the Khizar Ministry, she fully participated in organizing demonstrations in the province. When millions of refugees faced numerous problems after the partition, she works days and nights and rendered great services to help the affected people. She was closely connected to the Red Cross in Pakistan for many years and also represented Pakistan on a number of occasions.

Elections 1946

The period 1945-46 was elections years in the subcontinent. The political situation of the subcontinent was tense. Both the All India Muslim League and Congress were struggling for winning the elections. In such stressed years, the Muslim of the subcontinent both men and women were effectively propagating the cause of the Muslim League throughout British India. After learning the situation, Begum Viqar-un-Nissa Noon involved herself in the local politics and

became the members of the Lahore Women subcommittee of the Muslim League. She organized public rallies, elections campaigns, and involved in the processions of the Muslim League. In the pursuance of the cause of the Muslim League to attract public attention she also organized the band of girls students. She organized a large number of women volunteers to work for the cause of the Muslim League. She along with her friends made various tours for the Punjab province, mobilize the public and propagated the cause of the Muslim League. The Muslim League success in the elections was due to the services of such great ladies, including Begum Viqar-un-Nissa Noon.

Bihar Hindu-Muslim Riots

After the elections, Hindu-Muslim Riots erupted in the province of Bihar, where thousands of Muslims were deliberately targeted by the Hindu population. The affected person also includes women and children too. The Bihar Provincial Muslim League Joint Secretary of the Bihar, Mehboob Waris noted that “not a single Muslim was left alive in an area of 300 squares from Ponpooon to Tauranga in Bihar, dead bodies were lying everywhere, railway platforms were littered with them”.⁹⁷ Such a situation created a type of uncertainty in the Muslim of the subcontinent. Jinnah started the Bihar Relief Fund and appealed to Muslim to help their brothers.

To help the affected people, the Punjab women Muslim League subcommittee constituted the Bihar Relief Women Committee and Begum Viqar-un-Nissa Noon was made its member. She made tremendous efforts to help the affected people. She organized various meetings, collected funds and clothes and delivered them to the affected people. When the refugees arrived in Lahore, Begum Viqar-un-Nissa Noon and her volunteers worked hard provided them with every possible help for their resettlement.⁹⁸

Civil Disobedience Movement in Punjab

During the civil disobedience movement in the province of Punjab against the Khizar Ministry, for their resettlement, Begum Viqar-un-Nissa was one of the leading women in the agitation. She organized demonstrations and processions against the Khizar Ministry and was arrested three times.

In the provincial elections of Punjab 1946, the Muslim League won 79 seats out of 175 and

⁹⁷ Faraz Hussain Mirza, *Muslim Women Role in the Pakistan Movement* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1969), 80.

⁹⁸ Ibid. 82-83.

thus was in a position to form the ministry. However, the congress entered into an alliance with the Unionist party and Akali Singh to form a ministry in Punjab under the leadership of Khizar Hayat Khan. The formation of the congress ministry in Punjab really shocked the Muslim League, and called for a massive demonstration against the “Glancy-Khizar Axis”. Thus the Muslim League started a strong agitation throughout Punjab which was participated not only by men but women were also seen on the street in a large number.

The prominent leaders of the Punjab Women Muslim League were already arrested and put in jail. The responsibility of leading the women demonstration was headed by Viqar-un-Nissa and Begum Shaukat Hayat etc “They took out processions, exercised picketing, made demonstrations, keeping complete self-control and determination, unprecedented courage and marvellous discipline. They violated Section 144 but remained peaceful.”⁹⁹ As a result of such massive agitation, the Khizar Ministry ended in Punjab and the Governor of the province released all the arrested women.

The civil disobedience movement in Punjab, that the ruin of the ruling political party was indeed a landmark in the political history of Punjab. It was indeed a new chapter in the history of the subcontinent that the women leadership of Punjab including Viqar-un-Nissa, achieved great success in the freedom movement. Liaquat Ali Khan while appreciating the efforts of women demonstrators said “Muslim India is proud of the heroic and noble part which Muslim women have played in the struggle.”¹⁰⁰

Refugees Resettlement

At the time of the independence of the Indo-Pak subcontinent, the transfer of population is said to be really the shocking news in the history of Pakistan. Millions of refugees came to Pakistan and most of them pay their way to Punjab. The settlement of millions of refugees was a tough task for the leadership of the newly independent country Pakistan.

At the time of the partition, Viqar-un-Nissa was in a Hindu area near Shimla that had gone to India. The Hindus were searching for her but she succeeded to escape to Pakistan. Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre, in *Freedom at Midnight*, had discussed the story in detail.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Ibid. 89-90.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. 93.

¹⁰¹ Larry Collins, Dominique Lapierre, *Freedom at Midnight*,
<http://1.droppdf.com/files/bDyQE/freedom-at-midnight-by-larry-collins.pdf>

In Punjab, the Muslim League members both male and female worked hard to help the refugees in various ways. Like other prominent Muslim League women, Viqar-un-Nissa rendered great services to help the refugees. Besides contributed to various refugees committee, she not only donated money for the poor refugees but also looked after them in the camps.¹⁰²

Services after the creation of Pakistan

After independence Viqar-un-Nissa rendered various services for the country and the uplift of the women of Punjab. In 1948, she elected as a member of the Pakistan Muslim League working committee. She led many delegations to foreign countries including the US, Canada and China. She was too nominated and sends by Jinnah as a delegate of goodwill, to the US. She served as a Federal Minister of Tourism and Culture, Ambassador to Portugal during the Zia regime.

Apart from politics she also rendered great services in social work. She was an executive and senior members of various organizations including the Red Crescent Society of Pakistan, Family Planning Association, and the National Craft Council etc. She was also involved in the education field for many years and opened a number of girl's schools, and a college in Punjab. She founded Viqar-un-Nissa College for women in Rawalpindi, and Viqar-un-Nissa Noon schools for girls in Dhaka and Bangladesh. She also established Noon Educational Foundation, where students of Pakistan get a scholarship to study at Oxford University.¹⁰³

Conclusion

Fatima Begum was one of the legends of the Women Muslim League of Punjab. She started her career as a teacher and has a keen interest to support the cause of Muslim women in the field of education, social, cultural and political life. Besides the editor of *Paisa* newspaper, she was a regular contributor to a number of newspapers/journals including *Sharif Bibi*, and *Khatoon* etc and played her role for rights and awareness of the women of Punjab. She was the founder of Islamia College for Girls and High School for Girls in Lahore. Being its first secretary, she was also the pioneer member of the Anjuman-i-Khawatin-i-Islam. She was an active member of the All India Muslim Women's Conference and All India Women Conference. She was the General Secretary of the Punjab Provincial Muslim Women League for many years and member of the Central Sub-

¹⁰² Naumana Kiran, "Punjab Migration 1947: Violence against Muslim Women and the Settlement", *South Asian Studies* 32, No. 1 (January – June 2017): 161 – 176.

¹⁰³ Mahmooda Hashmi, "Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Female Leadership", *Pakistan Journal of History & Culture*, 22, no. 2 (2001): 149-159.

committee of the Muslim League.

Being a member of the Central Sub-committee of the Muslim League, she worked zealously for the Bengal Relief Fund. During the 1946 elections, she arranged several gathering, meeting, and rallies and urged the Muslim women to vote for Pakistan. She played a prominent role in refugees' settlement of the Bihar Riots, and the partition time refugees' rehabilitation. She played a significant role in the civil disobedience movement and agitation against the Khizar Ministry of Punjab and had the honour of imprisonment.

Throughout the Pakistan freedom movement, she was an active member of the Muslim League, a strong supporter of Jinnah and stood firm behind the political awakening of the Muslim women. She played a remarkable role in the political consciousness of Punjab's women and made extensive tours across the province to propagate the cause of the Muslim League for the creation of Pakistan.

Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz was an active member of the Anjuman-i-Khawatin-i-Islam, educational and orphanage committees. She was a dynamic member of the All India Women Conference, remained its vice-president, and president of the provincial branch of Punjab for many years. She was a member of the Lahore Municipal Committee, Senator of Punjab University, and all Indian central committee of Red Cross Society. She was women delegate to the Round Table Conference. She founded the Punjab Provincial Muslim Women's League in 1935. She was the elected member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly and remained the parliamentary secretary of education, medical relief and Public health.

In 1938 she was appointed as a member of the Women Central Committee of All India Muslim League. In 1942 she was appointed as a member of the National Defence Council by the British Government. In 1946 she was again elected to the Punjab Legislative Assembly. In the same year, she was nominated by Jinnah to be part of a delegation for the USA to explain the Muslim League viewpoint. In the civil disobedience movement in Punjab, she played an active role and was arrested. She rendered great services in the Pakistan movement.

Salma Mahmuda (Begum Tasadduque Hussian), was an active member of the Punjab Provincial Women's sub-committee of the Muslim League and was elected its secretary in 1941. For the uplift of the women of Punjab, she helped in founding girls' primary schools and industrial homes in Lahore. In 1943 she was appointed to the central Subcommittee of the All India Muslim League. She played a leading role in the Bengal Relief committee. In 1944 she was nominated a member

of the working committee of the Punjab provincial Muslim League. She rendered valuable services in the elections of 1946 and was elected as a member of the Punjab assembly from the constituency of Lahore.

During the Bihar riots, she helped the refugees and stayed in camps for two months.

As a secretary of the women subcommittee, she played a prominent role in the civil disobedience movement. She participated in the protest and managed women processions. She was arrested along with other members of the Punjab Legislative assembly. During the civil disobedience movement, she also went to NWFP along with her colleagues and helped in the organization of women processions.

At the time of the partition, she was assigned the duty of Secretary of Punjab Provincial Muslim League Office for Refugees Relief for making their lodging and boarding in the Walton and other camps.

In the field of literature, she also attained great achievements as a writer and poet. Her poems and short stories appeared in the leading Urdu Journals, whereas she wrote to awaken the women for the cause of the Muslim League.

Similarly, Viqar-un-Nissa (Lady Noon), was Australian by birth and married to Feroz Khan Noon in 1945. Due to her husband active role in politics, she had the opportunity to study the political situation of the country carefully. It was a period of mounting tension in the subcontinent because of the upcoming election. She participated in the general elections in 1946 as a member of the Punjab Provincial Women subcommittee, organized an elections campaign and affectively propagated the cause of the Muslim League amongst the Muslim women of Punjab. She had organized the band of girl students and other volunteer women. She made extensive tours to various districts of Punjab and successfully propagated the cause of the Muslim League for the creation of Pakistan.

During the civil disobedience movement in Punjab against the Khizar Ministry, she was one of the leading women who organized public gathering and mass protest and was arrested three times.

During the partition time, she was amongst the leading members of the Muslim League from Punjab rendered invaluable assistance to various refugee committees and camps. She was much closed to the Red Cross for many years and had represented Pakistan on numerous occasion.

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