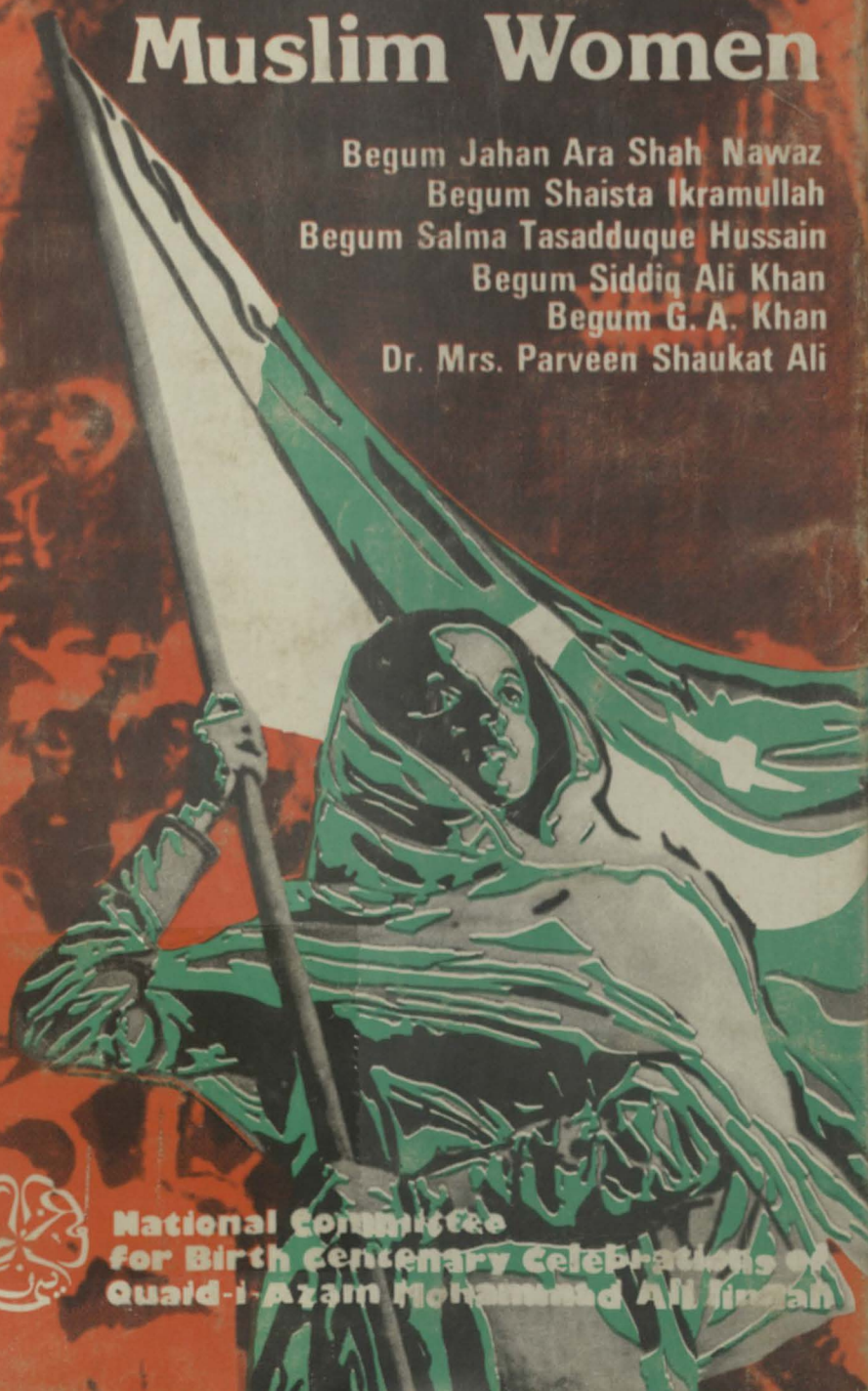


Quaid-i-Azam and Muslim Women

Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz
Begum Shaista Ikramullah
Begum Salma Tasadduque Hussain
Begum Siddiq Ali Khan
Begum G. A. Khan
Dr. Mrs. Parveen Shaukat Ali



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**National Committee
for Birth Centenary Celebrations of
Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah**

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QUAID-I-AZAM AND MUSLIM WOMEN

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Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan,
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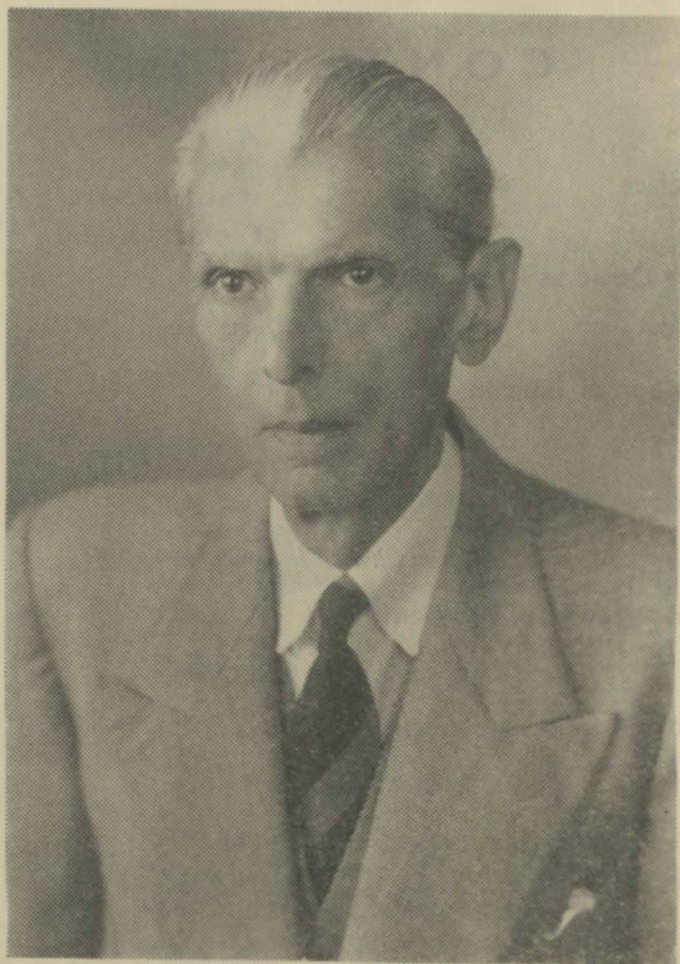
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P r e f a c e

QUAID-I-AZAM Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Father of the Nation, was not only a stalwart politician, a strict disciplinarian, and a versatile statesman, but also a great thinker of his time. His sagacity and acumen, coupled with a cast-iron will and exacting hard work, have had the most remarkable impact on the history of the subcontinent. He had the insight to discern at the outset the urgency and importance of the emancipation of Muslim women in British India, and of bringing them to the forefront in all walks of life, especially in the struggle for attainment of freedom. The state of the Muslim women in pre-Partition India was pathetic. Steeped in dogma and superstition and denied the fruits of modern education and health care, they were mostly confined to the four walls of their home and were unable to make their full contribution in the fight for Pakistan. The Quaid was quick to take cognisance of this predicament; he espoused the cause of Muslim women vehemently.

He sponsored and activated the Muslim women's emancipation movement, expressing their ability to be equal partners of men in all walks of life. At a meeting held at the Muslim University Union, Aligarah, on 10th March, 1944, he aptly remarked : 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. I do not mean that we should imitate the evils of the Western life. But let us try to raise the status of our women according to our own Islamic ideas and standards. There is no sanction anywhere for the deplorable conditions in which our women have to live. You should take your women along

with you as comrades in every sphere of life, avoiding the corrupt practices of Western society. You cannot expect a woman who is herself ignorant to bring up your children properly. The woman has the power to bring up children on right lines. Let us not throw away this asset."

Thanks to the untiring efforts of the Quaid, his inspiring leadership and judicious guidance, the Muslim women's emancipation movement steadily gathered momentum; and today it can be said, to quote his own words: "Let it not be said that the women of Pakistan had lagged behind or failed in their duty." It is a happy coincidence that we have in this book articles from women who have lived up to the expectations of our beloved Quaid. These leading women of Pakistan, Begum Jehan Ara Shah Nawaz, Begum Salma Tasadduque Hussain, Begum Shaista Ikramullah, Begum G. A. Khan, Begum Khurshid Ara, Dr. Parveen Shaukat Ali, are well known to need any introduction. Most of them have had the rare privilege and the coveted honour of working in close association and under the direct guidance of the Founder of Pakistan, whose advice and instructions they have followed faithfully in their valuable contribution to the achievement of Pakistan and many nation-building activities thereafter.

The younger generation of women in Pakistan will no doubt feel motivated and inspired by these daughters of our homeland. Their articles give a lucid account of their experiences and struggles for the creation of Pakistan under the inspiring leadership of the Founder of the Nation. The account affords an opportunity to the reader to have an intimate glimpse of the Quaid, his dynamic personality, his enviable principles, his immense love for his people, and his concern for the emancipation of the Muslim women. In a speech made from Radio Pakistan, Dacca, on 28 March, 1948, the Quaid-i-Azam stated: "In the great task of building the nation and maintaining its solidarity, women have a most valuable part to play ... I know that in the long struggle for the achievement of Pakistan. Muslim women have stood solidly behind their men. In the bigger struggle for the building up of Pakistan that now lies ahead, let it not be said that

the women of Pakistan had lagged behind or failed in their duty.”

The Father of the Nation constantly endeavoured and earnestly desired that the women of Pakistan be well known by outstanding achievements, be educated and enlightened, politically conscious and well-informed to be able to work alongside men in nation-building activities. The Quaid's vision for the Muslims of this subcontinent led him to believe in the profound impact that the woman has in shaping the basic character of her home and family members, who in turn collectively become citizens of a nation and shape the destiny of their own country.

The Quaid believed in the image of a progressive Muslim woman whose moorings are firmly planted in the image of the great and respected women of Islam who gave character and support to their men in the days of our Prophet, may peace be upon him. The Quaid also practised his beliefs. He kept his respected sister Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah by his side in public meetings and often took her counsel and advice in important decisions.

Over the years, the women of Pakistan have progressed steadily and surely. There is now among them a strong surge of awakening, which has kindled a growing sense of responsibility for the welfare of the nation. They are making a concrete contribution of inspiring their nation. May our women be blessed with the inspiration of their Quaid so that they establish by their achievement and conduct the image of truly progressive Muslim women.

In this year of celebrations of the Quaid-i-Azam's centenary it is befitting to pay homage to all Pakistanis, known and unknown, who have worked unselfishly and loved Pakistan for its own sake, asking not what they could get from Pakistan. In this sequence, and drawing his inspiration from truth, the Prime Minister, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, has rekindled the spirit of the Quaid-i-Azam in our hearts and thinking. His able Minister of Education, Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada, has conducted the Centenary Year in a manner most befitting to our great beloved leader. Lastly, but first to be

honoured, is the dedication and the spirit of Begum Nusrat Bhutto who has masterfully imbued the women of Pakistan with the image of progressive Muslim women, firm in purpose and strong in character at home and outside the home.

Islamabad 6, December, 1976

DR. FIROZA AHMED



Dr. Firoza Ahmed is Joint Secretary in the Federal Ministry of Social Welfare, Local Government and Rural Development. She is also Secretary of the National Organizing and Coordinating Committee for Women's Activities in Pakistan.

After graduation from Karachi University, Dr. Ahmed served as Fundamental Education Officer, Rural Development Offices, and Community Development Organizer in various United Nations programmes in Pakistan. She went later to the U. S. A. for advanced studies on a fellowship awarded by the International Federation of University Women. She obtained M. S. W. in Social Work and Community Organization and Ph. D. in Community Development and Adult Education from Florida State University. She received the Altrusa International Award for her Ph. D. thesis.

During her stay in U. S. A., she served as research sociologist at the Social Science Research Centre, State College, Mississippi, and also as Consultant to the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare in Washington, D. C.

Dr. Ahmed has written a number of books on subjects like rural development, social change and planned development, and adult literacy. She is an active member of the Pakistan Association of Social Workers and the All-Pakistan Women's Association (APWA).

Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz

The Quaid as I Knew Him

I knew the Quaid-i-Azam since 1922 and was associated with him for twentysix years until his death. I saw him as a stalwart parliamentarian, an unrivalled negotiator, and as a leader standing like an iron wall that none could move, and the result was Pakistan — a Muslim state achieved in a short span of seven years. In this article, I have tried to recount those incidents of my association with the Quaid which are uppermost in my mind.

Early in 1922, a lady friend told me that she had mentioned to Mr. Jinnah about the ladies of the Shafi family giving up purdah. He had replied that he hoped they would not become mere social butterflies and would do some useful work. These words were so imprinted on my mind that I could not forget them in later life. With Justice Shah Din as my favourite uncle, Sir Mohammad Shafi as my father, and later on the Quaid-i-Azam as my leader and friend, I was indeed very lucky.

From my childhood days we had been trained to do social and educational uplift work, and the transition to political life was almost automatic. However, I can never forget what Mr. Jinnah said to me when I went to consult him in connection with an invitation for a lecture tour in America in October 1947, which I had received from one of the largest American organizations. He asked me: "Do you want a leader's orders or a friend's advice?" I was naturally touched to learn that the Quaid had given me a friend's place and I replied, "Of course, I want a friend's advice."

He told me not to swerve from the path of a legislator, however, tempting any other offer might be. He related a few incidents of his own life when he had been asked to give up a legislator's work and take charge of other occupations, but he had always refused.

In our family, the men shared everything with their family members and would discuss national interests and aspirations with them. We were keenly interested in the All-India Educational Conference, Sir Syed's Movement, and were following the work of our Muslim leaders fervently. We learnt that a young and brilliant lawyer, Mr. Jinnah of Bombay, who had outstanding ability and exceptional speaking powers, was coming to the forefront and we longed to hear him speak.

My father was appointed a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in 1919 as Educational and Law Minister and we often accompanied him to Delhi and Simla. After giving up *pardah*, we started attending the meetings of the Central Assembly and sometimes we used to wait for hours to hear Mr. Jinnah speak. He was a very refined and lucid speaker and kept the listeners spellbound. Both he and Pundit Moti Lal Nehru were outstanding speakers, and it was not only a joy and a pleasure but an education in itself to hear them replying to each others' remarks.

I had the pleasure of meeting both Mr. Jinnah and his young wife, Ratti. Mr. Jinnah had a unique and a commanding personality. He was always immaculately dressed and there was an aura of great dignity about him. Ratti was a very vivacious person and full of life. She often used to be in the mood of shocking people, which some persons did not approve of, but those who knew her well would laugh over it. She was a fascinating young lady, had beautiful hands and made lovely gestures, and was always dressed in elegant saris of the latest fashion. Ratti and I became very good friends. I was staying with my parents at Simla and Mr. Jinnah was putting up at the Cecil Hotel, which was quite close to our house. Father used to arrange a number of functions, dinners, luncheons, afternoon and after-dinner parties at his house and most of these functions used to be quite interesting

During the holidays, my brother and his wife, my sister and her husband, and other relations would come to stay with us and the young people would arrange charades and other games. Whenever Ratti attended a function at our house, she would take part in the games whole-heartedly and would make the party go with her charming personality.

One evening in 1922, father and mother were dining with the Governor of the Punjab. I had received a note from Ratti in the morning, inviting me and a family companion to dinner that evening. When I arrived at the Hotel, I was delighted to learn that although it was a guest night at the Cecil, the dinner had been arranged in their own sitting room. When I entered the room, Mr. Jinnah said to me, "Look, Ratti has got a special curl for you on her forehead." I was touched and thanked her; her answering smile was charming. They had asked another couple, and the six of us dined together. It is no exaggeration to say that it was one of the most pleasant evenings that I ever spent. I had heard that Mr. Jinnah was austere and stiff, and there he was, so very sociable and entertaining. We were with them until eleven in the night, and the Quaid made the evening enjoyable. I used to meet Mr. Jinnah and Ratti at most of the functions at the Viceregal Lodge, Commander-in-Chief's House, Punjab Government House, and other places.

A rift had occurred in the Muslim League between my father's group and Mr. Jinnah. Mr. Jinnah was in New Delhi and my husband, Mian Shah Nawaz, who was then Secretary of the Muslim League Assembly Party in the Central Assembly, tried to close the rift, and he arranged for Mr. Jinnah and my father to have dinner with us one evening. Unfortunately, Ratti died and the Quaid-i-Azam left immediately for Bombay and the dinner had to be postponed for some days. However, Jinnah and father dined with us at the end of March 1929 at 18, Windsor Place, New Delhi. In their frank talks until late at night, we were delighted to find that there were no basic differences in their viewpoints about anything, and as a result the League was united once again. When Mr. Jinnah left for London, my father was elected President of the Muslim League.

The First Round Table Conference was called in London in November 1930. First we attended the Imperial Conference, where the Statute of Westminster was discussed and passed and the British Empire became the British Commonwealth of Nations. Father was a member of the Indian delegation to the Imperial Conference and I was acting as his honorary Private Secretary. I was asked by the Secretary of State for India to be a delegate to the Round Table Conference. There were fourteen Muslims including myself, and our meetings were always held in the Agha Khan's rooms at the Ritz Hotel, with father, Mr. Jinnah and the Agha Khan being the leaders. In the Muslim delegation meetings, by the grace of God, there was complete unanimity, and whether in the Round Table Conference itself or outside, every member of the delegation was talking the same language. Lord Sankey President of the Conference, said to me he had heard that the Muslims were born administrators, but that he had seen it with his own eyes in the way that the Muslim delegation had worked in the Round Table Conference. We had every reason to be proud of our delegation. To have Jinnah and father, one with an analytical mind and the other with a constructive bend, was very fortunate.

I can never forget what happened just before the First Round Table Conference came to an end. The British Attorney General brought the text of an announcement which the Government was making in the closing session of the to safeguard Muslim interests in the future Indian Government. A meeting of the Muslim delegation was called by the Agha Khan that evening, but Mr. Jinnah could not be found. We met, everything was discussed and suggestions were made and just as we were going to disperse Mr. Jinnah arrived. He went through the text and there and then pointed out a discrepancy, which if it had not been removed would have made everything null and void. Immediately father suggested a phrase to take its place which was just perfect. Fortunate was the nation that had such leaders of outstanding calibre. We secured twelve points out of the fourteen points that Mr. Jinnah had asked for at the Conference.

In the Second Round Table Conference the Indian

Congress cooperated, but Mr. Gandhi was sent as their sole representative to London. As soon as he arrived, the Conference asked him to take up the question of settlement between the different sections. Our leaders left no stone unturned to bring about a settlement, but nothing was possible as long as the Hindus and the Sikhs were not prepared to concede the Muslim majorities in the two major provinces of Punjab and Bengal. The British Cabinet members tried their level best to help close the rift, but they did not succeed.

The more we worked with the Congress delegation, the more all of us, including Mr. Jinnah, realised that under the western democratic system of majority rule, the Hindus were working for Hindu Raj and not for an Indian Government. One day Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru said that he could not understand the mentality of his own community that they were not prepared to give to the Muslims even "four annas in the rupee and would rather forego the whole of it". Members of the Muslim delegation, especially Jinnah and my father, were addressing gatherings and explaining the Muslim case. All of us used to be asked to speak to important political organisations; especially both the Houses of Parliament and their different Committees used to invite us. Once a Labour Party gathering asked us to talk to them in their Committee Room in the House of Commons. Jinnah and father had spoken and I was asked to speak after Maulana Shaukat Ali had delivered his speech. The Quaid was very kind; he complimented me and said that he was happy that I was the last speaker. Coming from a speaker of Mr. Jinnah's calibre it was indeed a compliment to cherish.

While working in the Muslim delegation meetings, I realised how wonderful and unique was Quaid's ability. While thrashing out the fourteen points, the explanations that he would give were so very clear and convincing that one could not but be impressed with his exceptional powers of understanding all the ramifications of each problem. During the talks with the Hindu and the Sikh leaders he used to throw light on points in such a manner that there would be no room for doubt or debate.

One day while talking in the Muslim delegation

meeting, I was strongly advocating a certain question about settlement with the Hindus when the Quaid smiled, looked at me and said, "You will one day come to the same conclusion and learn what I have learn in my thirtytwo years experience of wholehearted cooperation with the Hindus", and I felt that Mr. Jinnah no longer believed in a federation of all-India nature.

Allama Iqbal, presiding over the Muslim League session at Allahabad in December 1930, talked of a Muslim State in North West India for the first time. When the news arrived in London, father was speaking in the Minorities Committee of the Round Table Conference. Two or three Hindu leaders asked him questions about it. Father's reply was that if the wranglings over Muslim majorities in the Punjab and Bengal did not end, the Muslims would be compelled to ask for separation. But this had no effect. There is not the least doubt that the Shylock mentality of the Hindus was ultimately responsible for division of the subcontinent. This was fortunate for us, for today the Pakistani Muslims have a home of their own where they can shape their lives according to their own culture and traditions, and thanks to the Quaid-i-Azam they can proudly lift their heads.

For nearly two months, talks went on between Mr. Gandhi and the Muslim delegation. We used to meet Mr. Gandhi after dinner in the Agha Khan's sitting room at the Ritz Hotel and talks would sometimes continue till the early hours of the morning. Jinnah and father used to be our spokesmen. Sometimes Mrs. Sarojini Naidu would also come with Mr. Gandhi. The Muslims came down to the very minimum of their demands, and Mr. Gandhi himself said to us that he was satisfied and could not ask the Muslims to come down any further. He said he would place the decisions arrived at before the Hindus and the Sikhs. We left with great hopes that night and there was a wave of happiness among all the "Indians" in London. After four days we received a telephonic message from the Agha Khan that Mr. Gandhi would be coming to meet the Muslim delegation that evening. We were all feeling happy, and there was great anticipation. Mr. Gandhi arrived and

said, "Sorry I have failed. The Sikhs and the Hindu Mahasabha are not prepared to accept what had been decided between us." This came as a bomb-shell and we were very depressed. Father said that there was nothing left in the Round Table Conference and we had better to back home. We left London within two days. In retrospect, I can only thank our lucky stars that we had not come to an agreement then because Indian politics would have taken a different path.

Throughout the First Round Table Conference, wherever we had spoken, we told our audiences that a settlement could not be arrived at because the Congress was not cooperating, and with Mr. Gandhi admitting his own failure there was no hope left for a united India. Soon after our return to Lahore, father had a severe attack of pneumonia and he died.

I attended the Third Round Table Conference as the only woman representative from India, but I fell ill and had to spend much of the time in bed. When I went for the Joint Selection Committee, again as the only woman representative in April 1933, I was dining with Sir Samuel Hoare, the then Sec. of State for India, one evening when I learnt that Mr. Jinnah was thinking of buying a house in London and settling there. I was perturbed, could not sleep the whole night, rang up Miss Jinnah early in the morning and asked her to arrange for me to see Mr. Jinnah as soon as possible. She invited me to lunch the same day. When I reached their house, I asked Mr. Jinnah, "Is it true what I heard last evening that you are thinking of settling in London"? He replied that there was something in it. I said, "Father is gone and there is no one to pilot the boat of the nation except yourself". He asked, "Do you really think so?" I replied, "Not only I think so, but I have come to take you back home with me". He said, "What about Lord Willingdon?" this gentleman in his years in Bombay had been well-known to be particularly biased against Mr. Jinnah and was then the Viceroy of India. I said that he was not going to be there for very long. We lunched together, had a very frank talk, and I was delighted to find that he was prepared to return to India and put a new life into the Muslim League.

* * *

MR. Jinnah had always supported the movement for the emancipation of Muslim women, and had materially helped in the passage of the Sarda Act, prohibiting Child marriage, a measure which had been initiated in the Central Assembly on behalf of the Muslims by my husband. In 1933 a major crisis confronted Muslim women when it was proposed that separate electorates should be abolished for women's seats. The then Hindu-dominated All-India Women's Conference was fighting hard of this move. If these seats were not under separate electorates, the Muslim majorities in Punjab and Bengal would have been jeopardised. I set up in Lahore a Women's Committee for women's Muslim seats, which were ultimately granted in 1935, and the majorities in Punjab and Bengal were thus safeguarded. The Quaid welcomed the subsequent participation of women workers and was happy to see them working side by side with men.

On my return to Lahore from the League of Nations session in 1935, I was very disappointed to find that there was hardly any life left in the Punjab Muslim League. And when Mr. Jinnah returned to India and called a meeting of the Muslim League Council in Delhi, only Mr. Habib, editor of *Siasat*, and I attended the meeting from the Punjab. Many plans were made, but unfortunately there were hardly any funds available. Situation in the Punjab had taken a different turn. The agricultural class largely Muslim, was fighting a rising and strong Hindu capitalist class and most of the active workers had left the League and joined the Unionist Party, which was being reorganized to include all the agricultural classes and had large funds to back up its activities. Sir Fazl-i-Hussain asked me to take over as Secretary of the Lahore Division of the Unionist Party. Sir Sikandar Hayat was Governor of the State Bank and was then in Calcutta. He was closely related and was like a brother to me. I decided to go to Calcutta, consult him and also find out whether he would be returning to the Punjab when Sir Fazl-i-Hussain took over as Chief Minister. I explained the whole situation to him, and he said, "You know that I am a Muslim Leaguer at heart but the position in the Punjab demands that we should

work through the Unionist Party." Both my husband, who remained a Muslim Leaguer, and Sir Sikandar advised me to accept the secretaryship of the Lahore Division of the Unionist Party and work for the Muslim League within it.

Soon after that Sir Fazl-i-Hussain died and Sikandar Hayat was selected President of the Unionist Party. On his arrival in Lahore, I met him and talked to him about a settlement with the Muslim League. He was ready to cooperate wholeheartedly and said that he would be willing to accept that Muslim League members of the Unionist Party should join the Muslim League also and be known as Muslim League Unionists. Mian Abdul Aziz, Barrister, and I went to see Mr. Jinnah, who had come to Lahore, and I took a number of files with me from the Unionist Party office to explain the position to him. The first elections under the new Act were due very soon and I felt that Mr. Jinnah must know the true position. When I told him that the Muslim League could not win more than a few seats in the Punjab, he smiled and said, "Your information is wrong and the League is likely to win a majority of the seats in the Punjab Assembly". He did not see any of the files that I had brought and refused Sikandar's offer. Unfortunately Mr. Jinnah had not been given the true picture and we failed to bring about a settlement. The elections came and the Muslim League got only two seats, and even out of those two Raja Ghazanfar Ali joined the Unionist Party as a Parliamentary Secretary. I was sad and dejected as I had never envisaged that there would be a clash between these two organizations. Persons like myself who were born Muslim Leaguers could not stand the rift. Mr. Afzal Ali Hasnaie approached me on behalf of the Muslim members of the Unionist Party and asked me to talk about it in the meeting of the Muslim members which was being held that evening. I requested Sir Sikandar on behalf of all of us to approach Mr. Jinnah for rapprochement. Initially, Sir Sikandar did not like my speaking about it, but the result was that all of us left for the Lucknow Session of the Muslim League held in October 1937 and within two days we became "Muslim League Unionists".

I spoke in the open session at Lucknow and finished

my speech with Allama Iqbal's couplet:

آنکھ جو کچھ دیکھتی ہے لب پہ آ سکتا نہیں
محو حیرت ہوں کہ دنیا کیا سے کیا ہو جائیگی

Perhaps that was the beginning of my dreams of "Pakistan".

In the Lucknow Session of the League Council, I brought up the question of the organization of Muslim women. I told the Council that I had set up a Punjab Muslim Women's League which had already done useful work. The Quaid-i-Azam got up and said that he did not believe in separate men and women's organisations and was all for their working together from the primary league upwards. I was overjoyed to learn this as it had always been my ideal and I agreed with it wholeheartedly. I said that I would dissolve the Punjab Women's League, but I pointed out that there being a complete segregation of sexes among the Muslim women committees should be appointed in every province to bring political consciousness and awaken the women in their homes. I drew the attention of the leader to my being the only woman member of the League Council since 1931. The Quaid-i-Azam appointed a Central Women's Committee with Miss Jinnah as President and most of us workers as its members. He instructed all the Provincial Presidents to nominate similar committees of women workers in every province and he asked all the Presidents to include two women members in their respective quotas of the membership of the League Council allotted to them.

The women started working actively all over the country. Prominent women workers were placed on the Central Committee as well as the Provincial Committees. The work of the Muslim League grew overnight and the women began to give expression to the idea of Muslim nationhood in their homes. This development of the women's movement exercised much influence in the later years of the Pakistan movement.

When brute Hindu majorities began their systematic onslaught, in the period around 1938-39, on the cultural traditions of the minorities, particularly the Muslims, the Quaid-i-Azam lost all his faith in the British form of democracy. Even earlier, the Quaid had asked me our day, "Do you be-

lieve in undiluted Western democracy?" When I replied, "No, I do not", he immediately said, "Neither do I".

In 1940, when the League Council session was held in Lahore, I vacated my house for the members of the Women's Central Committee. Just two days before the Council meeting, Chaudhri Khaliqzaman came to see me and we talked for nearly two and a half hours. I learnt from him that the Pakistan Resolution would be placed before the meeting. He was anxious to know of my reaction to it and I assured him of my cooperation and support.

In my talk with Chaudhri Khaliqzaman I was impressed by his political ability. There was trouble about the Khaksars in Lahore and we were all working hard to make the League session a success. My brother-in-law and my sister, Mian and Begum Bashir Ahmad, arranged a luncheon party and invited all the members of the League Council. The Quaid sat between my sister and myself. I pointed out to him that he was sitting between two sisters and he had better wish for something. He replied, "What can I wish for better than Pakistan". It was a unique occasion as almost all the outstanding Muslim leaders of India were there and it was a great triumph for the League. I gave an afternoon party to meet Mr. Jinnah and the members of the League Council, and invited all the members of the Provincial Assembly which was in session at the time. Fatimah Bagum arranged a large meeting of the Muslim women in the Habibia Hall of the Islamia College and Mr. Jinnah addressed the gathering. He told the women that he had every hope they would not leave any stone unturned to make their national political organization, the Muslim League, as successful as if not more than the Congress. The meetings of the Central Women's Committee in my house presided over by Miss Jinnah were very successful and we made ambitious plans to organise the women in all the provinces so that they may bring about political consciousness in their homes.

My daughter Mumtaz, better known as Tazi, had been of the socialist point of view and had leanings towards the Socialist Wing of the Congress. In a small dinner party in New Delhi, one day I said to Mr. Jinnah that I would give a

contribution of rupees one thousand to the Muslim League if Tazi joined it. Mr. Jinnah replied that the two annas that Tazi would pay as membership fee, with belief and conviction the ideals of the Muslim League, would be more precious to him than my donation. In 1942, after her talks with the Hindu leaders during the visit of the Parliamentary Delegation and the Cripps Mission, especially when she met Sir Stafford Cripps and talked to him, Tazi's belief in Indian nationalism was completely shattered. She went to see Mr. Jinnah and joined the Muslim League. Work amongst the women in Old Delhi was entrusted to her and she roamed in all the streets of the city and I heard the Congress women workers say that Tazi had made the women Muslim Leaguers overnight. After every talk with the Quaid, she would return home full of spirit, hope and enthusiasm and I heard her say often that to work for a leader like Mr. Jinnah was not only a joy and a pleasure but one felt so very proud to be one of the members of his corps.

In 1942 I was asked by the British Government to proceed to America to attend the Pacific Relations Conference which was being held in Mont Tremblant, Canada and I accepted the invitation. Mrs. Ogden Reid, proprietor of the *Herald Tribune*, sent me an invitation asking me to speak in the *Herald Tribune* forum in New York in the beginning of November 1942. I spoke in the forum, saw a great deal of Mrs. Reid, who was decidedly one of the ablest ladies that I had met and we became staunch friends. A number of organisations in New York and Washington asked me to address them and explain the position in the political sphere in India. The Secretariat of the American Government invited me to lunch and I spent over two hours with them. Lord Halifax was in charge of the British Embassy and Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai was the Ambassador from India. Throughout my tour, I was perturbed to find that Mr. J. J. Singh and his Indian League in America had carried on a vicious propaganda, telling the American public that it was the British Government that was keeping the Hindus and the Muslims apart so that India should not have the status of a Dominion for which the Hindu Congress was carrying on a non-cooperation movement. At most

of these gatherings, strange questions were asked and I had to explain to the audiences at length about the true position in India. My revelation that the Muslims and their political organization, the Muslim League, were asking for a separate homeland in the Indian subcontinent came as a complete surprise to most Americans. It was being said that the British Government was giving a great deal of money to the Muslim leaders to work for separation, and a professor of the Harvard University asked me whether it was true that Mr. Jinnah was being paid rupees seventeen thousand per month to keep the Hindus and the Muslims divided. In the two and a half months that I travelled in the States, I traced the actual position as it existed in the political sphere of India.

On my return from America, when I went to pay my respects to the Quaid and also to hand over some letters which his friends had given for him, I was very happy to learn that the Muslim League workers had written to him about my work there. I did my best to explain the importance of a great deal of propaganda to counteract the wrong information that had been given to the American public by the Congress workers. When I was talking to Mr. Jinnah, he said, "Now that I am working on your father's plank, what about your cooperation?" I replied, "It is wholeheartedly at your disposal, not only mine but *Insha Allah* of the whole of my tribe."

In 1945, I returned to the Punjab to work for the Muslim League, and just before the elections were to begin I went to see the Quaid-i-Azam and he said to me that Mumtaz Daultana had told him that the Muslim League would be able to win about fifty out of the eighty seats of the Provincial Assembly. He asked me what would be my estimate of our future strength in the legislature. I replied that we were sure to win over sixty seats and that if there was a crash amongst the Unionists, which was likely, *Insha Allah* we would win many more seats. During the elections I was told that there were frantic calls for petrol coupons, which was strictly rationed at that time. I went to see the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore and after great discussion and persuasion, I managed to secure coupons for two thousand gallons and rushed them to the districts. The results started coming in and I sent a

telegram to the Quaid saying, "Complete Unionist crash. Muslim League winning over eighty seats, Congratulations". The Punjab was now firmly in the forefront of the Pakistan struggle.

Late in 1946, the Quaid-i-Azam asked Mr. Hassan Ispahani and myself to proceed to America to explain the Muslim League case to the various delegations to the United Nations, which was in session at that time as well as to the press and the public of America. Hassan rang me up from Calcutta at the end of October, 1946, and told me that he could not leave for America as a number of obstacles had been put in his way by the Government in which the Congress controlled the Foreign Ministry. I went to see the Quaid immediately. He rang up the Home Secretary, who was an Englishman, and gave him a bit of his mind. His courage and strength were unique, and the way he handled the situation made me feel very proud that he was our leader. As planned, Hassan and I left for the States the very next day. This would have been impossible without the firm stand taken by Mr. Jinnah.

The contacts made by me in 1942 proved most useful on this visit to America. Mrs. Ogden Reid left no stone unturned to help us in every possible manner. Mr. Sulzurger of the *New York Times* asked the whole of his editorial staff to lunch with us. We had a very frank talk and explained the full Muslim League case to them. Senator Austin and his wife were good friends of mine and through them we met some members of the American delegation to the United Nations. Both Hassan and I went to Washington and we met Mr. Dean Aitchison and Mr. Loy Henderson of the Foreign Department and we placed the Muslim League case before them. Both of them, especially Mr. Henderson, listened to us very attentively and I was glad to see that he was taking in everything. We also managed to meet most of the leaders of other delegations. His Royal Highness Amir Faisal, head of the delegation from Saudi Arabia, received us and was kind and hospitable. He introduced me to a number of other persons and I was delighted to meet a charming Muslim lady from Lebanon. While talking to Amir Faisal, I was glad to

find that he was very sympathetic to our cause. We learnt that the Muslim Brotherhood in California hardly knew anything about the Muslim League and Pakistan. Both of us went to Arizona and California and spent about three or four days with the members of the Muslim Brotherhood, with the result that they became strong supporters of Pakistan.

We received a cable from Mr. Jinnah asking us to join him and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali in London where they had been invited by the British Government for talks. Mr. Jinnah and the Nawabzada were the guests of the British Government and were staying at the Claridges Hotel. We attended a session of the House of Commons with the Quaid-i-Azam and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali and all three of us sat in the Speakers gallery. Mr. Jinnah had asked Hassan and myself to come out for lunch at the Claridges Hotel every day, and these are amongst my most valuable talks with the Quaid and are treasured in my memory and can never be forgotten. The first day when both of us arrived in London, Mr. Jinnah showed us Prime Minister Attlee's letter in which he had said that America had advised the British Government to think over the question of Pakistan for Muslims in India sympathetically. Realizing that our dream was coming true, we were extremely happy.

In our every day talks, I pointed out to Mr. Jinnah that we should revive our old Muslim culture giving it a strong bias towards the Mughal ways of life. I told him that my ideal had always been to combine the Eastern and Western culture, selecting the best out of both, combined with Muslim restraint and modesty. We talked of what the homes should be like, how the houses should be furnished, and how we should dress; our whole mode of life had to be recast in order to build up a true Muslim state.

While in London the Moral Rearmament Office rang me up and asked me to persuade the Quaid and the Nawabzada to see the play that was being staged by them in London at that time. Hassan and I had already seen it in America. Mr. Jinnah had refused the invitation, but when I told him how exceptionally good it was he agreed to see it. We all went to the play and the Quaid liked it immensely. Dr. Buchman,

head of the Moral Rearmament Movement, had asked us to have supper at his house after the play. There were a number of other guests too. The Quaid's talk at the supper was very informative and interesting and every one listened to it with rapt attention.

When I said good-bye to the Quaid before I left London, he was very kind and said, "The Muslim League can never forget the services you have rendered in the States". I replied, "Quaid, I am very grateful to you for giving me an opportunity to serve the nation in such a representative capacity". It is one of the happiest recollections of my life.

After my return to Lahore, I told Mian Mumtaz Daultana about my talk with the Quaid. Two weeks later in 1947, the Congress Government, with Khizar Hayat as Chief Minister, ordered the sealing of the Muslim League and the National Guard offices. Sardar Shaukat Hayat and Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din decided to resist and they telephoned Tazi and me to join them immediately at the League office. Iftikhar asked Tazi to go and take charge of the National Guards office. She went with other girl volunteers and they did not let the police enter the office. We were standing outside the League office, a large number of reporters were also there when Nawab of Mamdot and Malik Feroze Khan Noon arrived. Feroze went straight to Iftikhar and said, "Give up all this, let us go for Juma prayers". When I heard his I shouted, "Nothing doing; if you men wish to wear bangles and sit at home, we women will carry on the resistance movement". Shaukat and Iftikhar also refused. The reporters and the Muslim Leaguers present sided with us. We continued to guard the League office and did not let the police enter it. Later, about seven of us were taken into custody and the civil disobedience movement started. The success of the movement led to the fall of the British-supported Congress Ministry and the Punjab had fully demonstrated its desire for Pakistan.

In April, 1947, I received a telephone call from the Government House, Lahore, asking me to proceed to New Delhi that very evening and done with the Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, next evening. I left for Delhi and went straight to

see the Quaid. I told him about the invitation and he said that he, Miss Jinnah, the Nawabzada and Begum Liaquat Ali were also dining with the Viceroy. When all of us arrived for dinner, we found that the Maharaja of Patiala was the only other guest. When the dinner was over, we women went to the drawing room. I was talking to Miss Jinnah when Lord Mountbatten joined us. After talking to Miss Jinnah for a few minutes, he whispered to me that he had asked me to come to Delhi especially in order to help him to bring about a settlement between Mr. Jinnah and the Maharaja of Patiala. He said that he had practically kidnapped the Maharaja and brought him to New Delhi with him. He told me that it was our last chance for a settlement and that if it failed the Punjab and Bengal would have to be divided. He asked me to do all that I possibly could to help in the matter. Meanwhile, the Quaid and the Maharaja were sitting on a sofa in a corner of the drawing room and talking to each other. After a little while the Nawabzada also joined them. We were there till midnight. When I said good-bye to the Quaid, I told him about Lord Mountbatten's talk with me. He said the Maharaja was coming to talk to him the next day. I rang up Mr. Jinnah's secretary in the morning and asked for time, and Mr. Jinnah and I had a long talk. The negotiations went on for two days and then broke down. The Quaid told me that he had agreed to everything the Maharaja had asked for, including an autonomous Sikh province in the Punjab, and all the safeguards that they wanted. When the Maharaja demanded a separate Sikh army he had to say no, for he could not sell out the Muslim nation. I agreed with him completely and deplored the short-sightedness of the Sikhs.

When I went to say good-bye to the Quaid he said to me, "Do you know what I have been doing for the last fifteen months? I have been crafting a constitution for Pakistan which is based on the new French Constitution and I have almost finished it". After seeing the Quaid, I went to the bookshops in Delhi and tried to get a copy of the French Constitution, but I was told that it was not available.

After the formal declaration of Independence, atrocities

against Muslims in East Punjab began. Massacres were increasing from day to day, and people arriving by train, trucks and on foot were narrating harrowing tales of how they had been treated on the way. A Punjab Border Force had been appointed to keep law and order. I rang up Brigadier Ayub (later General) and asked him to come over to my house. When I talked to him, I came to know his difficulties. He was very anxious for the Quaid to know that the Boundary Force was not serving the purpose for which it had been organised and should be disbanded. I rang up Mr. Jinnah and talked to him about it. He wanted to know Ayub's opinion, and without asking Ayub I handed over the telephone to him. The Quaid and he had a direct talk and Ayub told him in detail all about it. The Quaid moved immediately in the matter and the Force was dissolved. I often wish that such quick decisions could have been taken in later years when the nation was faced with new crises.

During the Budget session of the Constituent Assembly in February and March, 1948, the Quaid asked Nawab of Mamdot, Mumtaz Daultana, Malik Feroze Khan Noon, Shaukat Hayat, Chaudhry Nazir Ahmad and myself to lunch with him one day. I was placed on his right hand. Mr. Jinnah was in a very happy mood. A surplus budget had been presented to the Assembly. The Quaid talked of several important matters. I said to him that those who used to say that Pakistan could never be a viable state should feel extremely sorry and ashamed of themselves. He told us that when he first came to Karachi to take charge as Governor-General, there were only twenty crores of rupees in the treasury and nearly rupees forty crores of bills lying on the table. There was hardly any furniture in the office and even some of the ink-stands were broken. Within six months everything was ship-shape. The Almighty God had helped to set up the new Muslim State on a sound basis. We talked of the capital, whether it should remain in Karachi or be removed to another place. Shaukat Hayat said why not come to Lahore? The Quaid smiled and said his invitation was too late. Sindh was the only province that had invited them and he had accepted the invitation, at least for the time being.

When news started coming in June 1948 that the Quaid was not well and I saw him in Karachi looking very frail and weak, I was utterly miserable. On the 11th of September 1948 he breathed his last and the nation was orphaned. The nation lost its beloved leader. We who knew him lost a guide, philosopher and friend. If only he had lived to give a constitution to the country, one of the most brilliant constitutional lawyers that he was! But where is the constitution about which he told me ?



Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz (born 1896) is daughter of Mian Sir Mohammad Shafi, one of the founders of the Muslim League and President of the League, 1913 and 1927.

Educated at Queen Mary's College, Lahore, Begum Shah Nawaz has been among the oldest Muslim League workers in Pakistan and an ardent fighter for women's rights. In 1930, she attended the first and second Round Table Conferences as the only Muslim woman member and the third Round Table Conference as the only representative of women for British India.

Begum Shah Nawaz was elected to the Punjab Assembly in 1937 and became the first Muslim woman to be Parliamentary Secretary. She attended the Pacific Relations Conference in 1942 and spoke (1942) at the Herald Tribune Forum, New York. In 1946, she was sent by the Quaid-i-Azam to represent the Muslim League on a tour of the USA.

She was arrested by the Punjab Government during the Pakistan Movement in 1947. Was Member of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly up to 1954. Was re-elected Member of the Punjab Assembly in 1951 and the West Pakistan Assembly in 1955 and 1961. She is Senior Vice-President and Honoured Member, All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) since 1947.

By Salma Tasadduque Hussain

Saviour of Muslim Women

I bow my head before my great leader Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah who appeared on the Indian political scene in 1933 as a saviour of Muslims in the subcontinent, and awakened the Muslim nation, especially women, from their long sleep of political apathy and ignorance.

After 1857, the Muslims, who had been the erstwhile rulers of India, were deliberately ignored and suppressed by the British, and for the next 70/80 years they remained a confused and disorganised community. The Indian National Congress, which was formed in 1886, was predominantly a Hindu body, at first demanding only moderate reforms which later developed into an agitation for Home Rule. This was supported by the Muslim League.

Then came the First World War from 1914 to 1918 in which Turkey declared itself in favour of Germany and against the Allies. This infuriated the British, who completely destroyed the last remnants of the great Ottoman Empire, and the Sultan of Turkey, who was venerated throughout the Muslim world as a symbol of Islam, had to flee the country with his family.

The Muslims of India under Maulana Muhammad Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali declared a crusade against the British in which they were joined by the Hindus. The Khilafat Movement, as it was called, shook the British Raj to its

foundations until the rulers were clever enough to bring about a cleavage in the united ranks of the Hindus and Muslims.

The movement brought political awakening among the Muslims, who were also inspired by a woman, Abadi Begum, the venerable mother of Ali Brothers, popularly known as Bi Amma who toured the whole of India enlisting support for the Khilafat Movement. The Muslims of the subcontinent appreciated Bi Amma's courageous action and allowed their womenfolk to listen to lectures delivered by her. Thus a glimmer of light appeared on the political horizon of Muslim women.

The educational movement initiated earlier by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had encouraged some Muslim women to receive education at home and abroad.

The Quaid-i-Azam joined the Muslim League in 1916, but for a long time he supported the Indian National Congress in its struggle against the British. He, however, demanded certain safeguards for the Muslims which were repeatedly rejected by the Congress. In disgust the Quaid left the country and settled in England where he soon developed a lucrative practice. Always a defender of women's rights, he supported the British women's right to vote in Great Britain. Finally, Allama Iqbal advised the Quaid to return to India and reorganise the Muslims under the banner of the Muslim League, which he did in 1933.

In the early stages, the Quaid had first to convince his people of the necessity for the creation of a separate homeland for the Muslim nation. Once at the Simla Conference, some friends remarked that although Mahatama Gandhi retired to bed early, the light in Quaid-i-Azam's room was on till late at night.

"Sir, don't you ever sleep"? asked an admirer. The Quaid replied : "Mr. Gandhi can sleep because his nation is awake; I have to keep awake because my nation is asleep".

I would say with all the emphasis at my command that the awakening of the Muslim nation dates from the time when a Women's Committee was formed in the All-India Muslim League session at Patna, which gave a representation to women in every province. The Quaid-i-Azam gave a

clarion call to all the daughters of Islam to join his crusade and strengthen the Muslim League, which was working for the preservation of Islam and Millat-e-Islamia.

Muslim women responded with unprecedented enthusiasm and fervour. The year 1933 may be called the year of resurgence of Muslim national thought. The base was founded by Muslim women who came out to work for the sacred call for the preservation of Islamic Ideology, Muslim way of life, Muslim traditions and Muslim nationhood. This movement may be termed a great historical event of the century.

The same year, the Quaid-i-Azam came to Lahore and I had an opportunity to study this great personality of the Islamic world. He addressed a mammoth meeting of women in the Jinnah College for Girls at Multan Road and met the women of Lahore to explain to them their duties for the preservation of the Islamic ideology and nationhood of Islam. After that women used to meet every year in the All-India Muslim League session and listen to the Quaid-i-Azam's speeches. He used to preside himself over the general annual session and the women's annual session.

Begum Muhammad Ali Jauhar was a member of the Central Working Committee of the League. She also presided over the women's annual meeting.

Miss Fatima Jinnah had always accompanied the Quaid during these sessions, and it gave great encouragement to women to see that they could find a place of honour with men like Quaid-i-Azam; and the menfolk also realised that the time had come for women to join the freedom movement and that they could not be left behind.

Since the constitution of the women's committee, a new political consciousness was infused in the Muslim women. They started enrolling themselves as members of the Muslim League and prepared themselves for the future struggle for freedom. These women who left the comforts of their homes and entered the political arena were prepared to sacrifice everything dearest and nearest to them. They remembered that no sacrifice was too great for the sake of freedom. The Muslim League Women Sub-Committee formed the Muslim

Girl Students Federation and Muslim Women's National Guard. They usually sang "Pakistan is our birth right; we will pass through many storms; we will live or die for Pakistan." They held the message of Quaid-i-Azam closest to their hearts. A signal honour was conferred on Begum Muhammad Ali, who was elected member of the Muslim League Working Committee and remained so till her death.

The Quaid-i-Azam was a true believer in Islam. Acting upon the dictates of religion, he gave a place of honour to his sister, Miss Fatima Jinnah, in every session of Muslim League. We always included women leaders as members of the Working Committee, as well as in All-India Muslim League Council. Whenever he addressed a big gathering, he always insisted that there should be a separate arrangement in the pandal for ladies. It was here for the first time that I started delivering speeches to large gatherings. Thus the Quaid took women like us out of the seclusion of their homes and brought them to the forefront to tackle the hard realities of life. He invariably exhorted in his speeches that women should be made active participants in the struggle because they are the second arm of the nation. Life without them would be incomplete.

When the Muslim women heard the appeal of the Quaid-i-Azam that he needed silver bullets, they unhesitatingly offered their ornaments. In this way the movement that freed the country also freed the women from the bondage of the four walls of the house and they were accepted as members of a society which so far had exclusively belonged to men.

Even after the emergence of Pakistan, the women continued to tackle national problems like the rehabilitation of refugees and national security and a host of other social problems that came in the wake of the partition of the subcontinent.

GENERAL ELECTIONS (1946)

DURING the course of the general elections of 1946, the Quaid-i-Azam wanted to assess the strength of his own party, and instructed the Women's League Sub-Committee to enlist every woman as voter in the various provinces. The

Quaid-i-Azam's order was the last word for us in the Punjab. Every worker made it a point to see that every Muslim woman's name was registered as a voter. There were only four women seats in the Punjab at that time. Two were meant for Hindus and two for Muslims. Begum Shah Nawaz fought the election from the outer Lahore area, while I fought the election from the inner Lahore constituency. Both of us won with an overwhelming majority. Seventy-five per cent of the Muslim voters had turned up to cast their votes, and the opponents had their security forfeited. The women did not fear their brothers or husbands, who, being Government servants, were pro-Unionist Party for the sake of expediency or for protection of their service. Miss Mumtaz Shah Nawaz and other young organisers were every brave girls. They picked up the women voters in the presence of agents of the Unionist Government at every polling station. Miss Mumtaz was a terror for the opponents and delivered fiery speeches.

After this thumping success of the Muslim League in the elections a meeting was called by the Quaid-i-Azam at Delhi which was attended by all the Muslim League leaders and the successful Muslim candidates from all over the sub-continent. Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy, the then Prime Minister of United Bengal, also came with a full contingent from Calcutta. It was a great occasion for all of us. We met each other, and our great leader, the Quaid-i-Azam, also mixed freely with all the guests. His face was glowing with joy. He congratulated everyone of us on the success of the Muslim League and exhorted us to work hard day and night in our constituencies. The days were not very far, he said, when we would have a separate independent homeland for ourselves. He also praised the work done by the women.

Soon after the elections, there was an outbreak of communal riots in Bihar. The League in every province started relief work. Fatima Begum and I went to Bihar and stayed there for over two months, we visited 72 camps in the outskirts of Bihar and Calcutta. Fatima Begum brought 400 riot affected persons to Lahore and I stayed on for some time to visit the camps in Calcutta and Asansol. Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din, who was President of the Relief Committee of the

riots, was impressed by our hectic tours which were full of perils. He looked after the relief centres in Bihar. We women went to Calcutta and met Mr. Husayan Shaheed Suhrawardy, who was the Chief Minister of Bengal at that time, and also called upon Syed Mahmood, the Education Minister of Bihar, and apprised him of the critical condition of the Muslims. The refugees were made to sleep on the ground and eat rotten food although many amongst them were sick. On my return from Bihar to Lahore, I also brought 40 persons with me and got them settled in the compound of my own house. Soon I had to leave them behind as I was arrested in the Civil Disobedience Movement.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT

THE Muslim League Ministry was formed in Bengal under Mr. Husayan Shaheed Sahrawardy. The Hindus had now started taking Muslim League seriously. Tension was mounting every the day and ugly riots were taking place all over the subcontinent. The Punjab, the cornerstone of Pakistan the Quaid-i-Azam had called it in his League address of 1943, was not being allowed to play its proper part because of the small influential clique which had the Governor's support. The Unionist Government was under this impression that they would be in a position to stifle the voice of the people and arrest this popular movement, but they were sadly mistaken. The women came to the forefront, took out processions, faced "lathi charge", and were willing to go to jail. Everyday they courted arrest. They were taken into custody by the police, but they were not taken to jail, they were taken miles away from Lahore and were left in deserted places, from when they had to come back on their own.

The women then were a power to reckon with. They were in the forefront. The houses of not only the Muslim League members but those of the Muslim Government officials were centres of League activities. The Muslim League bags were sold by women not only to the Muslim League members but also to the non-Muslim legislators in the Punjab Legislative Assembly.

Among the women who were put behind the bars, besides me, were Begum Shah Nawaz, Fatima Begum, Begum Karim Dad, Miss Mumtaz Shah Nawaz, Begum Kaka Khel, Miss Iqbal Rathor, Miss Salma Jan, Miss Mukhtar Majid, Miss Husan Ara Hafizullah, Miss Nusrat Jahan and Miss Nasira Siddiqui. We were not allowed to see our relatives. The daring act of Miss Mumtaz Shah Nawaz of hoisting a green flag made out of her own dupatta on the top of the jail building annoyed the Sikh lady Jailer, Mrs. Saudagar Singh. She ordered the women guards to beat us all. Miss Mumtaz Shah Nawaz was badly injured by six of them. She was kept in solitary confinement in dirty surroundings. The Muslim League inmates started reciting the Holy Quran and resorted to hunger strike. Amason, working inside the jail, leaked out the news of this maltreatment to the Muslims outside. Processions were taken out daily towards the Secretariat and the jail. The achievement of one girl student, Miss Fatima Sughra, will remain recorded in the annals of the Pakistan history in golden letters; she hoisted the Pakistani flag on top of the Secretariat after pulling down the Union Jack.

The Muslim masses now voiced their political demands which included the disbandment of the Congress Ministry in the NWFP and formation of Muslim League Ministry in its place. The holding of a referendum in NWFP to ascertain the opinion of the people whether they were in favour of Pakistan or not was also one of their demands. The Muslim League party in the Punjab was the largest single party, but it was not allowed to form the Ministry. The British were in league with the Unionist Party. The mass agitation against the Unionist Government caused the provincial exchequer Rs. 25 lac every day. The British Government got fed up with this mass agitation because the machinery of law and order had come to a complete stand still and was paralysed. Voluntary arrests were ever on the increase.

I got indisposed during my imprisonment in jail. I was taken under police custody to the hospital and forcibly released the following day. A procession was taken out to the residence of Nawab Muzaffar Ali Qizilbash. I joined the

procession along with many other women. Tear gas shells were thrown at us and many women fell to the ground in a swoon. In the afternoon we went to Mochi Gate to attend a public meeting. I made a speech and met the Muslim League leaders who were anxious to know about the happenings in the jail. When I returned home I was arrested again and taken to jail at midnight, escorted by many women police officers.

We were released on the 28 February, 1947. A week after the release we came to know that women's civil disobedience movement was in full swing in the NWFP. Accompanied by Begum Zubaida Shah I was asked by the women's sub-committee to go to Peshawar and encourage the ladies there to continue the movement. We were told that many women were injured in a railway accident while they were protesting on a railway bridge. The engine driver of a train, who was a Hindu, did not stop the train and passed it under the bridge with accelerated speed. Some of the women lost balance and fell from the bridge and sustained injuries.

In spite of stiff opposition by the Congress and others, we succeeded in carrying the message of the Muslim League to our sisters and brothers in the Frontier, who joined us in the big rally at Peshawar which was attended by more than 20,000 people. This impressive scene was witnessed by the Viceroy Lord Mountbatten and his wife from the air. The Britishers could not imagine that a conservative place like the Frontier could allow the womenfolk to come into the streets and fight for the freedom of the country. The Congress Ministry created hurdles in the way of women to attend this historic rally, but many of them undertook the long journey on foot. Prominent women leaders of the Civil Disobedience Movement in NWFP were Begum Amir Ahmad, Begum Zari Sarfaraz, Begum Shireen Wahab, Begum Mumtaz Jamal, Begum Fateh Muhammad and Begum Nazir Haider. A delegation of Muslim women also called on Lord Mountbatten and explained to him the causes of the Civil Disobedience movement. The Muslim women of Peshawar carried on the tempo of this movement for over two months. The Governor of the NWFP met the women leaders and tried to

persuade them to stop the Movement, but they did not agree and demanded that the British Government should meet their demands.

The Hindus and the Sikhs realised that they could not suppress the rising tide of Muslim nationalism. Master Tara Singh, however, waved his "Kirpan" outside the Punjab Assembly on the 3rd of March, 1947. In the communal riots that started in the Punjab, many women were brickbatted and many children were injured. I requested the Quaid-i-Azam and requested him to come to Lahore to stop the massacre, but he was busy in the preparation of the Muslim League case for the Boundary Commission.

BUT for the active participation of women in the Muslim League activities for the emergence of Pakistan, the country would not have gained independence so soon. The part played by Muslim women in all provinces was commendable. I will try to highlight this part in brief.

Sind. A Muslim women's committee was formed under the presidentship of Lady Haroon. The other members were Begum Shaban, Begum Hatim Tayyabji, Begum Subhan, Begum Hidayatullah, Begum Daulat Anwar Hidayatullah, and Begum Gazdar. Although the Sindhi ladies were very conservative, yet they answered to the call of the Quaid-i-Azam and started working under the banner of Muslim League. A Girls National Guard was also set up. The daughter-in-law and the daughters of Lady Haroon were active workers of the Muslim League. Begum Pasha Haroon was the head of the Girls National Guard.

In 1943, when the All-India Muslim League session was held in Karachi, the women of Karachi played the host to Muslim women who came from all over India to attend the session; most of them stayed with Lady Haroon. At the end of the session, a big meeting of Muslim women was held which was presided over by Miss Fatima Jinnah and later by Begum Muhammad Ali Jauhar.

U.P. A sub-committee of women was formed under the presidentship of Begum Habibullah. The ladies of U.P. were in the first line of the Muslim League Women Sub-Committee and strong units were formed in many districts. Allahabad

was the venue of the All India Muslim League session in 1942. Fatima Begum and I attempted this session. Members of the Central Working Committee of the Women's Section of the League were also present. On the last day of the session, a women's meeting was held which was attended by thousands of Muslim women, Begum Muhammad Ali presided over the meeting.

At one stage at this meeting there was a burst of noise and some women got up and took away a woman in an advanced stage of pregnancy from the meeting. Later, an announcement was made that the woman had given birth to a boy. This shows the magnitude of interest the women had in the Muslim League. We were told that the U. P. Muslim Women's Committee was very active. Begum Habibullah and Begum Wilayat Butt were prominent members of the Committee.

Bombay. The Committee in Bombay was presided over by Miss Fatima Jinnah. Other members were Begum Hafizuddin of Surat, Begum Seth Subhan, Begum Tayyabji, Begum Sharifuddin and Begum Rehmatullah. This Committee worked better than any other committee as it was under the direct supervision of Miss Fatima Jinnah.

Bihar. The Committee have worked under the presidentship of Lady Hassan Imam. Begum Younis, Begum Kalim, Begum Akhtar, Begum Ataur Rehman and Miss Jahan Ara Khan were the members.

Assam. Begum Ataullah was a very prominent lady among the Muslims of Assam. She attended the All-India Muslim League session and gave report of the Committee, which was greatly appreciated by every one.

C. P. Begum Khurshid Siddiq Ali Khan was the moving spirit behind the Women's Committee in C. P. She formed branches in many districts, and was a tireless lady. Her husband (Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan) was later Secretary to Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan.

Punjab. A Women's Committee was formed under the leadership of Lady Maratab Ali with hundreds of women enrolling as members. Fatima Begum, a very brave and

learned educationist, was the General Secretary of this Committee. She opened an office at Temple Road, Lahore, and started calling big meetings at Lahore and other parts of the province. She, along with some members of the Students Federation, requested the Quaid-i-Azam to address a students' meeting and a women's meeting in Lahore, which he very graciously accepted. This was the most historical gathering of women which laid the foundation of Muslim women's movement in the Punjab. The Quaid-i-Azam met the women of Lahore for the first time and found great zeal and devotion among them. The women were also greatly impressed by the Quaid's unique personality and by his speeches on Pakistan.

The women made a promise to the Quaid that they would not rest in peace until Pakistan was achieved. I was present at that meeting and was one of those who swore to work for his ideals, which were the ideals of every Muslim in the subcontinent. From 1938 to 1940 we worked day and night touring all over the province as the Quaid-i-Azam had planned to call the All-India Muslim League session at Lahore to pass the Pakistan Resolution.

My memory is still very fresh about that time when a preparatory programme was being made and we were called by the Quaid-i-Azam in connection with this historic meeting. A Reception Committee was formed with Sir Muhammad Shah Nawaz of Mamdot as President and Mian Bashir Ahmad as General Secretary. The Women's Committee was represented by Miss Fatima Jinnah. The whole of Lahore was full of emotion and excitement. The Unionist Government was unhappy to see the entire province in a tumult and working devotedly for the forth-coming session. Just to create a situation they fired at a procession of the Khaksars, killing them in large numbers. The women of Lahore came out with great courage to help the Khaksars and offered them food and comfort.

All arrangements for the members who were coming from other parts of India had been completed. The lady members were to stay at Islamia College for Girls, but suddenly a rumour was spread that the session would be

postponed because the Unionist Government had asked the Punjab League leaders to inform the Quaid-i-Azam about the situation. Everyone was sure of the postponement of the session, but nothing could stop that man of iron will. He said that nothing could stop the session and ordered us to go ahead with the preparations for receiving the guests. The Quaid-i-Azam reached Lahore in time and the Pakistan Resolution was placed before the nation on the 23rd of March, 1940. This historic day is now celebrated as Pakistan Day in the country.

Afterwards, a mammoth meeting of women was held under the presidentship of Miss Fatima Jinnah and was addressed by women leaders from all the provinces. Begum Muhammad Ali Jauhar, Begum Shah Nawaz, Begum Waseem, Lady Haroon, Fatima Begum and I participated in the meeting.

This unique gathering in Lahore inspired the entire Muslim nation in the subcontinent. Men and women were all striving hard, trying to reach the goal. There were some difficult moments for us when we had to face the famine in Bengal, the riots in Bihar, and the civil disobedience movement in the Punjab and in NWFP. We worked day and night preparing garments, food and other necessities of life for the famine-stricken people in Bengal. It took a long time to complete this hard job, which went on until we were ordered to get ready for the coming elections. The Quaid-i-Azam ordered us to go out to all towns and villages and get the women voters registered. The Quaid-i-Azam knew that women had greater faith in the ideology of Pakistan and deeper love for Islam. Women regardless of worldly obligations, made great sacrifices for Islam and for their nation.

A FEW GLIMPSES OF QUAID-I-AZAM.

THE Quaid-i-Azam was very graceful and pleasant, but he had an awe-inspiring personality. Whosoever met him was impressed by his talk and by his knowledge of political affairs. He was a man of few words, but what he said was convincing and precise. He created confidence in the hearts of his audience.

He brought the Muslim women out of the suffocation of old customs and gave them confidence to stand on their own feet and work in the political field alongwith men. He was so generous and considerate that he always replied to our letters in very encouraging words. Whenever he came to Lahore, he stayed in Mamdot Villa and very often allowed the deputations of women to call on him.

Once an old lady expressed great concern for his health. She said, "Sir, please do not neglect your health. Your health is more important than anything else. Please do take some tonic". The Quaid-i-Azam smiled and said, "Thank you very much, but my health is not bad; only I have to work very hard. If you people start working more than I do, that will be my tonic."

Once I asked him, "Sir, I hear your house is very beautiful in Bombay". He said, "I cannot say anything about the house, but I believe in making my room a comfortable place so that after a hard day's work I can be in a peaceful atmosphere. I have got my room decorated by a foreign expert".

In Karachi at a big dinner party at the residence of Sir Abdullah Haroon, we found him smiling and exchanging jokes with his friends and followers.

Once in Karachi I asked him, "Sir, people ask me why your Quaid-i-Azam has taken all the Nawabs and Sirs in his Muslim League". He looked at me and said, "They are all educated and nice people; they are looking after the interests of the nation. They are taking care of the Muslim League very well. When I took charge of this organization, there was nothing in it except a typewriter. They are helping us tremendously and educating the Muslims politically with all their resources."

The Quaid-i-Azam had a great desire to see the women of Pakistan in very high positions. After Pakistan came into existence, he was very keen to introduce the country to the whole world. He sent a delegation to the United Nations and selected five persons of his own choice to represent the country. Among them there was a woman also, and I was that lucky woman. He sent Begum Shaista Ikramullah in

the next delegation. The third time, when he was not there, Princess Abida Sultana was sent as a member of the delegation to the U. N.

These were the qualities that endeared him to our hearts, where he is enshrined for ever as a great man and a great leader.



Begum Salma Tasadduque Hussain (born August 11, 1908) joined Muslim League in 1937 and worked under the guidance of the Quaid-i-Azam for the creation of Pakistan. She was a member of the Provincial Legislative Assembly for 12 years from 1946 to 1958. Was selected by the Quaid-i-Azam as a member of the first Pakistan delegation to United Nations.

As a social worker, she went to Bihar in 1946 during the communal riots there and visited all the towns affected by the riots along with women members of the Bihar Provincial Assembly. Was Secretary, Punjab Muslim Women League, from 1940 to 1958. The Punjab Unionist Government arrested her in Lahore for Muslim agitation in the province.

In 1951-52 she made a tour of various countries in Europe. In 1957, she visited China as a member of the Pakistan Parliamentary Delegation.

In 1958, she was appointed the Deputy Minister for Labour to the Government of West Pakistan and helped in solving serious labour problems.

She has written a number of poems and articles on women's movement in Pakistan. Her Urdu translation of Cleopatra by Rider Haggard has been published in two editions.

By Begum Shaista Ikramullah

Women and Politics

THE Quaid-i-Azam believed in women taking part in politics. He had come to this belief not only when he launched the Muslim League movement, but had believed in it for a very long time.

On 14th September 1948, when a memorial meeting for the Quaid-i-Azam was held in Caxton Hall, London, Miss Aghatha Harrison, one of the speakers on that occasion, said, and as far as I remember these were her words: "When Jinnah was a student in London, the suffragette movement was gathering momentum; but we had very few sympathisers and supporters. Young Jinnah, however, always came to our meetings and spoke in defence of vote for women. Even then he was not afraid of championing an unpopular cause".

Yes, he was not afraid of championing unpopular causes or difficult tasks, and that is why many years later he undertook to champion the cause of the Muslim minority in India. And because he believed in women having equal political rights, he immediately associated them with the movement he launched. At one of the earliest sessions of the Muslim League held in Patna, the Muslim League Women Sub-Committee was formed and the following resolution passed: "Whereas it is necessary to afford adequate opportunities to women for their development and growth in order to participate in the struggle for social, economic and political emancipation of the Muslim nation in India, it is resolved that

All-India Muslim Women Sub-Committee be formed with the following objects in view :

1. To organise Provincial and District Women Sub-Committees under the District Muslim League.
2. To enlist large numbers of women to the membership of the Muslim League.
3. To carry on intensive propaganda among the Muslim women throughout India in order to create in them a sense of greater political consciousness.
4. To advise and guide them in all such matters as mainly rest on them for the uplift of the Muslim society.

The list of the members who had the unique honour of belonging to the first Sub-Committee of the Muslim League is as follows :

Punjab : 1. Begum Shah Nawaz; 2. Mrs. Rashida Latif.

Bombay : 1. Miss. Fatima Jinnah ; 2. Mrs. Faiz Tyabji; 3. Begum Hafizuddin.

Bengal : 1. Begum Shahabuddin; 2. Mrs. M. M. Ispahani.

U. P. : 1. Begum Habibullah; 2. Begum Aizaz Rasool; 3. Begum Wasim; 4. Begum Mohammad Ali; 5. Begum Nawab Ismail Khan; 6. Miss Rahila Khatoon.

C. P. : 1. Miss Nadir Jehan of Sooni; 2. Begum Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan.

Behar : 1. Lady Imam; 2. Begum Akhtar.

Assam : 1. Mrs. Ataur Rahman ; 2. Mrs. J. Khan.

Sind : 1. Mrs. Tayabji; 2. Lady Hidayatullah; 3. Begum Shahban; 4. Lady Haroon.

Delhi : 1. Mrs. Hussain Malik; 2. Mrs. Najmul Hasan; 3. Begum Rahman.

N. W. F. P. : 1. Begum Haji Sadullah Khan; 2. Mrs. Khawaja Alla Bux.

Madras : 1. Mrs. Ayesha Kulhamoro Haji; 2. Mrs. Qureshi.

These pioneer members of the Muslim League Working Sub-Committee did valuable work in creating political

consciousness among women and carrying the message of Muslim League in the homes and to the ladies who till then were completely unconcerned about politics.

In Delhi, Begum Hussain Malik and Begum Kishwar Rahman, members of the Women's Sub-Committee, had organised a branch to carry out the objectives of the Resolution. Its activities, however, till 1943 session of the All-India Muslim League, which was held in Delhi, were confined more or less to social work.

In April 1943, the All-India Muslim League session was held in Delhi. It was one of the momentous sessions of the League, for in the last six years after it had been reorganised under the presidentship of Quaid-i-Azam and had gathered terrific momentum, faced great stresses and strains and came out stronger for it. Holding the session in the Imperial Capital itself was of great significance and it was important that it should succeed; and it did.

It was one of the most spectacular sessions of the League; and to make it a success, we the few women members of the Delhi Branch of the League worked very hard. We formed a Reception Committee to arrange for accommodation for women delegates who were expected to come and tried to raise funds for the League.

How difficult it was in those days, just 33 years ago, to even sell tickets for the Reception Committee of the Muslim League, for Delhi was the nerve centre of officialdom and Government servants' wives shied away from the name of anything political. "Please buy a Muslim League ticket." "Oh, no. My husband is a Government servant." "So is mine," I would retort, and "you don't have to sell your soul because of it." But this did not cut much ice. It merely gave me a reputation for fanaticism. I was elected a member of All-India Muslim League Women's Sub-Committee in April, 1943.

Underterred we went our way, selling tickets to those who would buy them and did whatever we could, and the session was a tremendous success. The Quaid-i-Azam was taken out in a procession through the streets of Delhi. Next

day he gave a three-hour presidential address, in the midst of which it was announced that the Fazlul Haque Ministry which was formed in coalition with the Hindu members of the Bengal Legislative Council in Bengal had fallen. We were jubilant, and there was an atmosphere of joy for the rest of the session.

The women's session was held on the third afternoon under the presidentship of Lady Haroon. We reiterated the objectives of the League and passed similar resolutions; but for women the emphasis was still on reform and education. That we were holding a session of our own, was a great thing, but to my mind of greater significance was the fact that we were attending the men's sessions as well. There was a place reserved for the ladies in purdah, but a few of us sat outside purdah on the dais. I cannot sufficiently emphasise how important this was, the mere fact that we could sit there in the full view of men without a murmur from the audience, majority of whom consisted of the most orthodox elements in our society. It was a great achievement, an achievement made possible by the Quaid-i-Azam, having Miss Jinnah attending the session with him. He had already reached a position when he could do what he wanted, and the public accepted it. If it was all right for Miss Jinnah to sit in an open session of the Muslim League, it was all right also for the rest of us to do so; so we attended all the sessions. Begum Aizaz Rasool made a speech; Begum Bashir Ahmad also made a speech and gave a generous donation; the era of women's participation in the work of nation building had started.

In less than two years after the Muslim Women Sub-Committee had been formed, a Muslim Women Students Federation was also organised. There already existed a Muslim Students Federation under the presidentship of Raja Sahib of Mahmoodabad, but because of purdah and other restrictions of our society it was not possible for girl students to work alongside with men, and, therefore, it was found necessary to form a separate Federation for Muslim Women Students. Raja Sahib of Mahmoodabad appointed me the convener, and the first office-bearers of this Committee were

three students from Indra-Prasta College, Delhi, who were sent to me by Miss Fatima Jinnah. They were : Miss Aiysha Hussain (President), Miss Humera Hashmat Ali (Secretary), Miss Tahira (Treasurer).

These young girls were intelligent, talented and idealistic, and though none of them has fulfilled their early promise by subsequently making a mark on the political scene of Pakistan, they made a valuable contribution towards it at that time.

We decided to organise a conference in February, 1942, in Delhi at the Anglo-Arabic College. It was a modest little affair, but of great significance for the very idea of unmarried girls coming unchaperoned from other cities to attend a conference, staying in a place with people unknown to their families, was considered a revolutionary thing in those days.

We had about a dozen delegates. Miss Tazeen Habibullah (now Begum Tazeen Faridi) from Lucknow; Miss Sultana Kazi and Miss Zohra Kazi from Meerut; and Fatima Begum, a veteran worker for Muslim causes, from Lahore, who brought with her half a dozen girls as delegates from her college. Her participation gave our amateur effort prestige, and an air of a real conference; her attitude and support were most encouraging.

We held the conference in the large hall of the Anglo-Arabic College. It was meagrely attended, barely the two first rows could be filled; and these were mostly students and a few personal friends. Muslim women were not much interested in politics or political conferences in February 1941.

We, however, carried on the proceedings of our Conference as if it were a large and well-attended affair. Miss Fatima Jinnah had kindly promised to inaugurate it, but illness prevented her from doing so, and therefore Begum Kishwar Rahman performed the opening ceremony. Begum Aizaz Rasool presided and her printed address gave us something of a cache (sic). The young delegates made impassioned speeches and we passed resolutions supporting the demand for Pakistan, condemning the prejudice towards Urdu, etc.

The second Annual Conference of the Federation was held in Aligarh at the Muslim Girls College. The very fact that was being held there made it a much bigger affair. Among the delegates who attended the second conference was Khanzadi Zari Sarfraz, who till recently was one of the most distinguished members of the National Assembly of Pakistan, and brilliant Miss Mumtaz Shah Nawaz had also joined the Federation, as well as became the member of the Delhi Branch of the Muslim Women Sub-Committee, and her coming had added a fire and a dash to it.

Like the Muslim Women's Sub-Committee, efforts were made to form branches of the Students Federation in other parts of the sub-continent, and branches were established in C. P. and Bengal.

The Quaid-i-Azam, despite the herculean task of organising the Muslims of India, and getting their claim for establishment of Pakistan accepted, found time to direct and encourage our efforts, wherever and whenever the All-India Muslim League Session was held. Alongside it, a separate women's session would also be held, and the Quaid-i-Azam would find time to accept invitation to functions organised by the Muslim Women's Sub-Committee to inspect the Muslim Women National Guardsetc. He did the honour of attending one of the meetings of Muslim Women Students Federation in Delhi. It was in March 1946. This meeting was also held in the same Anglo-Arabic College in which the first meeting was held and barely two rows had been filled. On this occasion, the hall was full to capacity and women crowded the corridor and even the gardens. It was an indication of the speed with which political consciousness had spread amongst women.

The Quaid-i-Azam accepted women's participation in politics on equal terms. They were subject to the same discipline and disciplinary action as men members. When he ordered men to abstain from cooperating with the British Government's war efforts, he asked women to do the same. He expected people who joined the Muslim League to make sacrifices.

I had been asked by the Government of India to attend the Pacific Relations Conference in 1945, but the Quaid-i-Azam did not permit me to do so, and he took the trouble, as he did in many other instances, to explain the reasons patiently and in detail. After he had succeeded in convincing me by reasoning, as I got up to leave he added, "One day you will go as the representative of the Muslim League with honour and with right to speak on its behalf." He remembered this promise, for within six weeks of the establishment of Pakistan he asked me to go as a delegate to the U. N. But as I could not go for health reasons, he sent me the next year. It is one of my greatest regrets that he did not live to tell me whether he thought his choice was justified.

The Quaid-i-Azam did not encourage sentimentality and emotionalism; he tried to inculcate a rational attitude. I saw him returning jewellery given by women to the Muslim League fund, saying that they should ask their husbands before doing it. He appreciated solid work more than dramatic gestures.

I apologise for giving examples from my own experiences of how the Quaid trained one's mind, but I can speak with certainty only about myself. When I was criticised for the first time in an article of the *Hindustan Times* and came to the Quaid expecting sympathy, he said to me that having entered politics I should expect such criticism. He said that it was a proof that my work had come to count. There was always a pile of newspapers by the side of Quaid's chair. He took a copy of the *Hindustan Times* from it and glanced at the article I had mentioned then carefully folded the paper and put it back without saying anything for a moment or so and then he said, "Every day newspapers say much worse things about me; what would happen if I let it upset me?. This is to be expected. I felt rather abashed and as I rose to leave, he added : "You must not let small things upset you". In later years, when I encountered meanness and malice, I remembered these words of the Quaid.

At a dinner party, a rather petty personal attack was made on the Quaid and I flared up and created a scene and

later reported the incident to the Quaid. He considered it too trivial a matter for me to have bothered. I mention this because the Quaid has been accused of personal vanity. No one who is vain regards even a trivial attack on him as unimportant. The detractors of the Quaid often say that he was arrogant, ungracious and rude. I can only say that I never found him so. He was certainly aloof, and did not find it easy to make light conversations, nor did he try to exercise the facile charm which so many leaders put on. But I always found him extremely courteous, patient and kind, not only during the fortnight or so in Simla when I had the privilege of seeing him almost every day, but also in Delhi where I saw him frequently.

As the atmosphere at that time was surcharged with politics and I was in touch with many prominent members of the Indian Congress as well, I discussed the point of view they put forward to me. The Quaid always gave me a patient hearing, and always succeeded in convincing me of the correctness of his own. This was not because he disregarded other people's point of view, or forced his opinion on them, or did not reply to one's arguments, but he was so thoroughly and single-mindedly convinced of the correctness of his point of view that he could not help but convince others also. Call it hypnotism, but any one whom he thought worth his while he always succeeded in convincing him. I mention the fact that he thought it worthwhile to convince someone as unimportant as myself to prove that the Quaid's criterion of importance was sincerity. I have compared my experience with other young people who had the privilege of meeting the Quaid and their experience is the same. The persons the Quaid did not have time or patience for were those whose bonafides he was not convinced of and who came to discuss matters for the sake of discussion.

The Quaid-i-Azam was a man of vision, a man who acted on what he believed. As a young man he had supported the cause of women; when he returned from England, he put his young sister in a Convent school. It was an unprecedented thing to do among the Muslims of that time. If the Quaid

believed in something, he lost no time in putting it into effect. When his authority extended only over his sister, he put her in school; when, years later, he became the President of the regenerated Muslim League, he lost no time in putting forward the resolution which established the Muslim League Women's Sub-Committee and directed the formation of Muslim Women Students Federation. As soon as the first Constituent Assembly consisting of 72 members was elected, he gave two seats to women. Women had been given vote at the very inception of Pakistan, and the first two women elected were Begum Jehan Ara Shah Nawaz from the Punjab and myself from East Pakistan. Within weeks of the establishment of Pakistan, when the first delegation was sent to the U. N., a woman delegate Begum Tasudduq Hussain was sent. This established the precedent which has been followed almost without break, of including a lady in our delegations to the U. N. Beginning with just one, the number has increased gradually to five or six at each session.

Every organisation that was constituted in the first few months after the establishment of Pakistan, the All Pakistan Red Cross Society, the Anti-T. B. Association, the Pakistan Branch of UNICEF, each had women members in its Executive body or committee. It gave women the directive which they have tried to follow. It is because of the Quaid encouragement that women were first able to take part in the struggle for freedom, and then after the establishment of Pakistan in trying to solve the gigantic refugee problem, and have continued to take part in the task of nation-building.

Under the leadership of Begum Liaquat Ali Khan, the All-Pakistan Women's Association has done and is doing work that has elicited the admiration of the world. Its work is greatly admired by international organisations. Its delegates to world conferences and seminars command respect attention.

The Quaid-i-Azam, ever since his youth, knew of the important role that women could play in the task of nation-building, and lived to take the steps to make it a reality.

Once in the life time of people, a man is born who changes their destiny.

ہزاروں سال نرگس اپنی بے نوری پہ روتی ہے
 بڑی مشکل سے ہوتا ہے چمن میں دیدہ ور پیدا

Such a man was the Quaid-i-Azam. He brought our ship to port, but fate did not allow him to captain it for long. We have tried, however inadequately, to follow his directives and are trying to reach the goal towards which he pointed.



Begum Shaista Suhrawardy Ikramullah (born 22nd July, 1915) is daughter of Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, who was Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University. After B. A. (Hons) from Calcutta University, she got Ph. D. from London University. Was married in 1933 to Mr. M. Ikramullah, ICS, PFS, who was Pakistan's first Foreign Secretary.

Begum Ikramullah was Member of the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan (1947—53) and was also member of the first Advisory Board of Education, Government of Pakistan (1947—56). She studied the educational system in USA under the Simon-Muntz Leadership Grant in 1950 and made a close study of every type of school in U. K. between 1954—59.

She was member of the Pakistan delegation to United Nations in 1948 and took part in the drafting of Constitution of Human Rights. She was Deputy Leader (and then Leader after Foreign Minister's return) of the Pakistan delegation to United Nations in 1956. She is author of a number of books in Urdu and English and has written many articles on various subjects in the two languages.

By Begum G. A. Khan

Emancipation of Women

QUAID-I-AZAM Mohammad Ali Jinnah possessed a dynamic personality marked by integrity, honesty, sagacity and truthfulness. He was not only a successful lawyer and a brilliant politician but also a progressive Muslim leader. He was broadminded enough to give serious thought to the problem of the emancipation of Muslim women at a time when they were strictly confined to the four walls of the home. To quote one of his biographers, emancipation of women, was a fixed part of the Quaid's political creed when he returned from England as a young barrister.

The Quaid-i-Azam attached great importance to the emancipation of Muslim women, and his desire for their participation in all spheres of life is evident from the several statements which he made in this regard, as well as from his strong devotion to his sister, Miss Fatima Jinnah, and his great regard for her opinions. Miss Fatima Jinnah, I feel, was an exact replica of her illustrious brother in every respect. Having been brought up by him and also having remained constantly under the influence of his dynamic personality, this was but natural. In fact I personally feel that Miss Fatima Jinnah was a symbol of the ideal Muslim woman, as was visualised by the Quaid-i-Azam.

There are numerous statements in which the Quaid-i-Azam espoused the cause of Muslim women and advocated their complete participation in all walks of life. In these

statements he outlined the expected role and place of women in a progressive Muslim country. In his address to the Aligarh Muslim University Students Union in March, 1944, he said, "No nation can rise to the height of glory unless its women work side by side with men. We are victims of evil customs. It is a crime against humanity that our women are shut up within the four walls of the homes as prisoners ... There is no sanction anywhere for the deplorable condition in which our womenfolk have to live. You should take your women along with you in every sphere of life, avoiding the corrupt practices of western society."

Even when the movement for a separate homeland was yet in its embryonic state and the Quaid-i-Azam was busy mobilising the Muslims of the sub-continent, he realised the importance of women's involvement for the success of his movement. Consequently at the annual session of the All-India Muslim League in Patna in 1938, a committee comprising prominent Muslim Women of the subcontinent was formed, with the wife of Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar as its president; Miss Fatima Jinnah played the role of an adviser to the committee. This committee was instructed to set up provincial and district women's committees to enrol women and to arouse in them political consciousness and desire for a separate homeland. Responding to the Quaid-i-Azam's clarion call, Muslim women played an active role in the struggle for a separate homeland. When a referendum took place in the Frontier Province and a massive host of burqa-clad women came out of their homes, the English Governor, Sir George Cunningham, cried out : "Pakistan is made." In the Punjab, a young girl student was successful in hoisting the Muslim League flag on the Civil Secretariat building in Lahore in place of the Union Jack. Apart from this, there are hundreds of incidents depicting the constructive and vital role played by Muslim women in the creation of a separate homeland. Recognising the worth of these services, the Quaid-i-Azam stated on 18th April, 1946, at the Muslim Convention in Delhi : "It is a matter of great happiness that Muslim women are also undergoing a revolutionary

change. This change is of great importance. No nation in the world can progress until its women walk side by side with the men”.

When Pakistan came into being, the Quaid-i-Azam issued this statement on 24th August, 1947 : “I call upon every Pakistani Muslim man and woman not to be led away by sorrow. They have suffered a lot and have made many sacrifices for the formation of their national state. Now it is for them to build it....” It can be realised from this that from the very inception of Pakistan the Quaid-i-Azam emphasised women’s participation in nation-building activities. As early as 1947, Pakistan’s delegation to the United Nations included a woman, and two women members were included in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan.

At the time of the creation of Pakistan thousands of destitute and wounded refugees were pouring into the country. The plight of these people wrung the Quaid-i-Azam’s heart; in fact it had a very bad effect on his health. In order to rehabilitate the refugees the Quaid-i-Azam immediately ordered the formation of a relief committee in Karachi with Miss Fatima Jinnah as its president. In view of the gravity of the refugee problem in the Punjab, he also asked Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan to stay in the Punjab till the problem was brought under control. Begum Liaquat Ali Khan organised relief services in the Punjab, where there was a massive influx of refugees with a multitude of problems. She formed a Women’s Voluntary Service, and in response to her call women who had never done such work came out to serve in large numbers, so much so that in one day almost a thousand women enlisted themselves. An office was set up and they were assigned camp duties. I worked as secretary to this organisation with Begum Liaquat Ali Khan as its president. It will not be out of place if I mention that I was the Provincial Girl Guide Commissioner of the Punjab at the time of independence. Along with my Girl Guide volunteers I started work for the refugees, reaching from India on the morning of 15th August, 1947, at the Walton barracks where the first camp for the refugees was established by the Punjab Government

I was asked to help the commander in looking after the refugees.

The Quaid-i-Azam had constantly stressed the need for Muslim women's participation in all spheres of life, as an essential condition for progress. While outlining their expected role in the Muslim society, he laid a great deal of emphasis on their participation in politics and in social welfare work. He also stressed their great responsibility as mothers and teachers in proper upbringing of the young. On 28th March, 1948, in a broadcast from Radio Pakistan, Dacca, the Quaid-i-Azam said: "Nation-building and consolidation is a difficult task. Women have to play a very important role in this regard. Women are the prime architects of the character of the nation's youth, who form the backbone of the State. I am fully aware that Muslim women stood firmly behind their menfolk in the struggle for a separate homeland. And in the greater struggle for building up of Pakistan that now lies ahead, let it not be said that the women of Pakistan lagged behind or failed in their duty".

This statement amply demonstrates the Quaid-i-Azam's appreciation of women's service in the struggle for a separate homeland. It also illustrates his strong desire for women's participation in nation building activities. But here the emphasis is laid mainly on women's role as builders of the character of the nation's youth. It was his keen interest in the training of youth that led him to consider the matter of training young girls as useful citizens, conscious of their social and national obligations. At a time when the young nation of Pakistan was barely able to stand on its feet and there were numerous problems of varied dimensions to be tackled, the Quaid-i-Azam considered the training of young girls an equally vital matter.

I received a telephonic message from his Military Secretary on the 15th November, 1947, inviting me to the Governor's House, Lahore, at 5 p.m. the next day to meet the Quaid-i-Azam. I was very happy to receive this message, but being the Secretary of the Punjab Relief Committee in those days I thought I had been called probably in connection with

relief operations. When the great moment arrived and I was presented before the Quaid-i-Azam, little did I know that I was about to be entrusted with a sacred trust by the Father of the Nation. I still remember his unforgettable words : "Build up the young; they will serve the country". He entrusted me with the mission of organizing the Girls Guide movement throughout the country. This reflects the Quaid-i-Azam's interest in the progress and development of women of the younger generation to prepare them to face their responsibilities.

Later I met Miss Fatima Jinnah and discussed the details of organizing this movement. Consequently, as ordered by the Father of the Nation, I set off to work at once. A meeting of representatives from all the provinces was called by Miss Fatima Jinnah at the Governor-General's House, Karachi, on 27th December, 1947. She was requested to be the patron of the organization, which she graciously accepted. I was unanimously elected National Commissioner of Pakistan Girl Guides Association. I started the work of organising the Girl Guides movement with great zeal and enthusiasm in the whole country.

On 28th January, 1948, Miss Jinnah called me to Karachi. She informed me that the Quaid-i-Azam wanted me to attend the World Conference of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts to be held in the USA with the aim of the Pakistan Girl Guides Association becoming a member of the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts the same year. This responsibility was of great importance to me and I readily accepted it, for this would give me a chance to serve my country. It would, as the Quaid-i-Azam said, provide us an opportunity to acquaint the rest of the world with the existence of Pakistan as a separate state, distinct from India.

In July, 1948, when the Quaid-i-Azam came to Karachi from Ziarat, for the inauguration of the building of State Bank of Pakistan, I received a telegram from Miss Fatima Jinnah, asking me to come to Karachi. At that time the Quaid-i-Azam gave me the most valuable advice which was essential for representing my country abroad. Although it

is a digression from the topic in hand, yet I feel that the advice, coming as it did from the Father of the Nation, must be communicated to all. It also illustrates his meticulous attention to minor details, which I feel was the cause of his remarkable success in acquiring a separate homeland for the Muslims of the sub-continent. At that time so much work heavily taxed his energy. When I met him on this occasion the Quaid-i-Azam looked very weak and worn out. Yet he was working as hard as ever even against his doctors' orders. First and foremost he advised me that when going to a conference or on an official visit abroad you must call on your country's ambassador so that he knows the purpose of your visit. And if you need any advice take it from him because he knows the country more than you. If you can give him any suggestions then you must do so, especially with regard to publicity. And if you feel that your embassy personnel do not mix with people or that a worthy opinion does not prevail about them, you must tell them so. But you must be able to support your allegation by solid evidence so that they come to know that you are right.

The Quaid-i-Azam further said that when you go out of the country you are the personification of your country for the people there. Therefore, the way you behave or act, people will judge your country from that. You should be constantly vigilant that you do not commit a mistake which would be a cause of anxiety and degradation for your country. The Quaid-i-Azam also said that when you go for participation in some conference, the activities you undertake outside the conference hall are equally important, and sometimes more important, because you meet people and they meet you. They enquire about the conditions in your country and whatever you tell them they will believe you. Therefore, people intending to go out of the country should not utter anything which would be harmful for their country, or something which is not correct. If the country is faced by any problem, then you should be fully conversant with it, so that you may arouse public opinion in favour of your country. For instance, when I went to attend this conference, at that

time people wanted information regarding the refugee problem. Being a refugee myself, I was well versed with this problem.

I successfully accomplished my mission and the Pakistan Girl Guides Association was accepted as a member of the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts. When I was happily bound for my country, my joy soon turned sorrow. During the flight as the plane neared Karachi, the air-hostess mournfully informed us that the Father of the Nation had passed away. It was 11th September, 1948.

Our beloved Quaid-i-Azam had left for his heavenly abode, but in a short span of time after the formation of Pakistan he did not neglect the progress of women. In fact, the position of women was strongly entrenched in Pakistan by the Quaid-i-Azam. The part played by our women in the struggle for Independence and the appreciation of these efforts by the Father of the Nation gave women confidence and the urge to fight for their rights. Their dedicated efforts for rehabilitation of refugees showed their ability for social work. It was felt by all that involvement of women in development efforts of the country is essential.

The Quaid's concern to train young women to play their role in nation-building activities is evident from the way he took interest in establishing the Girl Guides movement in the country. Miss Fatima Jinnah remained the patron of the Association as long as she lived. She always gave me valuable advice in organisational matters of the Association and always made inspiring and heart-warming speeches at Girl Guide rallies and other functions. The Quaid's words, "Build up the young; they will serve the country", always ring in my ears. My colleagues and I continue to work hard to train young women and girls. The Pakistan Girl Guides Association is today a well-established and strong organisation in Pakistan.

After the refugees had been settled down, it was realized that a women's organisation be established in Pakistan. Representatives of women from all the provinces of Pakistan were invited by Begum Liaquat Ali Khan to a meeting at Prime Minister's House at Karachi in January, 1949. Begum

Liaquat Ali Khan was unanimously elected President of All-Pakistan Women's Association, and I was elected General Secretary. I held this office from January 1949 to October 1950.

Women in Pakistan today are given representation at all political levels and they play a great part in the field of social welfare. Our Prime Minister, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, is very anxious that women be given every opportunity to play their full part in national life. We are fortunate to have Begum Nusrat Bhutto, our First Lady, deeply interested in the progress of women. She encourages women's organisations and gives them her support and help.

Our Constitution unequivocally safeguards the fundamental right of equality of women. It lays down that "There shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex alone." This article contains no qualifying clause and in case of violation of this fundamental right, legal remedy, through the superior court, is available to women in Pakistan. Besides, the constitutional principles of policy provide that steps shall be taken to ensure the full participation of women in national life and that the State shall protect marriage, the family, the mother and the child.

In the implementation of these provisions, significant measures have been taken, aimed at improving the lot of women in both rural and urban areas. Women's participation in our national politics and development efforts have increased and they are making a valuable contribution to national decision-making process. All avenues of employment are open to them. The women in Pakistan are showing new sense of national responsibility and service from their growing contribution and role in national reconstruction work.

A National Commission for the Status of Women has been set up by the Government to go through the Family Laws and suggest what changes and improvements can be brought about for the betterment of women. The Commission consists of eminent men and women, and we hope its decision will go a long way to improve the status of women in Pakistan. On the other hand, women will have to play their part

towards the building up of a strong and prosperous Pakistan. In this way the women will be fulfilling the important role foreseen by the Father of the Nation, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.



Begum Khudeja G. A. Khan (B. A., B. T.) is daughter of the late Mr. Ghulam Mohsanin Khan, Home Minister, Faridkot State, and widow of the late Col. G. A. Khan, I. M.S. Inspector General of Prisons, Punjab.

In the field of social welfare work, Begum G. A. Khan is Honorary National Commissioner, Pakistan Girl Guides Association, since December, 1947; and Member, Punjab Social Services Board, since 1973. She has also been actively associated with Pakistan Women's Voluntary Service, All-Pakistan Women's Association (APWA), and Pakistan Red Cross (now Pakistan Red Crescent Society).

She was Parliamentary Secretary, Education, Punjab Government (1953—1956); Deputy Minister for Social Welfare West Pakistan (1956—1958); and Member, Pakistan National Assembly (1962 to 1969).

As National Girl Guide Commissioner she represented Pakistan at the World Conference of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts held in USA in 1948; was leader of the Pakistan Girl Guides delegation to the World Conferences of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts held in Denmark (1963) and in Japan (1966); visited People's Republic of China and the USSR as a member of the National Assembly Parliamentary Delegation in 1966 and 1967, respectively; and was member of the Pakistan delegation to the United Nations General Assembly session (1975).

By Khurshid Ara Begum Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan

Women and Independence

THE world has seen many a leader who changed the course of history and created new horizons, but there have been few who could put life into a politically dead people and transform their uncertain, hopeless attitude towards life and future into a powerful volition to live a respectable life and rise and who compelled the majority to accede to the wishes of the minority to carve out an independent state for itself. The annals of history are full of the accounts of warriors who conquered big empires and created new political boundaries but there are few examples of a country coming into being on ideological basis and by means of negotiations. Pakistan is largely the result of the strong character, excellent political acumen, determination, farsightedness and unwavering decisions of one man.

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah respected women very much and recognised the greatness of their role in society. He used to love his mother very much and he always obeyed her, even if it was against his wishes. After the death of his mother the centre of his love was his sisters, particularly the younger sister Miss Fatima Jinnah. Actually, Miss Fatima Jinnah's growing up and education were done as per the desire of the Quaid-i-Azam. Miss Fatima Jinnah also loved her worthy brother very much, to the extent of devotion. The Quaid-i-Azam did not simply love her but respected her a lot. Though she was much younger than he, yet whenever

Miss Fatima Jinnah entered a room the Quaid-i-Azam was in, he used to get up out of her respect for her. Miss Fatima Jinnah wanted to be a dentist, and to this the Quaid agreed. During those days, Bombay was the only place in India where neither women's education nor employment was looked down upon among Muslims; ordinarily women in the Bombay province did not observe purdah. The Quaid-i-Azam did not approve of purdah. He believed in purdah as is expected in Islam, and not just putting a veil over the face.

The Quaid-i-Azam was a great advocate of women's emancipation from the shackles of dependence on men, but of course within the moral and religious limits. He never favoured unrestrained independence of women. He was convinced that illiteracy of women was the real cause of superstitious thinking or false pride among people. As a lawyer, whenever a law suit was brought to him for his legal assistance regarding a widow being deprived of her inheritance of her husband's property by her in-laws, he used to be deeply grieved. The Quaid shared the view that illiteracy, lack of a woman's contact with the outside world, and too rigid observance of purdah were the causes of women's victimisation. He was all for getting a rightful place for women.

When the All-India Muslim League was rejuvenated, the Quaid-i-Azam nominated Begum Maulana Mohammad Ali as a member of Central Working Committee, and women were given representation in the Council of All-India Muslim League. I distinctly remember seeing ladies—Begum Jahanara Shah Nawaz, Begum Ezaz Rasool, Lady Nusrat Haroon and others — sitting on the dais with the Quaid-i-Azam at the annual sessions of All-India Muslim League whether held in Dacca, Calcutta, Patna, Karachi, Delhi, Madras, Lahore, or Lucknow. In 1938, during the All-India Muslim League session in Patna, the women unanimously decided to present a resolution that women's sub-committees of All-India Muslim League should be formed. A resolution to this effect was presented by Begum Habibullah, which was very much appreciated by the Quaid-i-Azam, and the resolution was passed. In every province of India, educated women and social workers

were selected and sub-committees were formed. The task of every provincial sub-committee was to form in turn either district or city sub-committees so that programmes and objectives of the Muslim League were propagated among the Muslim women of India, by holding monthly meetings in every locality.

As I was nominated a member of the Central Committee, I started organising the special sub-committee of ladies in my former province of C. P. and Berar. Diwanzadi Nadir Jahan Begum, Salim-uz-Zahra Saheba and other educated ladies enthusiastically cooperated with me in this important assignment. My former province of C. P. and Berar was quite a backward area as far as Muslim women's education was concerned. The ladies of Nawab families never set foot outside their homes. In these conditions of traditional prejudices, it was very difficult, rather impossible, for the women's Muslim League to accomplish the assigned task. However, we did break the ice with a certain amount of success.

I met the Quaid-i-Azam in 1938 at Patna, at the residence of Barrister Sir Muhammad Ismail. I used to wear burqa in those days. At the suggestion of my husband I put off the burqa for the first time in my life before meeting the Quaid-i-Azam. It will not be out of place to narrate my experience of this first meeting with the Quaid-i-Azam. I knew that he was an extremely well-dressed person who was greatly time-conscious and was a man of unshaken principles with a sterling character. I had an unknown fear of him. When I entered the drawing room, my eyes were fixed on the floor and my feet were trembling. As I looked up, I saw the Quaid-i-Azam standing before me to receive me. I said Assalam-o-alaikum, he replied and stretched his hand for a hand-shake. I slightly bowed down and shook hands. My husband was very happy to see this, as he knew that I was the daughter of a renowned Qazi and had strong religious convictions; hence he was skeptical if I would shake hands. The Quaid-i-Azam inquired about the journey and invited me to attend his public meetings.

When the Central Girls College, Nagpur, where I was a Professor of Urdu and Persian, closed for summer vacations, I left for Delhi to join my husband, the late Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan who was a Member of the Central Legislative Assembly of India. Four or five days after my arrival in Delhi, the Quaid-i-Azam and Miss Fatima Jinnah invited both of us to lunch at their residence 10, Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi. Though I had met the Quaid before, yet I felt nervous under the dynamic influence of his personality. During the discourse I informed him about the work done by the Muslim women's sub-committees in my province. The Quaid-i-Azam was interested in knowing the problems and difficulties being encountered. I told him the Muslim women were reluctant to come to meetings, so we went from house to house and explained to them the message of Muslim League. We explained to them that we Muslims were downtrodden, that the Hindus and the British were crushing us.

When I told the Quaid-i-Azam about the antagonism of the Hindus, he assured me that there was no need to be disheartened, and that they would also be set right. On my telling him that though some women made fun of our determination of achieving Pakistan others joined us in shouting the Pakistan slogan, a brilliant smile appeared on his dry face and made it look fresh. After patiently listening to me, the Quaid-i-Azam assured me that women could play a very important role in nation-building. He told me that in the Punjab women had done a lot of work. He expressed very good sentiments about the women's ability and capacity to work hard for the achievement of Pakistan.

Elated after meeting the Quaid-i-Azam, I returned to Nagpur to work with new zeal for political awakening among our women. I called a meeting of the sub-committee and we started our zealous efforts for the achievement of Pakistan. Our goal was Pakistan and our duty was to obey the Quaid-i-Azam.

The Quaid-i-Azam desired the development of women into a big force. Because of his inspiring, constructive and genuinely sincere leadership the Muslim women of India kept

on working day and night throughout the length and breadth of the country to conquer hill-high problems. By the grace of God, political consciousness was soon created among the women and they developed the courage and confidence to march forward and work along with men.

The Pakistan Resolution, passed in 1940 in the historic city of Lahore, inspired the Muslim women to work with greater zeal for the achievement of national goal. The Punjab women were more educated, more enthusiastic, and had better political understanding. In the hot political climate of the province, the Khizar Hayat Khan administration arrested all the lady top leaders of Muslim League, because they had led a procession of women against the government there. The President of Sind Women's Sub-Committee, Lady Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, and Begum Shabaan, Secretary of the Sub-Committee, went to the Punjab to take part in the political agitation there. Lady Hidayatullah has mentioned that many women from Sind were ready to go to the Punjab to participate in the processions but there were specific instructions from the Punjab Muslim League not to send many women because of nefarious intentions of Khizar Hayat administration.

The responsibility to lead an important procession was entrusted to Lady Hidayatullah. She was holding the Muslim League flag, and was leading the procession. The purpose of this procession was to get the Pakistan Resolution accepted by means of peaceful civil disobedience. On its way to the provincial Secretariat building, the women in the procession were encircled by a police force. There was a lathi-charge and tear gas, but the procession kept on moving and finally entered the building of the provincial Secretariat. Lady Hidayatullah asked one of the girls of the Muslim League National Guard to climb up the building and hoist the Muslim League flag there. That brave girl did the job with extreme confidence and courage. When the Quaid-i-Azam heard of it, a smile of victory played on his lips. He congratulated the women, particularly that brave girl. Unfortunately no one knows her name, but our future generations will remember

that courageous girl of the Punjab whenever the contribution of our women in the struggle for the achievement of Pakistan is mentioned. Her deed was a milestone in the Muslim women's efforts under the able and encouraging leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam. In every province of undivided India, Muslim women were holding meetings and taking out processions. Ladies who had seldom come out of their houses were active in the political field with their burqas on. All this happened because of the Quaid's encouragement to women. Many a time he said emphatically that if half of the nation was in slumbers then success would never dawn on the horizon of progress. He not only taught us women to knock at the door of hope but showed us the secret way of opening its lock with determination and action.

It is said that the Quaid-i-Azam was stiff in his attitude, but my experience is contrary to this observation. I found him condescending, sympathetic and kind.

In the prime of winter in 1941, my husband and I had just returned to Nagpur from my home city of Amraoti after attending the marriage of my younger sister Bilquis Jamal when the provincial administration arrested my husband, the late Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan, under the Defence of India Rules. The charge was that my husband had adversely criticised the British Government in a public meeting. He had indeed made a speech criticising the British action in Iran, and this gave the congress Government of the province an excuse to arrest my husband.

Brisk preparations were being made in those days for a grand meeting of All-India Muslim Students Federation at Nagpur. The Quaid-i-Azam was to preside over this meeting, and my husband was making the necessary preparations for it. When the Muslim population came to know of my husband's arrest they became more enthusiastic and worked still harder to make the Muslim Students Federation meeting a spectacular success. The Quaid-i-Azam presided over the mammoth meeting, and it was a great success. When I reached the venue of the meeting, the whole area echoed with the slogans of Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad and Siddiq-e-Millat Zindabad

in honour of my husband. The Quaid-i-Azam and Miss Fatima Jinnah personally received me on the dais. This is how the Quaid-i-Azam used to pay respect to a woman.

The next day there was an important meeting of the Central Working Committee of All-India Muslim League. The Quaid-i-Azam was extremely busy, but when Miss Fatima Jinnah informed him of my arrival and of my request to see him, he immediately came out put his hand on my head and sympathised with me over my husband's arrest. A few days later it was Eid day. Around 9 a.m. a car stopped in front of my house and I was informed that the Quaid-i-Azam and Miss Fatima Jinnah had come. I went out to receive them. Miss Fatima Jinnah came out of the car and asked me to accompany them to attend the Eid prayers, as it was the Quaid's wish. The Quaid-i-Azam made me sit beside him and wished me the best on the Eid occasion. Tears came into my eyes. Miss Jinnah pacified. After the Eid prayers the Quaid-i-Azam dropped me back at my residence. This shows how kind the Quaid was to women.

It was Friday the 27th of Ramazan-ul-Mubarak, 1947 Pakistan had appeared on the world map. It was a very hot day, but thousands, rather iacs, of Musalmans were going for prayers. Everyone was very happy. Many women had gone to congratulate the Quaid-i-Azam on the achievement of Pakistan. A number of them with their husbands were inside shaking hands with the Quaid-i-Azam, Miss Fatima Jinnah, Lord Mountbatten and Lady Mountbatten. The Quaid-i-Azam was very tired, but happiness mixed with gratitude was visible from his eyes. Particularly for women, his looks were silently conveying the message that you deserve congratulations the most.

Around the end of 1947, the women's sub-committee of Sind Muslim League, with Lady Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah as President, invited the Quaid-i-Azam to congratulate him on the creation of Pakistan. For the financial help of the sub-committee invitation cards were sold. So many women attended this function that no space was left on the lawns of Sind Governor's House. No bearers were engaged to serve

refreshments. The women office-bearers and others served the huge gathering. The Quaid-i-Azam was very happy. Addressing the gathering he said, "Half of Pakistan is yours because you have put in no less effort to achieve it than the men." This is how the Quaid-i-Azam recognised the worth of women as a force and placed them in equality with men.

Women played a significant role in the creation of Pakistan; even after its creation they worked day and night for its prosperity, stability and integrity. The Founder of Pakistan gave women a very important and high place by associating them practically in the struggle for the achievement of Pakistan. He was a very enlightened leader and a true Muslim who sincerely wanted that women should get a status equal to that of men — a status which Islam has granted to them.



Khurshid Ara Begum, wife of the late Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan, who was a trustworthy comrade of the Quaid-i-Azam, was Professor of Urdu and Persian in Central College for Women, Nagpur (C.P., India).

She took active part in the Pakistan movement along with her worthy husband and was a Member of All-India Muslim League Women's Sub-Committee and President of Muslim League Women's Committees of C. P. and Berar. In Pakistan, she was Education Secretary of APWA, Karachi Branch, and started several girl's and boy's schools. Now she is a Member of Honour in APWA and Chairman, Gul-e-Rana Nusrat Community Centre. She is also the founder of Khurshid Government Degree College, Karachi.

In Kenya, Ethiopia and Ceylon, where her husband was Ambassador of Pakistan, Begum Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan established adult education centres, industrial homes and First Aid classes for Muslim women.

She writes poetry in Urdu and Persian and is a good orator.

Muslim Women's Liberation Movement

By Dr. Parveen Shaukat Ali, M.A., M.Litt., Ph. D.
Barrister-at-Law

LIVES of great men constitute a perennial source of inspiration and instruction. In their thoughts and reflections one finds the highest ideals and supreme values which guide men and women on the bewildering pathways of life and provide a sense of direction. In their needs lies the destiny of nations. It is a well-known fact of modern history that the Quaid-i-Azam ranks very high among the greatest men of our times. Out of the confused and perplexing web of politics of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent under the British rule, he created a nation which, during less than thirty years of its existence, has earned a place of respect and growing prestige among the nations of the world. His sagacity, courage and superb qualities of leadership have been recognized by friends and foes alike, and he is praised for his unimpeachable moral and professional integrity.

During the critical years of the struggle for independence, he piloted the movement of Pakistan with rare excellence of statesmanship. He was convinced that without the creation of a new Islamic state, the Muslims of the subcontinent would never be able to achieve the objectives of cultural regeneration, economic prosperity and political stability in their national life. His vision of Pakistan was very comprehensive. He wanted that the citizens of the new state should build up a system which would be progressive, dynamic and rational and whose spirit would be in consonance with the eternal ideals of Islam.

While inaugurating the Pakistan Broadcasting Service on August 15, 1947, the Quaid-i-Azam explained the future of the new state in the following words : "The creation of the new state has placed a tremendous responsibility on the citizens of Pakistan. It gives them an opportunity to demonstrate to the world how a nation, containing many elements, can live in peace and amity and work for the betterment of all its citizens, irrespective of caste and creed. Our object should be peace within and peace without. This day marks the end of a poignant phase in our national history and it should be the beginning of a new and noble era."¹

On August 18, 1947, the Quaid-i-Azam issued an Eid message which would remain for ever a beacon light for the people of Pakistan. It showed his complete sincerity and everlasting hope that the new nation would be oriented towards achievement and its contribution towards the development of human civilization would be constructive and solid. He said : "I fervently pray that God Almighty make us all worthy of our past and hoary history and give us strength to make Pakistan truly a great nation, amongst all the nations of the world. No doubt, we have achieved Pakistan, but that is yet the beginning of an end. Great responsibilities have come to us and equally great should be our determination and endeavour to discharge them and the fulfilment thereof will demand of us efforts and sacrifices in the cause no less for constructive work in building up of our nation than what was required for the achievement of the cherished goal of Pakistan. The time for real solid work has arrived, and I have no doubt in my mind that the Muslim genius will put its shoulder to the wheel and conquer all obstacles in our way on the road which may appear uphill."²

The above quotations and there are countless other references in his writings, speeches and statements which provide an eloquent testimony to the constant concern of the

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1. M. Rafique Afzal (Ed.) *Selected Speeches and Statements of the Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah*. Lahore Research Society of Pakistan, 1973, pp 428-429.
 2. M. H. Saiyid. *Mohammad Ali Jinnah: A Political Study*. Karachi, Elite Publishers Limited, 1970, p. 316.

Quaid-i-Azam about the future of the nation that he had created. He expected every citizen, man and woman, to rise to the occasion and shoulder the responsibilities with the same zeal and zest which had been shown for the miraculous birth of Pakistan.

The Quaid-i-Azam was convinced that Pakistan was not merely a political movement, but also a great sociological revolution through which the people of the new state would free themselves from customs and orthodoxies which had retarded the progress of the Muslims for such a long time. His approach to every issue was rational and moral. His love for equality was so strong and profound that discrimination in any shape and form was intellectually stifling for him. In particular the traditional sex discrimination which had plagued Muslim societies for centuries was abhorrent to his mind. He fully realized that the limitations and inadequacies to which Muslim women had been subjected were un-Islamic and completely derogatory to the dignity and ideals that had been the hallmark of the doctrine of Islam.

The restrictions on the freedom of women, and the denial of their legitimate rights, he thought, was the tragedy of the first magnitude. It had economically and socially paralyzed the better half of the community. Ignorance, conservatism and non-productive role of the Muslim women had become the biggest stigma on Islam, and its enemies frequently used it to castigate the Islamic doctrine. Islam was labelled as completely antithetical to creativity and progress. The status which a society accords to its women is considered an extremely pertinent yardstick to assess the level of its civilization. Since for centuries women in the Muslim world had been given a very low status and an insignificant role in the affairs of society, critics always tended to believe that Islam as a religious ideology was retrogressive. The Quaid-i-Azam was fully aware that the only way to remove this stigma was to confer upon women a position of respect, which had been given to them by the Holy Prophet of Islam. They were to be made an activating force in every walk of national life.

In this estimate, the Quaid-i-Azam was perfectly right. No other religion in the world had done so much in defence

of women's rights than Islam, and yet it was in Muslim societies that they had been rendered intellectually, socially and economically helpless and ineffectual. The anguish of the tragedy increased manifold when one remembered that it was under the inspiration of the Quran that Islam produced Rabia Basri, whose intellectual and mystical achievements outdistanced the most luminous attainments of many an eminent Imam. There were countless other instances where Muslim women had left imperishable mark on the fabric of Islamic civilization.

Feminist Movements

Muslim women in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent had started a feminist revolt against male domination at the turn of this century, but it was only after the assumption of the leadership of the Pakistan movement by the Quaid-i-Azam that Muslim women became a very important factor in national life. In the beginning, the feminist movement among the Muslim women of the subcontinent was of little significance. A majority of them lived in *pardah*. Buried in the seclusion of domestic life, they had ceased to perform any useful work in society. What happened outside the four walls of the house was of little concern to them. Gradually, however, there came a wind of change and courageous women like Attiya Faizi not only discarded the veil, but demanded equal share in the social and political life of the community.

The Rt. Honourable Amir Ali, in his classic work *Spirit of Islam* explained in unequivocal terms that Islam had been the greatest benefactor of womankind. He pointed out that by downgrading the status of women in society, the Muslims had done most grievous damage to the Islamic civilization. There were many voices of protest against such an outlook, but once the feminist movement among the Muslims of the subcontinent had been launched it was difficult to stop it. In 1915 the Begum of Bhopal founded the All-India Muslim Women's Organization, and in March 1917, at Muslim Ladies Conference was held in Lahore to find ways and means by which the welfare of the Muslim women in the subcontinent could be ensured. Begum Shaft and Begum Shah Din were

the moving spirit of this Conference and they drafted several resolutions in support of the cause which in their opinion could improve the miserable lot of women.¹

During the inter-war period, many leading families of the Punjab, like Sir Muhammad Shafi, Justice Shah Din, Nawab Mohammad Hayat Khan of Wah and Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, allowed their women to break the shackles of customary restraints in order to take an active part in the public life of the community. In the field of politics, Bi Amman, mother of Maulana Mohammad Ali Jouhar and Maulana Shaukat Ali, set an example of rare courage and sacrifice before the Muslim women. These developments were episodal no doubt, but the tempo of the emancipation of women was still very slow. Millions of them were sunk deep in lethargy, ignorance and backwardness. Un-Islamic customs, arbitrary divorce, irrational demands of dowry and tyrannies of polygamy continued to exercise a vicious influence over their lives. Except for a handful of educated women politics was a forbidden fruit for the rest of them.

Muslim Women and the Quaid

In 1937, the Quaid-i-Azam took charge of the Muslim League and under his inspiring and dynamic leadership the Muslim nation in the subcontinent started pulsating with the new hopes and ideals. Its destiny became radiant and was lit with fresh aspirations. There was a general crusade against stagnation which had eroded the foundations of the Muslim civilization. One of the cardinal features of this transformation was that women were brought into the forefront of the struggle for independence. A special Women's Committee was created to increase the enrolment of women in the Muslim League. To further fortify their position in politics the Quaid-i-Azam appointed Begum Shams-un-Nahar Mahmud and Begum Shah Nawaz as members of the All-India Muslim League Council.

In 1938, the Muslim League made the uplift and welfare of Muslim women as one of the fundamental principles of its

1. Jehanara Shahnawaz. *Father and Daughter: A Political Autobiography*, Lahore, 1971, p. 50.

programme. At the Patna session of the League in December of that year a special resolution was adopted on the role of women, which highlighted in concrete and precise terms their role in the future set-up of the Muslim society. It said : "The League as the sole representative of the political aspirations of the Muslims had special responsibility to guide women in a manner that they could become equal partners in the social, economic and cultural uplift of the Muslim society as a whole.¹

The incentive provided by the magnetic personality of the Quaid-i-Azam was so great that in a short period of three years women's committees had been organized practically in every province of the sub-continent to publicize the cause of Pakistan and galvanize the scattered and disheartened Muslim community on one platform. This sudden appearance of the Muslim women who were traditionally known to be backward and secluded, in the practical politics of the nation was unquestionably one of the greatest events in the annals of modern Islam. Chanting and signing the hymns of Muslim nationalism, they courted all kinds of trials and tribulations with grace and dignity.

At the Lahore Session of the League, where the famous Lahore Resolution was adopted, women leaders travelled from the remotest parts of the subcontinent to participate in its deliberations, and their sincerity and dedication gave additional lustre and richness to the proceedings. S.H. Mirza described this spectacle in the following words: "On 22nd March, 1940, the first day of the annual session of the All-India Muslim League, a huge gathering of Muslim women from all over the sub-continent was present to lend support to the League cause. It was reported that the special feature of the Session was the appearance of such a large number of Muslim women in a public function of this sort. Young female volunteers lined up the path from the entrance to the pandal and to the dais, and sang League songs and poems."²

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1. cf. *Parveen Shaukat Ali. Status of Women in the Muslim World*, Lahore, Aziz Publishers, 1975, p. 66.
 2. S. H. Mirza. *Muslim Women's Role in the Pakistan Movement*. Lahore, 1969, p.45.

After this, the Muslim women worked at every step of the struggle tirelessly, and the Quaid-i-Azam gave them every possible encouragement to participate on a footing of equality with men in all spheres of national life. In a speech delivered at the Jinnah Islamia College for Girls, Lahore on November 22, 1942, he asked for the cooperation of women for the Pakistan Movement in the following words : "I am glad to see that not only Muslim men but Muslim women and children also have understood the Pakistan scheme. No nation can make any progress without the cooperation of its women. If Muslim women support their men as they did in the days of the Prophet, we would soon realize our goal."¹

In another speech at Nawan Kot near Lahore, the Quaid-i-Azam remarked that human civilization had been moved by the force of the pen. He emphasised that there was another dynamic propulsion which had shaped the destiny of mankind. In his opinion this creative thrust was the women. He advised the Muslim women to cultivate in their heart and soul a righteous ambition to play a positive role in national life.²

After the Lahore Resolution of 1940, the Muslim women of the sub-continent under the direction of the Quaid entered a new era of progress. They became conscious of their public responsibilities outside the limited circle of domestic life. They became action-oriented and made serious efforts to emancipate themselves from the bondage of hackneyed customs which had crippled their creative faculties. In the annual session of the All-India Muslim League, held in April 1943, the Central Sub-Committee of the All-India Muslim Women's League was reorganized, and the scope of its activities was expanded a great deal. The Quaid impressed upon the women leaders that education is the key to human greatness and is a source of enlightenment and rationality. He pointed out that through education alone they would be able to eradicate the un-Islamic

1. Rizwan Ahmed (ed) *Sayings of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah*. Karachi, 1974 p.98.

2. S. H. Mirza, *op. cit.*, pp.44-50.

impurities which had polluted the intellectual and moral climate in the Muslim society.

In reply to the welcome address before a large gathering of Muslim Girl Students Federation at Lahore on 26th March, 1944, he said that many impurities and un-Islamic things had crept into the Muslim society and it was the task of Muslim educational institutions to educate their children on right lines with a view to enabling them to live the Islamic life."¹

The Muslim women's organizations all over the sub-continent reposed complete confidence in the leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam. Whenever he made an appeal, their response was always spontaneous and whole-hearted. In 1945, the Quaid made a special appeal to Muslim women to give unstinted support to the Muslim League in provincial and central elections. Immediately after the call came from the Quaid-i-Azam, the Central Sub-Committee and the Provincial Women's Sub-Committee in the Punjab held a special meeting and passed the following resolution : "This meeting of the Central Women's Committee of the All 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 organization."²

These elections were extremely crucial to the future of our nation. The Muslim League won thumping victories in the Central and the Provincial legislatures and confirmed beyond any shadow of doubt that the League was the sole representative body of the Muslims of the subcontinent, and demonstrated in unmistakable terms that Pakistan was their only objective. The dedication and the heart-warming sacrifices which the Muslim women made during these elections will always remain a luminous chapter of the history of the feminist movement in Pakistan. They valiantly suffered police repression, and with undying courage went to jails for the cause of Pakistan. The name of the Quaid ignited in their

1. cf. S. H. Mirza, *op. cit* , p. 71.

2. *The Eastern Times*, October 14, 1945.

reaherts the ternal flame of trust and confidence. After the elections, Begum Aizaz Rasool, Secretary of the Women's Central Sub-Committee, issued the following statement on the success of the Muslim League and the role women played in this historic achievement : "It is a matter of great gratification that Muslim women who were generally supposed to be backward and apathetic, suddenly woke up to their duties and responsibilities and have played a very significant part in these elections. They can justly claim every share in the League's success. From the reports I am receiving from every province and from my own personal experience gained during my tours in connection with the election campaign, I am glad to say that this stupendous awakening amongst Muslim women is universal".¹

It was not only in the field of politics that Muslim women listened to the revered Quaid, even in humanitarian work they gave him the maximum support. After the elections, there were murderous communal riots in Bihar in which hundreds of innocent Muslims were killed by the Hindus. The Congress government of the province failed to protect their lives and property. In this state of helplessness and despondency, the Quaid made an appeal to Muslims to subscribe generously to the Bihar Relief Fund, which he had instituted under his personal supervision. Muslim women answered the appeal with legendry devotion. Women's committees in each province collected funds, clothes and other articles of necessity in large quantities. In the Punjab, the Committee observed Bihar Relief Day and on November 13, 1946, they held a public meeting at the Barkat Ali Islamia Hall and passed the following resolution, a copy of which was also sent to the Viceroy. It stated : "This mass meeting of thousands of Muslim women of the Punjab unanimously protests against Bihar Ministry's failure to protect life, honour and property of Muslims and calls 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

1. cf. S. H. Mirza, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

entirely yours".¹

The year preceding the establishment of Pakistan was perhaps the most critical period of the history of the Pakistan movement. The nation was passing through the twilight zone of hope and despair, and the forces of darkness and destruction had engulfed the whole subcontinent. At this moment the Muslim women under the leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam showed unprecedented spirit of combat and loyalty. In schools and colleges, from street corners and house tops, they spoke with missionary zeal for the rights of the Muslims. The Committee of Action of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League appreciated the work of the Muslim women in these words : "We are proud of Muslim women of the Punjab who have led the vanguard of our movement and whose heroism and courage will remain an abiding inspiration to all the Muslims of India. Cowardice and defeat cannot darken the hearts over which such heroines preside."²

During the course of the referendum in the Frontier Province, the women of that province worked fearlessly and defeated the nefarious intentions of the enemies of Pakistan. After the success of the referendum in favour of Pakistan, the Quaid-i-Azam paid the following tribute to the women of the Frontier Province : "I cannot but express my appreciation of the sufferings and sacrifices made by all the classes of Mussalmans and particularly the great part the women of the Frontier played in the fight for our civil liberties".³

The glory of Pakistan and preservation of the sanctity of the fundamentals of Islam were the ruling passions of the Quaid-i-Azam. As the historian of the future with an anxious hindsight would assess the tumultuous and turbulent march of events of the twentieth century, he would certainly rank him among the greatest nation-builders of our times. His granite will and rock-like determination surmounted innumerable difficulties. His charismatic halocast a spell over teeming multitudes of Mussalmans in every nook and corner of the subcontinent. The enormity of the challenge

1. *The Eastern Times*, November 15, 1946

2. cf. S. H. Mirza, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-94.

3. cf. S. H. Mirza, *op. cit.*, p.113.

never discouraged him; and in "Faith, Unity and Discipline" he found the master key which could unlock the treasures of wisdom and valour for mankind.

He delivered his most inspiring message about the future of Pakistan in a speech on October 30, 1947 before the biggest public gathering in the history of Lahore. He said: "Do not be overwhelmed by the enormity of the task. There are many examples in history of young nations building themselves up by sheer determination and force of character. You are made of sterling material and are second to none. Why should you also not succeed like many others, like your own forefathers. You have only to develop the spirit of the Mujahids. You are a nation whose history is replete with the people of wonderful grit, character and heroism. Live up to your traditions and add to it another chapter of glory."

The Quaid-i-Azam was also convinced that the history of Islam and particularly the biography of the Holy Prophet were immeasurable reservoirs of wisdom, guidance and prudence. One only needs faith, character and intelligence, and the entire canvas of human goodness is uncovered in the spiritually and morally radiant life story of the Prophet of Islam. In an address before the Karachi Bar Association, the Quaid gave expression to his adoration for the Prophet in the following words: "The Prophet was a great teacher. He was a great law-giver. He was a great statesman, and he was a great sovereign who ruled the Muslim Community by spiritual doctrines. Islam is a code for every Muslim, which regulates his life and conduct even in politics and economics and the like. It is based on the higher principles of honour, integrity, fairplay and justice for all. In Islam there is no difference between men and women. The qualities of equality, liberty and fraternity are the fundamental principles of Islam."

In short, the preservation of Pakistan and defence of Islam constituted the cornerstone of the thinking of the Quaid. He was convinced that in the creation of Pakistan men and women had been equal partners, and the ideology of Islam had given women certain unique privileges which if meticulously observed, could make them a very creative force in the Muslim

society. To demonstrate this conviction in practice he gave his revered sister, Miss Fatima Jinnah, a very prominent role in his political career. She accompanied him in the long and time-consuming tours of the subcontinent and helped him a great deal in organizing various Muslim women committees. She appeared with him in public meetings, and set a sterling example of dedication and devotion to the cause of Pakistan.

The Quaid was an enlightened Muslim and was fully conscious of the fact that Islam in its original form was a dynamic social philosophy in which rights and freedoms of men and women had been guaranteed in a rational manner. Both had a mission, a purpose and a highly constructive role to play in the general welfare of society. He hoped that Islamic orthodoxies and imperfections which had contaminated the Muslim social system would be eliminated in Pakistan. Improvement in the status of women was among the things closest to his heart. He believed that Pakistan would harvest cultural, social and intellectual glories only through the joint efforts of men and women.

Scholars in the field of nation-building and development in the Third World are familiar with the fact that speed is the essence of civilization in the new states. They are all being overwhelmed by the "revolution of rising expectations". Social turmoil and economic fermentation seem to have become the order of the day. Welfare of the masses is the sole objective, but the path is strewn with countless hindrances and imponderables. The Quaid with his sage-like vision saw that Pakistan was on the march towards fullness of nationhood. The attainment of the goals of social progress and economic prosperity involved prompt decisions, and every source of human energy had to be utilized to achieve the objective of universal equality and welfare of the masses. Women in his opinion had a great creative potential, and unless they were activated to participate gainfully and effectively in the mainstream of national life, most of the plans and programmes would fail to materialize.

Historians of all shades of opinion would agree that the women of Pakistan are under a debt of eternal gratitude

to the Quaid. He infused in them love for freedom, dedication and loyalty to the ideals of Islam and placed them on a footing of equality with men in every walk of life. His message, his mission, his zeal, and his honesty will remain a beacon light for all times to come. It is our hope, belief and prayer that the future of Pakistan will ever remain radiant with the spirit of the Quaid's devotion, sincerity and integrity.



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She was Fulbright Scholar (1955-56) at Stanford University, California, U. S. A., and Commonwealth Scholar, Durham University, England, in 1960-62.

Aside from "*The Political Philosophy of Iqbal*" (1970), she has three more books to her credit : *Status of Women in the Muslim World* (1975), *Women in the Third World* (1975), and *Pillars of British Imperialism* (1976). She is currently teaching at Lady MacLagan Training College, Lahore.



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