

# Periodic Research

## Political Philosophy of Majlis-i-Ahrar Party in Colonial Punjab



**Renu Gosain**

Associate Professor,  
Deptt. of History,  
Guru Nanak Khalsa College,  
Karnal

### Abstract

Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam (MAI) was a conservative Sunni Muslim political party founded in 1929. This party was religio-sectarian by birth, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal by ideology and nationalist by passion. Although it died an early death but it left a great impact on major cities of Punjab like Amritsar, Lahore, Sialkot, Multan, Ludhiana and Gurdaspur. By the early 1930s, the Majlis-i-Ahrar-Islam had become an important political party of Muslims in the Punjab. In its political career, it struggled for political and constitutional issues for the poor and middle class Muslims. This paper throws light on the leadership of Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam, its political programme, its performance in electoral politics in and outside the legislature. These issues are vital for Indian nationalism, Muslim identity politics and the developments within Punjab, the political heartland of the MAI.

By the early 1930s, the Majlis-i-Ahrar-Islam had become an important political party of Muslims in the Punjab. Its agitation in the princely states, and mobilisation on socio-religious issues, earned it an important position in regional politics. Besides these campaigns, the MAI also participated in the mainstream political developments of British India between 1931 to 1947. The relations between Ahrar and Jinnah strengthened in mid-1930s but this alliance was short-lived. Ahrar leadership, left out in the political wilderness, started a defamation campaign against the Muslim League, Lahore resolution and Jinnah which further discredited it among the people. During early 1942, Ahrar tried to regain its old glory but failed to attract the people. Finally, it lost the 1946 elections which compelled it to revisit its politics and ideology.

**Keywords:** Majlis-i-Ahrar, Unionist Party, Punjab Muslim League, Jinnah.

### Introduction

The Jallianwala Bagh massacre of 1919 and the disintegration of the Khilafat Movement in 1922 gave birth to numerous organizations not only in the Punjab but also in the former NWFP, Bengal, UP, Bihar, Kashmir etc. After some shifts and jerks in the 1920s, the Khilafat Committee and the All India National Congress disintegrated into numerous territorial and ethnic factions. Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam was one of them, confined to the Punjab. Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam (MAI) was founded in Lahore on Dec 29, 1929. From the very beginning, it had a variety of leaders-parliamentarians like Maulana Mazhar Ali Azhar (son of a respected Shia literary family from Batala), Ch. Afzal Haq (a well-known writer and intellectual), Ch Abdur Rahman (son of a prominent Rajput family of Juandhar) and orators like Syed Ata Ullah Shah Bukhari, Sheikh Hassam-ud-Din, and Maulana Habib ur Rehman Ludhianvi and activists trained under Naujawan Bharat Sabha, like Master Taj-ud-Din Ludhinavi. According to Ch. Afzal Haq, "Ahrar had Sunnis, Shias, Barelvis, Devbandies and Wahabis in it", yet their over-emphasis on anti-Ahmadi politics restricted them to a sectarian framework. Islamic socialism was their alternative slogan.

### Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam (MAI) and Indian National Congress (INC)

Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam party, soon after its formation, aimed at projecting itself as an anti-colonial and pro-Indian National Congress (hereafter INC) party. The Ahrar leaders boycotted the Simon Commission in 1927-28, and subsequently rejected its recommendations; which included a federal political system for India, and separate electorates for Muslims.<sup>1</sup> The independence resolution<sup>2</sup>, passed by INC at its Lahore session in 1929, suited to the anti-imperialist sentiments of the MAI, and brought it closer to the INC. When INC launched its civil disobedience movement, after the rejection of its demand by the British government, the MAI actively participated in the non-cooperation movement, championed by Mahatma Gandhi. The first Round Table Conference (hereafter RTC) in November 1930 reached a consensus on a federal system for India, and

after spelling out the principles of the future constitution, set up eight sub-committees. However, the MAI stuck to its original objectives<sup>3</sup> and at its all-India conference in July 1931, reiterated that, "the chief aim and object of the Majlis will be complete independence for India"<sup>4</sup> Gandhi was released unconditionally to attend the second RTC, and the Viceroy held negotiations with him. These negotiations climaxed with the signing of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact on 5 March 1933. Consequently, Gandhi decided to attend the second RTC in London but the MAI felt the INC had bypassed it. Maulana Habib-ur-Rahman and Syed Ataullah Shah Bukhari (the leaders of Ahrars) rushed to Bombay to persuade Gandhi not to attend the RTC and argued that the nationalist leaders should not engage in constitutional discussions with the colonialists because it would be a 'futile' exercise. However, they failed to convince Gandhi, and his decision to participate in the RTC resulted in the 'parting of ways' between the INC and MAI. The blind faith and trust that the MAI leadership had so far reposed in the INC, was shattered.<sup>5</sup> Hence forth, it did not openly share a common platform with the INC.

### Communal Award and Role of MAI

The Communal Award not only retained the principle of separate electorates for Muslims, but was extended to other minorities as well. In Punjab, where the proportion of Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs was 57.1%, 27% and 13% of the total population respectively; they were given 49%, 27% and 18 per cent of the provincial seats in the Assembly. The Communal Award, in an emphatic way, widened the gulf between the rural and urban Muslims in the Punjab, by offering more representation to the landlords.<sup>6</sup> This worked to the greater benefit of the Unionist Party, since it favoured the rural classes, as did its trans-communal composition. The Communal Award was not popular with any of the communities. The Muslim League was displeased, because it did not meet the Muslim demands for 56 per cent representation in the Punjab Assembly. The reaction of the Punjabi Hindus and Sikhs was equally hostile. Sikhs had demanded 24 % of total representation in the Punjab Assembly, whereas they were only provided 18 % seats in the provincial legislature. They opposed separate electorates, and the provision of a possible Muslim majority in the assembly by organizing demonstrations and setting up a council of action to achieve their objectives.<sup>7</sup> On 2 August 1932, the council reportedly gathered more than one hundred thousand Sikhs in Lahore and demanded division of the Punjab province, in case their demands were not met. This was perceived by the Muslims as a plan to subvert Muslim majority in the province. The communal division of Punjab seemed pre-ordained.<sup>8</sup>

The MAI was convinced with the growing demand for a "separate Muslim identity", and they gradually came to accept the importance of the system of separate electorates for Muslims. Their participation in the Congress-led civil disobedience movement and severance of their links with that party in 1931, brought home the realization that Muslims constituted a 'political entity separate' from the Sikhs and Hindus. The MAI was also dissatisfied with the

weightage provided for the minorities in the Communal Award, which gave the Muslim community a thin majority in the Punjab legislature. They felt that the Award had not awarded to the Muslims their due share in the Punjab Assembly and also criticized the Communal Award, because it was silent on the long-standing Muslim demand of 33 per cent Muslim share in the central legislature.<sup>9</sup> The MAI was disappointed by the reaction from Hindus and Sikhs in the Punjab, and began to take an equally communal line. They took out processions and rallies in many towns of the province, in support of their position.<sup>10</sup> The MAI called on the Muslims to carry swords to defend themselves, particularly in those districts where the Sikhs carried kirpans. The MAI set up an action committee in the Punjab, to counteract the activities of a similar body established by the Sikhs. The MAI made Amritsar the centre of their activities over the issue of Communal Award. At Provincial Ahrar Conference held on 4-5 December 1932, the MAI formed a sub-committee to suggest a formula for the Communal Award. It was to be discussed at the Allahabad Conference, scheduled for March 1933.<sup>11</sup> However, no concrete formula could be worked out at these sessions, and the MAI was thus left with no option but to accept the Communal Award. The response of the three communities in the Punjab to the Communal Award strengthened communal identities and intensified competition among them.

The British Government issued a White Paper after the third RTC in March 1933. The Conference appointed a Joint Select Committee, which finalised its report in November 1934, and was subsequently debated in Parliament. M. A. Jinnah, then the leader of the Independent Party, disagreed with the INC, and moved an amendment that was finally accepted. The MAI supported Jinnah's position on the White Paper, and also the report of the Joint Select Committee.<sup>12</sup> The MAI, like all other Muslim political parties, was concerned about the federal part of the constitution. This similarity of views on constitutional issues was an important factor in bringing the MAI closer to the All-India Muslim League. In 1936, the MAI allied itself with the All India Muslim League, and its leaders accepted membership of the Central Muslim League Parliamentary Board, although this alliance was also short-lived.

### Electoral Politics of MAI

The MAI decided to participate in the electoral process in the 1930s because, after the severance of its relations with the INC and the formulation of its own platform and programme, it wanted to prove its own separate and distinct existence. Its impressive performance in the agitation against the rulers of the three princely states gave it confidence.<sup>13</sup> The MAI's first electoral activity was in 1933, in the three bye-elections to the Punjab Legislative Assembly.<sup>14</sup> It selected three prominent MAI figures as its candidates to contest these polls- Chaudhry Afzal Haq, Chaudhry Abdur Rahman Khan and Maulana Mazhar Ali Azhar. The first candidate was Chaudhry Afzal Haq, the patron-in-chief of the MAI, who decided to contest the rural Muslim seat from the Hoshiarpur and Ludhiana districts of East Punjab. He was an experienced

# Periodic Research

political figure of Muslim politics in the Punjab. He had been elected twice to the Punjab legislature; in the 1924-27 and the 1927-30 periods. The second candidate, Chaudhry Abdur Rahman Khan, was a prominent member of a Rajput family of Jallundhar, who had led the Ahrar agitation in Kapurthala. He was selected to contest the Muslim urban seat from the Sheikhpura, Ludhiana, Gurdaspur and Jallundhar's area.<sup>15</sup> The third candidate was Maulana Mazhar Ali Azhar, a senior Ahrar leader, who contested the seat vacated by Sheikh Din Muhammad from Gujranwala.<sup>16</sup> He had also been a member of the Punjab Legislative Council from 1924 to 1930. One of his opponents in this urban Muslim constituency was the prominent lawyer from Lahore, Malik Barkat Ali.<sup>17</sup> The MAI believed in direct interaction with the masses, and used mosques for their election campaign, converting them into their main centres of publicity; but they also used corner meetings as a method of campaigning. They also organised rallies and public meetings, where their leaders spoke in support of the MAI programme and its candidates. While newspapers, according to Afzal Haq, 'are tools in the hands of the capitalists', the MAI was blessed with orators who were a "source of their propaganda."<sup>18</sup> In addition, all the three candidates were notable and well-established Muslim figures of the Punjab. The result was a resounding Ahrar victory in all the three bye-elections; Afzal Haq secured 1800 votes,<sup>19</sup> Mazhar Ali Azhar obtained 2920 out of 6633 votes,<sup>20</sup> while the third candidate secured more than 1500 votes.

The MAI contested elections for the Indian Legislature, held in January-February 1934. The Working Committee of the MAI decided to support Khalid Lateef Gauba in the Punjab, who was a recent convert to Islam.<sup>21</sup> Gauba had supported the MAI during their agitation in the Kapurthala state. He contested the election from the Central Assembly (Muslim) constituency, which incorporated three districts of Ludhiana, Amritsar and Lahore. Like other bye-elections, the MAI used mosques to launch K. L. Gauba, a relatively new entrant in politics. The MAI highlighted Gauba's conversion to Islam, and his authoring of a book on the life of Holy Prophet, as a sublime achievement. The MAI leaders appealed to the urban Muslims to vote for him, and assert their Islamic identity.<sup>22</sup> They propagated that a Muslim convert should be supported, because it 'is the duty of a Muslim' to encourage a nau-Muslim. The MAI also used its Shoba-e-Tabligh for Gauba's election campaign.<sup>23</sup> The Ahrar candidates, K. L. Gauba from Punjab (and Kazmi from UP), won the elections and this was a big achievement for MAI.<sup>24</sup>

The MAI contested elections for the provincial assemblies under the Government of India Act of 1935. The MAI wanted to broaden its electoral platform in the Punjab because it realized that it could not face the Unionist Party alone. It looked towards M. A. Jinnah and the Muslim League as its natural allies. Jinnah visited the Punjab in search of partners, he held talks with the Ahrar leaders. He knew that the MAI was a popular political force among the urban Muslims. Jinnah visited Lahore in May 1936, to hold further talks with the political parties, but his

negotiations with Mian Fazl-i-Husain did not succeed. Jinnah's abortive attempt to win over the Unionists had further strengthened his desire to woo the MAI. The Ahrar leaders held several meetings with Jinnah. Jinnah's talks with the leaders of the MAI and Majlis-i-Itehad-i-Millat were successful and Iqbal provided the requisite help in this context.<sup>25</sup> Jinnah visited the head office of the MAI, and then held an exclusive meeting with its leaders at Abdul Qavi Luqman's residence. MAI leaders requested Jinnah to preside over a public meeting in Lahore. Subsequently, the MAI arranged the function, which its volunteers guarded with their symbolic axes. The MAI had to face the Unionist animosity in the Punjab, though the motivating factor for their alliance with the AIML was Jinnah's sincerity and integrity, and his concern for the welfare of the Muslim community.<sup>26</sup>

The MAI's association with the Muslim League did not last long and the conflict started over the selection of candidates for the Central Parliamentary Board. The Punjab Parliamentary Board required the applicants for the ticket to give 500 rupees as a non-refundable contribution, and an additional sum of 150 rupees for the ticket. This amount was more than the Ahrar candidates could pay,<sup>27</sup> and the Ahrar leaders argued that it was a pretext to keep their candidates out from the electoral contest.<sup>28</sup> The Ahrar dissociated themselves from the activities of the Muslim League Provincial Board in Punjab. The Ahrar wanted that there should be a clause in the oath for the AIML candidate that he would struggle for the expulsion of Ahmadis from the Muslim community and this was a major point of disagreement.<sup>29</sup> Still another point of conflict was that in some cases, candidates of both the parties, wanted to contest the same constituencies in urban areas. The pro-Unionist Muslim press in the Punjab played a significant role in aggravating these differences.<sup>30</sup> Finally, the MAI broke its alliance with Muslim League on 25 August 1936, putting the blame on the Punjab League leadership and decided to contest the elections from its own platform.<sup>31</sup>

The all-India working committee of the Majlis authorised provincial branches to select and field their own candidates. On 30 August, the Punjab MAI appointed a fifteen-member parliamentary board, which included its three Members of the Legislative Council.<sup>32</sup> The board invited applications by mid-September 1936, and selected candidates for ten out of a total of eighty-six seats.<sup>33</sup> Breaking from the tradition of earlier elections, the MAI put up one female candidate on a rural Muslim seat in the Punjab.<sup>34</sup> The MAI also supported one independent candidate, Syed Mohammad Habib, in the Rawalpindi constituency. The nine male candidates were given tickets in constituencies spread all over the Punjab. They included Shaikh Hissamuddin (Amritsar), Chaudhry Afzal Haq (Hoshiarpur), Mazhar Ali Azhar (Sialkot), Chaudhry Abdur Rahman (Jullundur), Ghulam Husain (Jhang), Ghulam Haidar (Ferozpur), Ghulam Rasul (Daska), Sardar Mohammad Shafi (Qasur), Mazhar Nawaz Khan (Multan), and Khwaja Mohammad Yusuf (Ludhiana). These candidates included the top leadership and activists, known as, 'dictators' and 'salars'.<sup>35</sup>

# Periodic Research

The MAI in the Punjab had not only to fight against the AIML and Majlis-i-Ittehad-i-Millat candidates, but also faced strong opposition from the Unionist candidates.<sup>36</sup> The MAI organized a more systematic campaign in this election than it had in the elections of 1933 and 1934, and started a campaign to persuade prospective voters to register themselves for polls.<sup>37</sup> The MAI issued a new election manifesto<sup>38</sup> that promised a commitment to basic social and economic problems of the lower and middle classes, like the fixation of minimum wages. It also appealed to these classes by mobilizing their anti-elite emotions. They were against lumbardars, Sahukars, and hawaldars. The Ahrar manifesto promised the exemption from land revenue of agricultural income up to 500 rupees per year; a minimum wage of 30 rupees per month for workers; to relieve them from the burden of inflation; reduction in salaries of highly paid government servants; abolition of zamindari and jagirdari systems; nationalisation of industries; a ban on interest or usury in accordance with Islamic values; protection of peasants and factory workers from the traditional moneylenders; free elementary education for all; military training to improve the health of youth; expansion of industries to create opportunities for employment; to bridge the gulf between the rich and the poor; equality before law.; prohibition of prostitution and the abolition of discrimination on the basis of caste, creed and race; establishment of Islamic courts, along with the commitment to enforce Islamic law of inheritance and protect the religious places.

A contemporary analysis of the election results gives a general picture of the political situation prevailing in the province. The MAI gave the impression of a party not interested in electoral politics, which is evident in its selection of a small number of candidates, despite the fact that a large number of voters had been enfranchised in the 1930s. Propaganda in the press remained strongly in favour of the Unionists in Punjab, because they had political control over the provincial government funds, and were able to organize a favorable campaign. All the Urdu newspapers were owned by individuals and not by organizations. The Inqilab and Zamindar led a severe propaganda campaign against the MAI candidates, especially Afzal Haq. The Unionist Party being in power was able to influence the voters in an impressive way. Consequently, when the MAI won in urban constituencies like Amritsar, where it had held a big rally, their victory was considered 'a noble success'. In the 1937 elections to the provincial assemblies, three MAI members were elected to the Punjab Assembly. Considering the limited resources of the MAI, the results were not discouraging, although some of its prominent figures lost the elections. Maulana Mazhar Ali Azhar, Chaudhry Abdul Rahman Khan and Khwaja Ghulam Husain won urban Muslim seats<sup>39</sup> while Mazhar Ali Azhar's victory was at the expense of Malik Lal Khan, the general secretary of Majlis-i-Ittehad-i-Millat.<sup>40</sup> The MAI president, one salaar, one Ahrar 'dictator' and one ex-Member Legislative Council lost to the Unionist candidates. Ghulam Jannat (the only female candidate who contested from the outer Lahore

Muslim women's constituency) lost to Begum Shah Nawaz, who stood on the Unionist ticket. A Unionist candidate, Rana Nasrullah, defeated Afzal Haq (the MAI president) in the urban Muslim constituency of Ferozpur and Hoshiarpur districts. Later, he again suffered defeat in a bye-election for a Muslim urban seat of Amritsar, where the AIML candidate, Sheikh Sadiq Hasan, won with the 'support and approval of the Unionists'. Two members of the Punjab Legislative Council, and one member in the Indian Legislative Assembly, stayed loyal to the party till the dissolution of the legislatures for the 1945-6 elections. K. L. Gauba, resigned from his seat to contest the provincial elections of 1937, and won it.<sup>41</sup>

Muhammad Abdur Rehman played an active role in the Punjab Legislative Assembly for the MAI, in its anti-recruitment drive during the 2nd World War, while the other member, Mazhar Ali Azhar, was imprisoned for one and a half years for participating in that drive.<sup>42</sup> The MAI members made their presence felt in the assemblies on several economic, political and social issues in spite of their small numbers. They voiced their opinion through questions, sponsored bills and motions of adjournment, and participated in the budget debate.

The MAI members in the Punjab Assembly usually criticised any increase in the salaries and allowances of the MLAs, on the plea of austerity.<sup>43</sup> Since 1937, the opposition had been criticising the suggested raise in the salaries of the Prime Minister and his ministers.<sup>44</sup> They also questioned the high rate of taxes and revenues on agriculture in the Punjab, the 'granary' of British India. However, they failed to influence the fiscal policy of the Punjab Government, although they actively participated in the budget sessions. For instance, in March 1933, Khwaja Ghulam Hussain congratulated the finance minister, yet demanded of him that the special development funds should be devoted to removing illiteracy. In contrast, the INC and a few Unionist members criticized the budget, for not containing proposals for improvement in any direction.

Two issues were the focus of MAI's criticism in the Punjab Assembly; political prisoners issue and jail reforms.<sup>45</sup> Since joining the assemblies, the MAI members apprised the British Government and the Punjab administration of the pitiable conditions in jails, and the torture of political prisoners.<sup>46</sup> The MAI leaders were treated as opponents of the British as well as the Punjab government, so they were subjected to punishments like shackles, or kept hungry for long durations.<sup>47</sup> They were given unauthorised prolonged detention because of their anti-recruitment campaign, since the campaign discouraged Indians from joining the armed forces. The trumped-up cases against the Ahrar orators, such as Ataullah Shah and Hissamuddin, diminished the popularity of the Unionist government in the province. The MAI claimed to have arranged hunger strikes, defied the jail administration, and held political meetings with the non-political prisoners whenever there was an opportunity.<sup>48</sup> Their method of hunger strike always shook the administration. The physical health of the MAI internees was affected; and Afzal Haq's suffering during imprisonment resulted in his

death in 1942. Ghulam Nabi Janbaaz lost his right shoulder because of police torture during the Maclagan College episode in Lahore. They have acquired fame in the arena of the freedom movement, for their forbearance and suffering. Although they did not meet with much success, yet they continued to struggle to raise awareness on the issues of torture, corruption and living conditions in jails. The MAI also advocated the repeal of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, which had been imposed in the Punjab during elections, without the approval of legislators. The MAI members, Muhammad Ahmad Kazmi and Khwaja Ghulam Hussain, resisted the bill and moved a resolution to repeal the Punjab Criminal Law Amendment Bill, under which central and provincial governments had acquired infinite powers.<sup>49</sup> They argued that in the presence of the Government of India Act 1935, there was no need for such new draconian laws.<sup>50</sup> The issue was not resolved until 1940.

During the Punjab Assembly sessions of 1939-42, the MAI's 'questions' about the deteriorating political situation following the anti-recruitment campaign, had been generally supported by the INC, but were disallowed for any discussion.<sup>51</sup> When the Anti-Recruitment Law was promulgated in 1941, Muhammad Ahmad Kazmi described it as the crushing of a 'moral revolt' and tried to highlight the British government's discrimination against Muslims in the Indian Legislative Assembly.<sup>52</sup> The MAI member, Khwaja Ghulam Husain, tabled a no-confidence motion against the Sikandar Hayat Khan in the Punjab Assembly, and vigorously sought the right of Muslims to take possession of their holy places of worship. Shahidganj was an old mosque in Lahore, which had been occupied by the Sikhs since 1850s, and who tried to rebuild it as a gurdwara in July 1934. A committee had been formed under the leadership of Maulana Zafar Ali Khan to acquire the site in order to restore the mosque. Initially, the MAI remained aloof from the dispute, but subsequently raised the issue both inside and outside the assemblies. The MAI also participated in debates on religious, educational and other issues of concerns to Muslims, including the Muslim Personal Law.<sup>53</sup> Several amendments to this law, issues relating to blasphemy, the Sahidganj Masjid dispute in Lahore, and the references to a proposed Shariat Bill, were some of their areas of concern.<sup>54</sup>

## Conclusion

Thus, MAI representatives opposed imperial control and concentrated on social issues & human rights. Despite having a low representation in the assembly, they still managed to have a high profile. They attempted to stay aloof from the Shahidganj Masjid dispute, but were vigorously engaged in legislation pertaining to blasphemy, conditions in jails and other social issues. After the setback of the 1937 elections, the MAI took its cause to the public at large. With the outbreak of the Second World War the Ahrar focus, like that of others, shifted to the campaign against recruitment for the military in the Punjab. Finally, it lost the 1946 elections which compelled it to revisit its politics and ideology.

## References

1. The Simon Commission visited India twice, once in February-March 1928, and then in October 1928-April 1929.
2. B. R. Verma and S. R. Bakshi (eds.), Congress Mass Movement and Independence (Delhi: Commonwealth Publishers, 2005) pp. 24-5.
3. Mirza, Karavan-i-Ahrar, vol. 1(Lahore: Maktaba-i-Tabsra,1975-1986),p. 186.
4. Inqilab, 14 July 1931.
5. Mirza, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 186; and Shorish Kashmiri (ed.), Khutbat-i-Ahrar (Lahore: Maktaba-i-Mujahidin, 1944), p. 8.
6. David Page, Prelude to Partition: The Indian Muslims and the Imperial System of Control 1920-1932 (Karachi: OUP, 1987), pp. 245-258.
7. Inqilab, 28 July 1932.
8. Zamindar, (Lahore), 10 July 1931.
9. Indian Annual Register, vol. 1, p. 267.
10. Mirza, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 302.
11. Mirza, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 401
12. Khalid Bin Sayeed, Pakistan: the Formative Phase 1857-1948, p. 80; and Jamil-ud Din Ahmad (ed.), Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah, vol. 1 (Lahore: United Publishers, 1968), p. 9.
13. Iftikhar H. Malik, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan: A Political Biography, (Islamabad: NIHCR, 1985), p. 123n.
14. Mirza, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 95.
15. Indian Annual Register, January-June, 1933, vol. 1, p. 217.
16. Shaikh Din Muhammad, a lawyer from Gujranwala, was appointed a Judge of the Lahore High Court. After his appointment, he vacated his seat in the Punjab Legislature.
17. Inqilab, 23 January 1933.
18. Shorish Kashmiri, Khutbaat-i-Ahrar, p. 74.
19. Indian Annual Register, January-June, 1935, vol. 1, p. 250. Also, see Mirza, Op. cit., vol. 1, p. 358.
20. Indian Annual Register, July-December 1934, vol. 2, p. 28.
21. Kanahya Lal embraced Islam in the 1920s, and adopted the name Khalid Lateef. He wrote a biography of Prophet Muhammad entitled 'The Prophet of the Desert'.
22. Waheed Ahmad (ed.), Diary and Notes of Mian Fazl-i-Hussain (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1977), p. 242.
23. Mirza, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 59.
24. R. Coupland, Report on the Constitutional Problem of India, pt. 2, Indian Politics 1936-1942 (London: HMG, 1943), p. 2.
25. Tajuddin Ludhianwi, Akabir-i-Ahrar aur Quaid-i-Pakistan Janab Mohammad Ali Jinna (Urdu) (Lahore: Maktaba-i-Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam Pakistan, 1969; and Ashiq Hussain Batalvi, Iqbal key akhri Do Saal (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2000), p. 290-95.
26. Afzal Haq, Tarikh-i-Ahrar (Lahore: Maktaba-i-Tabsra, 1968), p. 211.
27. Ashiq Hussain Batalvi, Iqbal key akhri Do Saal, pp. 327-28.
28. Tajuddin, op. cit., pp. 13-14.

# Periodic Research

29. Ashiq Husain Batalvi, Iqbal key akhri Do Sal, p. 326.
30. Khalid Shamsul Hasan, Punjab Muslim League and the Unionists (New Delhi: Ushba Publications, 2006), pp. 75-79.
31. Mirza, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 367.
32. Ibid., pp. 426-8.
33. Mirza, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 473; Inqilab, 8 January 1937.
34. CMGLahore), 10 February 1937; Mirza, Op. cit., vol. 2, p. 495.
35. Ibid., p. 473.
36. Governor's Report, Punjab, Chief Secretary to Governor, ac no. 155, IOR\LP&J5\239.
37. Mirza, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 208.
38. See full text of the Ahrar manifesto in Mirza, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 444-54.
39. Indian Annual Register, vol. I-5, 12 April, 1937, p. 154
40. Tauqir Ahmad, Life and Times of Malik Lal Khan, M. Phil. Thesis, Islamabad, 1998, p. 33.
41. He contested for the provincial legislature on the Ittehad-i-Millat ticket.
42. Mazhar Ali Azhar was arrested under the Defence of India Act, for his alleged 'seditious speeches against Government' in 1939.
43. The Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates (PLAD), October-December, 1939, vol. 10, p. 875.
44. Indian Annual Register, 8 April, Lahore, vol. 1, p. 157.
45. PLAD, January-June 1930, IOR\9\6202.
46. PLAD, October-December, 1939, vol. 10, pp. 981, 876.
47. Mirza, Op. cit., vol. 1, p. 28.
48. Mirza, Op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 34-37.
49. Indian Annual Register, 25 February 1936, vol. 1, p. 202.
50. PLAD, 21 April 1937, vol. 2, IOR\9\6203.
51. PLAD, 23 May 1940, vol. 11, pp. 511-13.
52. ILAD, 7 March 1941, vol. 1, pp. 183-186.
53. ILAD, July-September 1937, vol. 2, pp. 94-99, ILAD, November-December, 1941, vol. 2, pp. 122-123.
54. Indian Annual Register, July-December 1937, vol. 2, p. 94.