



Quaid-i-Azam and Muslim Students' Activism

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In modern times, students' movements have played a crucial role as agents of socio-political change. In some countries, they have toppled governments or brought about basic changes in policies. In others, they have been instrumental in transforming the whole cultural spectrum. In South Asia, the Muslim youth, especially, the students, have contributed immensely in all the recent social, cultural and political developments. They have been in the vanguard of the national liberation movements and in the development of political parties, often serving as a stimulus for nationalism. The student bodies have also been important training centres for national leadership. The ideology of Pakistan to some extent, was developed in educational institutions¹ and by student organizations; the most outstanding role in this respect was that of the Muslim University, Aligarh, the All-India Muslim Students Federation (AIMSF) and the Punjab Provincial Muslim Students Federation (PMSF).

Muslim Students' activism in educational institutions and in the life of the community is not a new phenomenon. It is as old as the educational institution at Aligarh – historically the centre of Muslim nationalism in South Asia. This activism had great impact on public



affairs in the Subcontinent where the Muslim nation was struggling for social, economic and political independence. No scholar who is interested in the Muslim struggle for the creation of Pakistan, can ignore the Muslim students' role. But so far, no comprehensive study of their services has been made. Much more needs to be done than what has been published by the Quaid-i-Azam Academy, Karachi and the Pakistan Study Centre Lahore.²

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the "beau-ideal" of Muslim youth, believed that the Muslim youth could make the future history of South Asia. He knew quite well that the students in other parts of the world had achieved direct political results, for example, they had exercised an important influence on the revolutionary movement in Russia and in the downfall of the Manchu Dynasty in China at the turn of the century. Although he recognized the role the students could play in the political development of their community, he did not like students' active participation in politics. Instead, he advised them to take academic interest in politics because in India politics had become the mainstay of the people. He once said:

.... I have repeatedly made it clear that students should not take an active part in the current politics during the course of their scholastic career, but it is their duty to fully acquaint themselves with the political problems and the various issues and developments that take place from time to time, not only concerning India but the world at large. Politics should be a part of their studies, so that when they emerge from their Colleges and Universities they will be all the better qualified to play their part in the actual struggle of life that is awaiting them...³

The Quaid was always popular among the students; the reasons for his popularity were his youthful zeal and the students' faith that in his hands their interests were safe. The correspondence of the students with the Quaid-i-Azam is a positive proof of this fact.⁴ One finds that they would not hesitate to discuss even minor issues



with him – whether these concerned with structures of their organizational bodies or related to the Muslim bodypolitic. It is a unique example in the history of the students' movement that the Quaid would participate in the deliberations of the students' conferences except on a few unavoidable occasions, where he would discuss the political problems of Muslim India. If one keeps in mind Jinnah's advice to Muslim youth in the days of Muslim struggle for freedom, it will be easier to understand the nature of understanding between him and the Muslim students discussed in these pages.

In late thirties, the Muslim students became aware of the socio-political situation developing in the South Asian Subcontinent. By then the Hindu majority community had become increasingly intolerant and aggressive. The Muslim students suffered discrimination at the hands of the Hindu students.⁵ Realizing the gravity of the situation they envisaged the idea of forming a separate Muslim students' organization.

Their responsibilities were twofold: the first was to identify themselves as stalwarts of a separate organization, and the second to liberate and rebel against the dead weight of the Hindu dominated All-India Students Federation (AISF) – a subsidiary of the Indian National Congress, which had come into existence in 1936. The same year a group of Muslim students in Bengal seceded from this Hindu-dominated students' organization.

Under a separate Muslim students' organization they were to take up such crucial matters as Sree and Padma crest of the Calcutta University; the Vidya Mandir scheme in the Central Provinces; the anti-Islamic crest of the Nagpur University, singing of the *Bande Matram*, showing of veneration to the Congress tri-colour flag and bowing before the pictures of Hindu saints in the Hindu majority provinces.⁶ According to a statement of Mohammad Noman, the founder-member of the All-India Muslim Students Federation, a separate Muslim



Students body was established because "the Hindu studnets' organization, the All-India Students Federation, was a Congress-ridden students body which was dominated by a section of the socialists and that the Muslim students as members of that organization did not like to be called socialists ... The genuine demands of the Muslim students were not adhered to in that body and if at all a resolution was ever moved by a Muslim student, it was outrightly rejected by the majority community."⁷

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who had closely watched the working of the Hindu Students Conference⁸ in August 1936 at Lucknow made a timely 'judgement' and came to the rescue of the dejected Muslim students. He cheered them up with a sense of confidence and honoured them with an interview at his residence. On 15 August 1936, a group of Muslim students placed the idea of establishing a separate Muslim students' organization before the Quaid, who gave his consent and promised to help them in their move.⁹

The idea was then brought to the notice of other Muslim students of the Muslim University Aligarh, who suggested a meeting of a separate organization in Aligarh. The question of formation of a Federation was freely debated. On 8 November 1936, the proposal was formally put to debate at a meeting of the University Union, where Mohammad Noman moved a resolution which reads:

We the students of the Aligarh University, are of the opinion that it is desirable and expedient to form a Central Muslim Organization of the students on an All India basis (with such name as the All-India Muslim Students Federation) in order to create a common platform for Muslim Students of all Universities, Colleges and other provinces in this country with a view to bring about closer social contacts, a better cultural, political, economic and religious understanding and a deeper sense of common relationship and to be able to cooperate and share more effectively and usefully in the activities and deliberations of the All-India Students Federation.¹⁰



The proceedings of this meeting were distorted in the press and a series of bitter invectives began to be hurled at the sponsors. The Hindu Press left no opportunity unavailed to attack the idea of a separate Muslim students' organization.

Despite provocative remarks of the rival Press, dissensions amongst the Muslim students, discouragements at the hands of opponents and act of dissuasion practised by the Congressites and Nationalist leaders, the Muslim students, organized the first Conference of the AIMS F on 17 January 1937, at Lucknow under the presidentship of Mushir Hussain Kidwai, a member of the All-India Muslim League.

After the formation, the organizers decided to form its provincial branches. For this purpose, they made tours of different provinces. In Bengal, the already working All-Bengal Muslim Students League had come into existence. It was affiliated to the AIMS F and it was in association with this branch, that the first annual session of the AIMS F was organized at Calcutta in December 1937. The Muslim students felt jubilant as their first session was presided by Quaid-i-Azam. It may not be out of context to say that the Quaid's decision to preside over the deliberations of the Muslim students' organization was the first instance in his entire political career. Until then he had never patronized any effort for a separate Muslim students' body. In fact, he had always been supporting non-communal students' organizations. The reason for this change of heart, on the Quaid's part, is not difficult to know. Soon after starting the task of reorganizing the All-India Muslim League, he had realized that if the Muslim League intended to win the battle of Muslim freedom, it must secure the cooperation of Muslim students. Thereafter, he never missed any occasion that facilitated close cooperation between him and the students. He would enter into touch with the students by means of correspondence and personal meetings. While the students also kept the Quaid



informed of their day-to-day activities and their achievements. An instance may be given when on the occasion of the Calcutta session of the AIMSF, Noman informed the Quaid on 16 December 1937, that "we are expecting delegates from Peshawar, Punjab, U.P., Bihar, Bombay, Madras, Assam, Sindh and many from the superbs of Bengal" and that "the Conference will be an unprecedented success. Many prominent Muslims are also coming to participate in the session".¹¹

On 28 December 1937, the Quaid in his Presidential address to the Conference, made a most philosophic speech. Highlighting certain political issues in a lucid style he affirmed that "in any constitution that might be framed for the government of the country, there should be adequate safeguards for the rights and interests of the Muslims...."¹² He turned the Congress 'mass contact campaign' as "massacre contact".¹³

Recollecting painfully the difficulties which the students had faced with regard to the formation of the Muslim Students Federation, the Quaid expressed concern over complaints of the Muslim students, who, on different occasions, had been ousted from the working committees of students' bodies of certain educational institutions merely for being Muslim. If fighting for one's community rights, he said, was termed as communalism then, "I am also a communalist."¹⁴ Concluding his address, the Quaid took the Muslim youth into confidence and shared with them his efforts in regard to his work of organizing the Muslim India. Soliciting their cooperation he asked the students that: "I have only rung the alarm bell. The bell is still ringing. But I do not see the fire brigade. I want you to produce the fire brigade. And God willing, we shall extinguish the fire."¹⁵

The Quaid's deep interest in the students' activities can be judged from the fact that on the occasion of framing the Federation's Constitution, he took personal interest in going through each and every clause of it. Before its adoption, it was partially scrutinized by him.



It is important to note that the Quaid, who had presided over the first Conference of the AIMS F happily agreed to honour the request of the Federation to inaugurate its second annual session held at Patna in 1938. The importance of this session was that it was organized in the *pindal* of the All-India Muslim League on the occasion of its annual session. How clear was the Quaid when in his address to the Muslim students he exhorted them to prepare themselves for "sacrifices for the advancement of the community and the freedom of the country."¹⁶ He severely warned the Muslim students not to be carried away by mere catchwords of the Hindu Congress. He wanted the Muslim students to remain abreast of the Congress false ideals and to get prepared "to give a battle to all these [British, States and Congress] forces" and added that "it would be better for the students to make up their minds to do so...."¹⁷

Besides holding conferences, the AIMS F ably handled two important fronts, i.e., Social and Intellectual, by bringing out reading materials in the students, journals and magazines and by establishing study circles for the Muslim masses, especially the students. The most important of all these was the *Awakening* which had the Quaid's blessing and on various occasions its Editor-in-Chief had been clamouring for the Quaid's advice on matters relating to the affairs of Muslim India and of the students. The Quaid-i-Azam in a message to its issue of September 1940, made the Muslim youth realize what their responsibilities were and what they were required to do in the fast changing times. He said:

.... Be prepared. The youth of India have a special duty towards the community. They are looked upon as the flower of the nation and correspondingly they have a greater responsibility to shoulder. Besides being the strong arms of their nation they will in turn have to work also as its brain. So they must think, qualify, equip and prepare themselves till the call for action comes. It is only then that you will discharge efficiently your duty and



responsibility which may fall upon you with credit and honour to yourself and your people.¹⁸

The AIMS F by that time had indirectly become a subsidiary body of the All-India Muslim League responding fervently to the directives of the Quaid. Having full faith in the Quaid's leadership it resolved to place the services of the Muslim students at his disposal. Through a resolution, the Federation declared that, "the Muslim students of India are totally opposed to the idea of a constituent assembly to frame a constitution proposed by the Congress" because "in the opinion of the AIMS F, it is bound to establish 'Hindu Raj' in India." It further resolved that no constitution will be acceptable to the Muslim youth which is not approved by and consulted with the Muslim League which alone can speak on behalf of Muslim Nation in India." The Federation in very clear words condemned "all those people who say that the Muslim youth of India are not behind Mr. Jinnah."¹⁹

Besides, the AIMS F for the first time requested the Quaid to make a provision for including at least one Muslim student, from amongst the Provincial Federations, into the Council of the All-India Muslim League to provide scope for the representation of the sentiments and opinions of the Muslim youth.

All these developments suggest the spirit that worked amongst the Muslim youth for the League and its dynamic leader. The students, who were generally treated as inexperienced, ignorant, irresponsible, ill-informed and even apathetic towards current problems, proved to be otherwise, to some extent, because of the Quaid's guidance and encouragement. The young admirers of the Quaid not only obeyed and supported his directives and decisions but also understood his mission very clearly. They became more active when the Quaid placed a definite goal for them to achieve, as announced in the League's historic session of March 1940 at Lahore. The students who were already alive to the situation, responded promptly by exhibiting extreme sense of



enthusiasm to the goal embodied in the League's future course of action for acquiring a separate homeland for Muslims in India.

Their organizational spirit at the time of the League's historic session attracted attention of all and sundry. They formed different committees, organized gatherings and made the creed of the League known to almost every Muslim in India. In this respect, the Punjab branch of the AIMS^F extended tremendous support to the organizers of the session. The students took lead in advancing the Pakistan Resolution on 24 March 1940, with the Quaid presiding over their session. How keen they were to have the Quaid amidst them and, likewise, there is no point to argue about the Quaid's affection for the students who, being so heavily occupied on this historic occasion, honoured the request of the students to preside over their session.

The Quaid fully realizing the usefulness and capacity of work the students could do, stressed them to work for the League cause and its ultimate goal – a separate homeland for the Muslims in the North-West and Eastern zones of the Subcontinent. It may be recalled that he uttered these words amidst the Muslim youth hardly a few hours after the League had unanimously adopted the Lahore Resolution.

The Muslim students who had since become wide-awake rallied round the Quaid and took up the cudgels of the League and its creed—Pakistan, with increased vigour and enthusiasm. It were the students who for the first time since the passing of the Lahore Resolution seconded it with one voice from their official platform in March 1941 on the occasion of the Special Pakistan Conference held at Lahore under the Quaid's presidentship. This credit goes to the Punjab Muslim Students Federation for organizing such a huge and successful conference for the only purpose of endorsing the Pakistan Resolution. Earlier, the PMSF entered into correspondence with the Quaid informing him about



day-to-day activities with regard to the conference. It was this occasion that the Quaid for the first time allowed them to organize his (Quaid's) programmes during his stay at Lahore. This event indicates that he relied much on the youth. The students continuous support to the League's creed and obedience to the Quaid, can well be gauged by their successive conferences in support of the Pakistan Resolution. Though the Quaid encouraged the organization of the Muslim students all over the country, he saw its most pressing need in the Punjab. The Provincial League was divided into groups and the Unionists had formed the majority section but its loyalties were divided. 'The older, urban section, was free from this handicap and contained some very distinguished, dedicated personalities but had not been able to provide a firm basis for the Muslim League in the Province.' In these circumstances, the value of a dynamic organization, free from the handicaps of the Unionists and more broad-based than the small urban group, was obvious. The Quaid very correctly gauging the situation, took the students' organization under his fostering care, and under his guidance it worked as a subsidiary organization of the League in the Punjab.²⁰ It may be pointed out here that other provincial branches of the AIMS F did not lag behind. They followed suit and the AIMS F in July 1941, declared their whole hearted support in favour of the League's programme as enunciated in the Pakistan Resolution of March 1940.

During the same period, the AIMS F organized its fifth annual session at Nagpur under the presidentship of Quaid-i-Azam on 26 December 1941. It may be mentioned here that the students had been continuously writing to the Quaid to preside over it. This correspondence lasted between August-December 1941.²¹

It was a historic day in the history of C.P. and Berar Provinces when Nagpur became the centre of Muslim politics where the entire provincial Muslim leadership flocked together and spoke freely on the Lahore



Resolution reiterating their faith in Pakistan. Abdul Qadir, Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mohammad Noman, Deputy President of the AIMS F and Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad, President, AIMS F, addressed the gathering. While hoisting the League flag, Raja Sahib said that the "Pakistan Movement had come to stay and even a thousand Savarkars could not check it."²²

The Quaid while touching various political issues and explaining the policy of the League with regard to the attainment of Pakistan, reminded the Muslim students that according to the Constitution of the Federation, they were to fight themselves for taking their proper share in the struggle for freedom of the country. He said that the students should not practically participate in the political developments taking place from day-to-day. "Their primary duty", said the Quaid, "was to concentrate in their studies." He also urged "to maintain unity and solidarity", and advised them "not to resist or defy law and order. They must wait for the orders of the All-India Muslim League and then he would be the first to march with them."²³

As already referred to, it has always been the desire of the Muslim youth to have the Quaid amidst them – preside over or inaugurate their conferences and annual sessions. Despite being heavily pre-occupied, the Quaid, on most of the occasions, agreed to their request but at times, owing to unavoidable circumstances, sent his blessings. An instance to the effect can be quoted when the PMSF organized its second annual session at Rawalpindi on 7-8 March 1942, when they requested him to preside over the session but his very busy schedule did not permit him to accept the invitation. However, he agreed to send his message which was read out in the session. Guiding the Muslim students and the Muslim youth about future responsibilities, the Quaid said:

... Remember that you have to take the reins of what is being done today in your hands tomorrow. Have you, therefore, disciplined yourself enough to shoulder the



responsibilities that will fall on you? If not, go ahead and do it today. This is the proper time and I wish you every success.²⁴

Later in August 1942, the Hindu Congress resolved to threaten the Government by launching 'Quit India' movement as a result of its resolution passed on 8 August at Bombay. The Hindu political volunteer, and workers burnt police stations, post offices, important installations and uprooted rail tracks. But the British Government dealt with the situation with a heavy hand. During this period the Hindu students tried to drag Muslim students in the Congress movement but the AIMS^F alarmed their student brethren to remain aside from such an illegal and uncalled for movement. Under the directive of the Quaid the High Command of the Federation permaded Muslim youth to keep themselves aloof from Hindu students' organizations and warned them not to be misled by Gandhi's policy of establishing 'Hindu Raj' in the country. The AIMS^F issued a directive to its provincial branches to act in accordance with the decision of the Working Committee of the Federation which met on 31 August 1942, under the presidentship of Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad to consider the political situation in the country on account of the Congress movement.

The aforesaid movement was severely criticized by the Federation's President, when he declared on 8 September 1942, at Peshawar, that the Muslim youth were at the beck and call of the Quaid and were prepared to offer any sacrifice for the cause of Pakistan. Raja Sahib declared that the Muslim students would not fall a prey into the hands of the Hindu majority. He felt concerned over Hindu students open threats and acts of arson, loot and plunder and, setting everything on fire. He persuaded Muslim students to prepare for self-defence and take to propaganda work for the League and its creed.²⁵ With this call the Muslim students redoubled their activities by holding conferences, arranging meetings with regard to organizational and propaganda



work for the League. They organized two successive conferences at Jullundher in November 1942 with one of these was presided over by Quaid-i-Azam on 14 November.

This session was perhaps the first of its kind, held in the Punjab by the students' central organization. On this occasion, the Quaid delivered a meaningful speech saying that the Muslims of India would attain their goal of Pakistan at any cost. "Key to Pakistan is in your hands", said the Quaid, "and if you use it properly you can achieve your goal of Pakistan".²⁶

He further advised the Muslim youth to take intelligent interest in politics and arouse political consciousness among Muslim students but asserted that they should not take part in the anti-political movement going on in the country. They should, said the Quaid, "organize the Muslim students of India into a compact body to safeguard their interests, undertake a constructive programme for the social, economic and educational uplift of the Muslim community and popularize Islamic culture and studies." They should, he added, "promote contact and cooperation between the Muslim students of India and those of Islamic countries and the rest of the world."²⁷

Criticizing the Congress movement, the students, in the end, adopted a resolution expressing their whole-hearted support to the Quaid saying: "This conference solemnly assures Mr. Jinnah that the Muslim youth will be ready to go to any length, under his leadership for the achievement of their sacred ideal, popularly known as Pakistan...."²⁸

Besides attending to the above conferences, the Muslim students engaged themselves in observing Pakistan Days (on 23 March) every year and, also celebrating Quaid's birth days on 25 December each year. These ceremonies reflected the students' attachment with the League's creed and their beloved leader, especially after the ugly event of a dastardly attack on the



Quaid's life in 1943. Since that time, the Muslim students offered their voluntary services to perform the duties as the Quaid's guards at his residence. This practice continued throughout the Pakistan movement.

Side by side, the Muslim students gave tough time to their counterpart – the AISF for their nefarious designs to sabotage the interests of Muslim India under the instructions of the Hindu Congress. The Muslim youth foiled any attempt made by the Hindu students to belittle the Muslim students efforts for the cause of Pakistan. To this effect, an example of a forceful movement which was started by the Hindu students for the release of M.K. Gandhi can be referred to here. It was on this occasion that the AIMS F warned the British Government that if she, under the pressure of Gandhi's threat, entered into alliance or made any agreement, with the Hindu Congress, the entire Muslim community of the Subcontinent would strongly resist it.²⁹

The students' activism reached its zenith when the general elections were announced after the failure of the Simla Conference in 1945. How magnificently they responded to the call of the Quaid by taking the election campaign into their hands, hardly needs any mention. The selfless workers of the Muslim youth poured into every corner of the country canvassing for the League candidates contesting elections to the Central as well provincial Assemblies. Their stupendous work in the elections attracted attention of the entire Muslim India and the Quaid, at whose call had they sacrificed their studies, greatly eulogized their selfless performance for having wrecked the Congress citadals all over.

In March 1946, the Cabinet Mission arrived in India to examine the constitutional problems and suggest a solution to it. After lengthy discussion with the Indian political leaders, the Mission put forth a plan on 8 May 1946, which was not accepted by the Hindu Congress and thereafter by the League and nothing concrete came out of the proposals, and the Cabinet Mission left India on 29



June leaving the country in a precarious political situation. The League had rejected the proposals in its meeting on 9 April 1946, which was fully endorsed by the Muslim youth all over. The students appreciated the stand taken by the Quaid on this occasion and sent telegram to this effect. Moinul Haque Chaudhry, the General Secretary, AIMS F sent a telegram to the Quaid on 22 May 1946, saying:

Cabinet's proposals totally unacceptable to Muslim nation in general and youth in particular. British Government has stabbed us from back. Congress design sinister — Your concession more than what we can concede — Kindly stick to those and reject Cabinet proposals — Assuring every sacrifice on behalf of Muslim youth.³⁰

In another telegram to the Quaid, the Vice-President of the AIMS F expressed his faith in the League and wrote: "The Muslim youth are ready to your beck and call. Our aim is Pakistan or Perish. We assure full support to the decisions of the Legislator's Convention."³¹ Rejecting the Mission Plan, the students openly declared to have 'Pakistan or Perish'.³² Thereafter, they made tremendous show of discipline during the League's Direct Action programme of 16 August 1946. As an organized but unpaid volunteer corps, the students took active part in obedience to the Quaid's directives and gave least chance of objection from any quarter.

The Muslim youth kept on closely watching the political developments. Side by side, they continued to fulfil their national duties. According to 3rd June Plan, a referendum was to be held in Frontier Province and Sylhet. The Quaid appealed to Muslims to work enthusiastically for it with hope and courage. Thus the Muslim students in response to the Quaid's directive attended to their task fervently. The Acting General Secretary of the AIMS F, Ali Mukhtar, in a statement on 4 June 1947, called upon the Muslim students to attend to their duty of the hour. With regard to referendum he



said that: "I feel sure that the Muslim students of Frontier would strain every nerve to see that the brave Pathans who have solidly stood behind the League, are allowed to give their frank and free verdict on this issue."³³

Thus, the Muslim students, as in the past, travelled every corner of the Province pleading for the cause of the League and Pakistan and were ultimately successful in drawing a large number of voters to the polls who gave their verdict in favour of Pakistan. When the newborn country—Pakistan came into being on 14 August 1947, the Muslim youth faced boldly in numberable hardships and miseries as true Pakistanis. They volunteered themselves during the refugee relief work and worked with utmost devotion to ameliorate the sufferings of the horror-stricken refugees.

Taking an overview of the whole discussion of how keenly the Muslim students were guided by the Quaid speaks volumes for the Quaid's affection for the youth and the recognition of their importance in the national life. And it was the students' warmest response and total confidence in his leadership that made them struggle for Pakistan with a missionary zeal. Once the Quaid was asked at Aligarh: "Sir you show special consideration to the students, why?" His reply was: "They are my best ambassadors; they will carry my message to every nook and corner of the country."³⁴

References

1. Bolitho in his book *Jinnah: The Creator of Pakistan*, London, 1954, pp.118-119, writes "the hundreds and thousands who had been attracted to the banner of the League were not all drawn from the adult masses; Jinnah was also becoming a considerable force in the Universities."
2. For example, see (i) Mukhtar Zaman, *Students' Role in the Pakistan Movement* Karachi, 1978 (ii) Sarfaraz Hussain Mirza, *Muslim Students and Pakistan Movement, Selected Documents: 1937-1947*, 3 Volumes, Lahore.
3. M.A. Jinnah to Anwar Hussain, General Secretary, All-Bengal Muslim Students Federation, dated May 22, 1944.



4. For details see *Muslim Students and Pakistan Movement*, Vols. I-III and Sarfaraz Hussain Mirza, *The Punjab Muslim Students Federation - An Annotated Documentary Survey*, Lahore, 1978.
5. They were not taken on any body of the AIMS and were not even allowed to move a resolution.
6. *Muslim Students and Pakistan Movement*, Vol.I, p.i.
7. *Inqilab*, Lahore, November 2, 1938.
8. This was the first conference of the AISF. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was invited to inaugurate and the Quaid was requested to preside over it. It was at this meeting that he advised the students not to indulge in aggressive politics... and observed that "he would not mind a revolution, even bloodshed, if it brought self-government within twenty four hours." For details see *The Indian Annual Register*, Calcutta, Vol.II, 1936, pp.533-504.
9. *Student's Role in the Pakistan Movement*, p.17.
10. *Archives of Freedom Movement*, Karachi, Vol.I, Collection No.227. (Hereafter called AFM).
11. Mohammad Noman to M.A. Jinnah, October 7, 1937, Quaid-i-Azam Papers, F/962, Department of Archives, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad.
12. A.M. Zaidi, ed., *Evolution of Muslim Political Thought*, Vol.V, 1936-1942, Lahore, 1988, pp.637-638.
13. *The Indian Annual Register*, Vol.II, 1937, pp.467-468.
14. *Inqilab*, December 30, 1937.
15. *Evolution of Muslim Political Thought*, p.638.
16. *The Indian Annual Register*, Vol.II, 1938, pp.439-440.
17. *Ibid.*, p.439.
18. *Students' Role in the Pakistan Movement*, p.158. Besides the *Awakening*, the students of other provinces brought out magazines called as *The Crescent* (Surat), *Muslim Times* (Nagpur), *Souvenir* (C.P. & Berar) and *Spirit of Youth* (U.P.)
19. *Muslim Students and Pakistan Movement - Selected Documents*, p.xi.
20. For details, see *The Punjab Muslim Students Federation: An Annotated Documentary Survey*.
21. For details, see *Muslim Students and Pakistan Movement - Selected Documents*, Vol.I.
22. *The Indian Annual Register*, Vol.II, 1941, p.403.
23. *Ibid.*, p.404.
24. *Ibid.*, Vol.II, 1942, Also see *Punjab Muslim Students Federation - An Annotated Documentary Survey*, Book IV, p. 244.
25. *Inqilab*, September 10, 1942.
26. *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*, ed., Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad, 7th edition, 1968, Vol.I, p.449.
27. *Ibid.*, p.461.
28. *The Eastern Times*, Lahore, November 14, 1942.
29. *Inqilab*, February 17, 1943.



30. AFM, Document No.47, p.87.
31. *Dawn*, Dehli, April 14, 1946.
32. *Ibid.*, May 25, 1946.
33. *Ibid.*, June 7, 1947.
34. *Students' Role in the Pakistan Movement*, p.178.