

Khaksar Movement Weekly “Al-Islah’s” Role Toward Freedom

By Nasim Yousaf

“The publication of Al-Islah gave a fresh impetus to the [Khaksar] movement which spread to other regions such as Afghanistan, Iraq and Iran [as well as Bahrain, Burma, Ceylon, Egypt, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Yemen, and some countries of Europe]”.

— *Times of India, August 08, 1938*ⁱⁱ

Introduction

After taking over the rule of India from the last Mughal Emperor, Bahadur Shah Zafar, in 1858, the British created a well-structured political, economic, social, civil, and defense system in the country. Accomplice Indians partnered with the British colonizers, allowing the British to succeed in establishment of the system installed in India. The natives who served the rulers’ agenda were rewarded in various ways, e.g. through prestigious titles, position of power, or land holdings. With a well devised strategy, a tiny British population (of less than 100,000ⁱⁱⁱ) ruled millions.

The masses, ignorant of British strategies, fantasized about freedom yet without subsequent action. Muslim and non-Muslim leaders failed to organize people to a degree which would pose a real threat to the British Raj, but rather they adopted passive methods which did not put even a small dent in foreign rule. Realizing the weaknesses of the nation and its leaders, Allama Mashriqi, a revolutionist, launched *Al-Islah* weekly (newspaper) in 1934. Using *Al-Islah* as medium to connect to his people, Mashriqi succeeded in raising a large, very well-knit, and dedicated Private Army — the Khaksar Tehrik^{iv} (Khaksar Movement). By 1946, the Tehrik had five million^v uniformed Khaksars, millions of supporters in India, and devotees growing rapidly in many foreign countries.

Founder's Mission

Allama Mashriqi's^{vi} mission was to demolish British rule in India with the help of his Private Army. He was also looking beyond the borders of India and as such the Khaksar Tehrik's ideology was promoted in other parts of world. Its virtuous doctrine was to bring justice, peace, and unity of the human race and to lead mankind to higher goals (scientific development, exploration of the universe, other discoveries and inventions, etc.). The establishment of the Khaksar Tehrik's branches, distribution of *Al-Islah* in various countries, and the 14 point decree that Mashriqi issued clearly speaks of his global aims. Some points from the decree include:

"We Khaksars stand, by eliminating all sectarian feelings and religious bigotry through our virtuous and beneficent deeds (but keeping religion intact), for the creation of an egalitarian, tolerant and dominant order which will ensure proper treatment and well being of all communities and the basis of which will be virtue, piety, struggle and supreme justice."

"Khaksar has as his objective authority over the entire world and attainment of collective and political supremacy of his nation through piety and virtuous deeds."

"Khaksar believes that he can attain supremacy in the world through his good conduct and fair dealings with every other community, not by any other means. These moral magnanimities are mentioned almost in every religious book."

Al-Islah played a vital role in spreading Mashriqi's ideology; as a result, the Khaksar Movement spread very fast in India and its influence spread to several different parts of the world.

About Al-Islah

The word *Al-Islah* is an Arabic word which means the process of treatment and rehabilitation. The name speaks for itself that the weekly was started to re-build the astray nation. Its aim was to awaken the masses to rise against British rule and seek the independence of British India. In 1936, *Al-Islah* wrote "freedom is not limited to ending up in jail or simply withstand the beating"^{vii}, it lies in the "sacrifice of life, property and the spirit to fight"^{viii}.

The first edition of the *Al-Islah*, an Urdu language weekly, appeared on November 23, 1934^{ix} from Khaksar Tehrik's Headquarters based in Icchra, then a suburb of Lahore (Punjab) in British India (now in Pakistan). *Al-Islah* was registered under registration number L- 3446 in Lahore. Allama Mashriqi and many erudite persons contributed to the said weekly. Mashriqi's contribution was not only in the shape of columns/critique, but he also regularly answered^x questions received from the public and followers on various topics. Over the course of its publishing, *Al-Islah* editors included Dr. Muhammad Iqbal^{xi}, Chaudhry Shah Deen Aslam^{xii} (Salar-e-Awwal^{xiii}), Professor Sultan Bakhsh^{xiv}, and Abdul Rehman Malik^{xv}.

In different times, various printers were used to print the weekly, namely Hijazi Printing Press^{xvi} (Lahore), Nagina Press^{xvii} (Lahore), Muslim Press^{xviii} (Lahore), Expert Litho Printing Press^{xix} (Lahore), Nami Press^{xx} (Lahore), Ittehad Press^{xxi} (Lahore), Mohammadi Press^{xxii} (Lahore), Indian Printing Works^{xxiii} (Lahore), and Punjab National Press^{xxiv} (Lahore). Throughout, *Al-Islah* was printed on basic newsprint.

Al-Islah was typically comprised of twelve pages with three columns; if needed, the number of pages was increased. The price of the weekly in 1946 was two annas^{xxv}. From 1934 to early 1940 and then in 1946, it appeared from Lahore (during the period it was banned, it intermittently appeared at different times from different cities such as Delhi, Calcutta, and Aligarh). Every six months^{xxvi}, archives of *Al-Islah* were nicely bound in hardcover in order to maintain records collectively, so that everyone would have access to its previously published editions.

Al-Islah was not like any customary weekly or tabloid, rather it was a revolutionary journal. Furthermore, it was free from publishing exaggerated and sensational material. Contributors followed the *Al-Islah's* publishing guidelines (which appeared periodically^{xxvii}) to promote the Khaksar Tehrik's ideology and objectives. The incorporated pieces encouraged character building, brotherhood, action, sacrifice^{xxviii}, and a soldierly life^{xxix}; without these features, Mashriqi could not conceive an uprising in the country and the emergence of a strong organization capable of toppling the Government. The weekly was clean, sober, and literary in its content.

Al-Islah was well-acclaimed and the praise came from people of various sections of life including the editors of contemporary newspapers.

For example, the Editor of *Paisa Akhbar*, Ghulam Qasim,^{xxx} wrote: “On the publication of such a superb quality paper [*Al-Islah*], kindly accept my deep and heartfelt congratulations. This paper, in the era of modern journalism, is magnificent and unprecedented”^{xxxii} (translation from Urdu).

Watan, Lahore wrote: “After a long await, Allama Mashriqi’s newspaper, ‘*Al-Islah*’, has finally appeared. We welcome it from the core of our heart. It is absolutely uncontaminated and has emerged with purpose of life. God may let it meet its aspirations. We pray to God that it should reach every Muslim. What a great newspaper; it is a champion for the reform of the Muslims.

‘*Al-Islah*’s’ able editor deserves gratitude from the entire Muslim community of India for presenting comprehensive and admirable articles...”^{xxxiii} (translation from Urdu).

Other journals, namely the *Paigham*^{xxxiii} (Haripur, Hazara District, NWFP), *Mashriq*^{xxxiv} (Gorakhpur, Utter Pradesh, U.P.), *Tarjuman*^{xxxv} (Peshawar, NWFP), *Paisa*^{xxxvi} (Lahore), and *Intikhab*^{xxxvii} (Lucknow, U.P.), also sent messages of praise^{xxxviii}.

Throughout its existence, *Al-Islah*’s sobriety and high-minded and literary standards were well-regarded. It represented one of the best types of journalism in Urdu in South Asia and had set a standard and new trend in publishing. It is for this reason that in a short span of time, the weekly established itself and was well-liked by the Khaksars and people from all walks of life. The subscribers of *Al-Islah* were in British India and abroad.

Al-Islah — An Official Gazette of the Khaksar Tehrik

Al-Islah weekly also served as an Official Gazette and was a source of prime connection between *Idara-e-Aliya* (Khaksar Tehrik Headquarters) and the Khaksars all over India and abroad.

Al-Islah published *Idara-e-Aliya*’s orders^{xxxix}, announcements, notices, appointments, the Khaksar Tehrik’s ideology (24 principles^{xl} and 14 point decree^{xli}), etc. It also published the Khaksar Tehrik’s program^{xlii} as well as full-

fledged structure^{xliii} of the Tehrik explaining, for example, the design of the Khaksar uniform, dimensions of the Khaksar flag, layout of the Khaksar camps, instructions on military drill, and even sources of purchasing *belchas* (a spade, symbol of the Khaksar Movement, carrying of which was mandatory for all Khaksars).

From time to time, *Al-Islah* also released orders by the Headquarters for holding mock-wars^{xliiv} and/or Khaksar Camps^{xliv} and the designated locations for these activities^{xlvi}. After the events, post-camp activity reports^{xlvii} were often published for the consumption of the Khaksars and to encourage others to become part of the Movement. Apart from publishing orders, and if considered necessary to exert pressure on the Government, *Al-Islah* published instructions to Khaksars in India and abroad to send resolutions, memos, letters, telegrams, etc. to the Government to accept the Khaksar Tehrik's demands. If required, the weekly also published endorsements received by the Headquarters on Khaksar demands.

In addition, to inform the public and the Khaksars about Mashriqi's activities, *Al-Islah* published Mashriqi's programs^{xlviii} and tour itinerary (including some of Mashriqi's letters^{xlix}). *Al-Islah* also disseminated the travel program of the Khaksar leaders in advance¹. Apart from this, *Al-Islah* included reports on the spread of the Khaksar Movement in various cities. For example, it published news items on the launching of the Khaksar Tehrik in Sirinagar^{li}, Karachi^{lii}, Dera Ismail Khan^{liii}, Bahraich^{liv}, Wazirabad^{lv}, Hoshanabad^{lvi}, Rangoon, and Calcutta.

Additionally, *Al-Islah* separately published publicity materials, such as booklets, brochures, flyers, and Khaksar activity albums, entitled *Khaksar Camp*^{lvii} or *Camp Number*^{lviii} (to prevent the spread of the Khaksar Tehrik, in 1938, the postal service created unnecessary hurdles for Khaksar albums to be mailed^{lix}). The albums showed pictures of uniformed Khaksars proudly performing their military activities, including mock wars.

Al-Islah — Other Contents

Al-Islah also encompassed literature and published intellectually driven essays. The main topics included history^{lx}, politics^{lxi}, and religion^{lxii}.

In order to create an army of soldiers to topple British rule, *Al-Islah* included pieces which encouraged a soldierly life^{lxiii}. *Al-Islah* published motivational

articles and stories of gallantry^{lxiv} (as an example even of non-Muslims^{lxv}). To awaken the public, it also published material pertaining to the Muslims' downfall^{lxvi}.

Al-Islah aimed to spread Allama Mashriqi's message and published his public addresses^{lxvii}, editorials, commentary, critiques, and pieces of writing. It also included speeches of Khaksar leaders, such as Barrister Mian Ahmed Shah^{lxviii}, Mir Walayat Ali (Salar-e-Akbar Hyderabad Dakan)^{lxix}, Haji Rahim Bakhsh (Salar-e-Akbar Rangoon)^{lxx}, Bashir Ahmed Siddiqui (Nazim-e-Alah NWFP & Punjab)^{lxxi}, Raja Sher Zaman (Salar District Rawalpindi)^{lxxii}, Shah Din Aslam (Salar-e-Awwal)^{lxxiii}, Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung^{lxxiv}, Raja Muhammad Sarfraz Khan^{lxxv} (Member Punjab Legislative Assembly and Salar-e-Alah), Khan Habibullah Khan^{lxxvi} (Salar Jalandhar^{lxxvii}), and Pir Bakhsh Khan (Member^{lxxviii} NWFP Legislative Assembly)^{lxxix}.

To reform the nation, *Al-Islah* also published stories that encouraged high values, honesty, and good character. It regularly printed accounts of Khaksars' community services^{lxxx} for the people of all races; such services were meant to unite the nation and promote nation building. It also included reports on other good deeds of the Khaksars. In one example, in Peshawar, Khaksars voluntarily controlled traffic for the smooth flow of a funeral procession. In another example, in Amritsar, Khaksars provided community service to earthquake victims of Quetta; they also remained awake the whole night guarding the victims' baggage.^{lxxxi} *Al-Islah* also reported on Khaksars' salutes and guards of honor presented to Muslim and non-Muslim leaders, some of whom are as follows. To **Muslims**: Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar^{lxxxii}, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan (Punjab Premier)^{lxxxiii}, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan^{lxxxiv}, Dr. Khan Sahib^{lxxxv}, His Highness Mehtar of Chitral Nasir-ul-Mulk^{lxxxvi}, and Pir Elahi Bakhsh^{lxxxvii} (Revenue Minister, Sind and Salar-e-Alah, Larkana^{lxxxviii}). To **Hindus**: Mahatma Gandhi^{lxxxix}, Jawaharlal Nehru^{xc}, Chaudhry Bihari Lal (Member Legislative Assembly^{xc}), and Chakravarti Rajagopalachari (Chief Minister of Madras and First *Indian* Governor General of post-partition India after Lord Mountbatten).

Other subject matter of the *Al-Islah* included:

- Anti-sectarianism
- Significance of *belcha*^{xcii} (spade)
- Public suggestions^{xciii}

- Current affairs (particularly of the Muslim world^{xciv})
- Khaksar men and women's pledges^{xcv}
- Debates of the Khaksar Tehrik in the Legislative Assemblies^{xcvi}
- Government actions^{xcvii} and restrictions on Khaksar Tehrik
- Appeals to the Government^{xcviii}
- Progress on Khaksar demands/appeals to the Government^{xcix}
- Khaksar Tehrik's demands from the Government (e.g. to start a broadcasting station^c, to allow Government servants^{ci} to join the Khaksar Tehrik)
- Support and criticisms^{cii} of the Khaksar Tehrik
- Repudiation on concocted media stories^{ciii} against Mashriqi or the Khaksars
- Special/miscellaneous instructions to Khaksars (e.g. to display Khaksar flags at conspicuous spot of their premises)
- Denouncement of Mullahs^{civ} who promoted communalism and sectarianism
- Exposés on leaders^{cv} whose policies were injurious to unity and/or freedom^{cvi}

British India Awakened

Al-Islah (and its related publicity material) played a major role in establishing 4,000-6,000^{cvi} Khaksar Movement offices in India and creating a well-disciplined and dedicated Private Army of 5 million Khaksars^{cviii} in British India. The creation of such a large army in itself speaks of India's awakening. The Khaksars roused the nation to seek freedom through their soldierly activities (e.g. parades in uniform, mock wars, and holding of training camps) and their active outreach to the public (e.g. meetings, speeches, and lectures).

Al-Islah also inspired Mashriqi's followers, and as a result, many daily newspapers and weeklies were born supporting the Khaksar Tehrik's ideology. Examples include the *Al-Mashriqi*^{cix} from Peshawar, *Awaz*^{cx} daily from Karachi, *Piyam-e-Ithad*^{cxii} (Message of Unity) from Abbottabad, *Jihad*^{cxiii} from Calcutta, *Mujahid*^{cxiv} from Rangoon, *Khaksar*^{cxv} from Rangoon, *Akhuwat*^{cxvi} from Peshawar, *Tarjuman*^{cxvii} from Gujrat, *Paigham*^{cxviii} from Haripur, Hazara District, NWFP, *Iqbal*^{cxix} from Rawalpindi, *The Radiance*^{cx} weekly from Aligarh (not to be confused with the current *Radiance*, Delhi), *Al-Islah*^{cxxi} from Rangoon, and *Khaksar*^{cxix} from Burma in Burmese language^{cxix}.

In addition, many Indian leaders were encouraged by the Khaksar Tehrik. In 1938, Gandhi suggested the creation of a task force of uniformed volunteers under the name of Peace Brigade. In the same year, Dr. Sir Gokal Chand Narang sought inspiration from the Khaksars and stated that “Arya Samaj [another volunteer movement] should emulate the Khaksar Tehrik”^{cxviii}. The All-India Muslim League also formed the Muslim National Guards in 1938. In April (05) 1939, Sardar Partap Singh (Member Legislative Assembly) announced the forming of “Punjab Kissan Fauj”. The Punjab Congress Socialist Party also planned to form its own army (National Militia)^{cxvii}. In April (09) 1939, a public gathering was held at which Professor Ranga referred to Khaksars and other organizations and explained the importance of such volunteer organizations. Over these years, many other volunteer movements copying the Khaksars came up, including Mahabir Dal, Ram Sena, and Arya Samaj.

Khaksar Influence beyond British India

Al-Islah played a vital role in spreading Mashriqi’s ideology beyond British India; as a result, the Khaksar Movement not only spread very fast in India but its influence reached different parts of the world, i.e. *Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, Bahrain, Burma, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), Egypt, Nigeria, South Africa, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, as well as some countries of Europe*^{cxv}. Khaksar Movement offices were opened in many countries and people came forward to join the Khaksar Tehrik and/or to support Mashriqi’s ideology. In 1939, monthly *Khaksar* was also launched in Nairobi (Kenya) in Urdu, English, and Gujrati^{cxvi}. These examples are enough to understand the Khaksar Tehrik’s influence^{cxvii} in many regions and they speak of Mashriqi’s accomplishments.

Ban on Al-Islah

Toward the end of 1939 [during the dispute between the Khaksars and Government of United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh, U.P.) over the Shia-Sunni riots^{cxviii}], the British came to know about the Khaksars’ militant ability. The Khaksars’ power could be gauged by when they challenged the British authority in the United Provinces, and the Congress Ministry in the said province was forced to resign; the British Governor of U.P. (Sir Harry Graham Haig) had no choice but to sign an agreement with the Khaksar Tehrik at Mashriqi’s terms^{cxix}. Lord Linlithgow (Viceroy of India) became worried, and on November 13, 1939,

he wrote a secret letter to Haig in which he stated "...I regard it [Khaksar Tehrik] myself as having quite dangerous potentialities..."^{cxxx}.

The Khaksar Tehrik-U.P. Government agreement at Mashriqi's terms proved to be a test for Mashriqi which showed him that British rule could be toppled and that he must move swiftly on his plan of ending British rule. Therefore, Mashriqi immediately issued a *directive* (to provincial heads of the Khaksar Tehrik) published in *Al-Islah* to increase Khaksar strength by 2.5 million^{cxxxi} by June 15th, 1940.

The Khaksar Tehrik's strength and upswing? in the country, along with the Movement's influence spreading fast outside India through *Al-Islah* and other means, created alarm for the rulers. The Secretary of State for India, Lord Zetland, wrote (on March 09, 1940, 10 days before ban on *Al-Islah* and the Khaksar Tehrik) to Linthgow: "It certainly looks as if, we were to withdraw our control from India"^{cxxxii}. The Khaksar power compelled the rulers to devise strategies to maintain their control over India; as a step, they began working closely with Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Mahatma Gandhi, and other non-Khaksar leaders.

Under this state of affairs, the continuance of *Al-Islah* became a grave menace for the Government; as such the main communication line between the Khaksar Headquarters and the Khaksar Tehrik branches in India and abroad had to be cut-off. The Government of Punjab, under whose jurisdiction *Al-Islah* fell, was given a signal to take immediate action against the weekly.

Based on these instructions, the Punjab Premier, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan (also a key member of the All-India Muslim League) issued the order for action; Punjab Police raided Mohammadi Press in Lahore on February 22, 1940 and confiscated copies of the *Al-Islah*. The Punjab Government also demanded a security of Rs. 1,000^{cxxxiii}. Mashriqi, sensing the ban, made alternate arrangements and started publishing *Al-Islah* from Delhi^{cxxxiv}.

Soon after, the Governor of Punjab's Provincial Fortnightly Report (dated second half March 1940)^{cxxxv} reported that an issue of *Al-Islah* (March 08/15, 1940) was published from Delhi; this brought the matter to the attention of authorities in India and London. However, the Governor of Punjab (Sir Henry Duffield Craik) comforted the Viceroy of India (Linlithgow) in a letter to him dated March 18, 1940; Craik wrote that his Government was taking appropriate action against the

Al-Islah^{cxxxvi}. Moreover, according to the said letter, the Punjab Government had asked the Chief Commissioner of Delhi to take action against the weekly^{cxxxvii}.

On March 19, 1940, a uniformed contingent of 313 Khaksars paraded in Lahore in protest against Government actions. To stop this march, police opened fire and 200 or more Khaksars (as per Khaksar and other credible sources; the Government's official figure is in the 30s) were brutally killed. On this day of the historic Khaksar massacre, the Khaksar Tehrik and *Al-Islah* were banned by the Government of Punjab. On the same day, Mashriqi was arrested^{cxxxviii} and police raided the Khaksar headquarters in Icchra (Lahore) and Khaksar houses and confiscated *Al-Islah* and other material. Thereafter, a full campaign was launched and Khaksar offices across the country were raided and a large number of copies of *Al-Islah*, pamphlets, flyers, posters, and other materials were confiscated. *This action was taken at a time when Mashriqi was at the verge of toppling British rule and in his head he had set mid-1940 as the deadline*^{cxxxix cxl}.

News of the Khaksar massacre and Mashriqi's arrest spread across India and abroad via print media and radio stations. *The ban had a very positive effect on the demand for freedom.* The British were extremely anxious and they continued to develop strategies to maintain their rule and continued to work with non-Khaksar leaders.

Soon the Chief Commissioner of Delhi also imposed a ban on publishing the weekly. The Khaksars then attempted to publish it from Sind; as evident through the Punjab Governor's letter dated April 03, 1940 which states that *Al-Islah* was to be published from the Sind Province. However, the Sind Government also did not allow this. *Al-Islah* was moved to Calcutta^{cxli} and publishing began there in July 1940. The Governor of Punjab (Craik) wrote to the Governor of Bengal (Sir John Arthur Herbert) to stop its publication, but the Khaksars managed to continue to print it (it is yet not known for how long it kept appearing). The *Al-Islah* also began appearing from Aligarh (United Provinces now Uttar Pradesh)^{cxlii}. Meanwhile, under continued Khaksars' resistance, the Punjab Government lifted the ban; however Mashriqi remained behind bars in Vellore Central Jail.

In June 1941, the Central Government came after *Al-Islah*, and its publication was forbidden and the Khaksar Tehrik was banned *throughout India*. The media (newspapers and radio stations) broadcasted the Government ban in India and in many other countries. Government actions against the Khaksar Tehrik (i.e. the

March 19th massacre and the 1941 ban) were known in many regions of the world, and this generated negative feelings among people in countries which were under Imperial rule. The Government of India, Home Department sent a secret coded telegram on June 09, 1941^{cxliii} to the Secretary of State for India (Lord Amery) (in response to telegram of June 06, 1940). It reported on the measures taken thus far, such as:

- A Communiqué banning Khaksar Tehrik had been sent to London, Basra, Cairo and Jerusalem with a brief account on the Khaksar Tehrik
- Some Provincial Governments had been requested to arrange statements from well-known Muslims in support of Government actions
- Provincial advisors and censors had been “warned to watch press reactions” and not to pass anything that went against the Government. Press advisors would make contact with editors, if required
- Arrangements had been put in place to gather “press reaction” and “helpful press comment.” The first batch of such comments had been sent to All India Radio, London, BBC Arab Broadcasting, Jerusalem, Basra, and Cairo. All India Radio had been cautioned about German broadcasts as well as their own radio transmissions in Persian and Pushtu
- Reuters had been briefed on reporting about the Khaksars
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The telegram also stated that the Hindu press may approve or stay quiet, whereas the Muslim Press was unimportant.

The Home Department of the Government of India also sent another secret coded telegram (June 23, 1941) to the Secretary of State for India (Amery), which stated that the publishing of *Al-Islah* from Aligarh (U.P.) had been “suppressed”^{cxliv}. These steps were taken to cut off the communication lines and cripple the Khaksar Movement in order to secure British rule which had been threatened by the Khaksar Tehrik. Linlithgow later wrote (May 26, 1943) to all Provincial Governors; he stated that he had always felt that the Khaksars are “potentially, a most dangerous organisation”^{cxlv}. The suppression of *Al-Islah* and the all-India ban on the Khaksar Tehrik continued to fuel the freedom movement and it became indispensable for the British to continue seeking the support of non-Khaksar Indian leaders.

The ban on *Al-Islah* continued (until 1946), even after Mashriqi was released from Vellore Central Jail (January 19, 1942^{cxlvi}), (with his movements restricted to Madras Presidency^{cxlvii}, province of British India) and even after the ban on the Khaksar Tehrik and Mashriqi’s movements was lifted in December 1942. Printers

were warned that if they published it, their businesses would be heavily fined or even closed down. Hurdles were created to prevent its re-publishing, including not releasing the supply of newsprint. A Secret Police Abstract of Intelligence Punjab (dated January 30, 1943) stated that Mashriqi was continuing his efforts to reinstate *Al-Islah* and Dr. Muhammad Ismail Nami was put in charge of the newspaper. However, it was reported that the newspaper had been unsuccessful in securing the needed paper supply. Such oppressive methods were actually working against the British and their rule was coming to an end. Meanwhile, endeavors continued and efforts were made to publish *Al-Islah* from Karachi (Sind)^{cxlviii}. A Secret Police Abstract of Intelligence Punjab (dated May 01, 1943) stated that plans for the publication of *Al-Islah* from Karachi had been completed. However, it is not known whether the weekly was ever published from Karachi.

Republishing of *Al-Islah* was prevented in order to crush the Khaksar Movement. However, the authorities failed, because the Khaksar Tehrik developed alternate methods, such as publishing of pamphlets, flyers, brochures, and booklets. In addition, *Ihsan* (Lahore)^{cxlix}, *Iqbal*^{cl} (Rawalpindi), the *Zamindar*^{cli} weekly (Lahore^{clii}), and *The Radiance*^{cliii} weekly (Aligarh) were used to publish Allama Mashriqi and the Khaksar Tehrik's messages. *Al-Askariat*^{cliv} (Lucknow) was also started in April 1943. "In Bombay, another Khaksar newspaper '*Sultan*' (Bombay) was re-started in July 1944"^{clv}.

In the meantime, pressure on the Punjab Government was maintained by the Khaksar Tehrik to issue permission to re-start *Al-Islah* from Lahore. Finally, after a long struggle, the Government submitted. In 1946 (the exact date of re-publication is not known), a new registration Number L-5124 was issued and *Al-Islah* again began appearing from Lahore.

The paper once again resumed its publishing activities with even more vitality. It reported on anything that would end British rule in India. For example, events and activities such as the Khaksars' involvement in the Indian Royal Naval mutiny^{clvi} in Bombay, the Azad Hind Fauj [Army] Conference^{clvii} called by Mashriqi, government actions to suppress the Khaksar Movement^{clviii}, activity on the induction of released soldiers^{clix} into the Tehrik, welcoming of Major General S.D. Khan into the Khaksar Tehrik^{clx}, promotion of *The Constitution of Free India, 1946 A.C*^{clxi}, the historic Khaksar Camp (November 07-10, 1946^{clxii}) and mock war in Peshawar, and Mashriqi's speeches including his revolutionary speech at this camp to 110,000 people^{clxiii}.

By this time, *Al-Islah* had completed its mission and Mashriqi, once again, moved forward with his plans to overthrow British rule in India; this is evident from Mashriqi's written proclamation (December 01, 1946):

“Idara-i-Aliya [Khaksar Headquarters] shall soon issue an order that in the entire India, four million [sources quote a range from 4-5 million members] Khaksars, side by side with hundreds of thousands rather millions of supporters shall march simultaneously... This moment shall dawn upon us very soon and that is why it is being ordered that a grand preparation for this historical day should commence immediately... so that British can clearly witness the day of India's freedom...”^{clxiv}

Publishing of such news and this announcement did not go unnoticed and the British sensed that a revolt was forthcoming. Hence, shortly thereafter, in February 1947, the British Prime Minister (Clement Attlee) made an announcement that power would be transferred no later than June 1948. In March of 1947, Mashriqi ordered the assembly of 300,000 Khaksars in Delhi on June 30, 1947 – this was his final effort to topple the British Government and to keep India united. The British understood Mashriqi's intention and moved swiftly. Before the assembly of the Khaksars could take place, Lord Mountbatten's partition plan was announced on June 03, 1947.

The next day (June 04), the Viceroy met with Gandhi and discussed his plan; following the meeting, Gandhi expressed his acceptance^{clxv} of partition. The Viceroy also told Jinnah to accept the plan; Jinnah then held a meeting with the All-India Muslim League on June 09, and the plan was accepted without much resistance^{clxvi}. Similarly, on June 14, Gandhi pleaded the case for partition in front of the All-India Congress Committee and the plan was accepted. Meanwhile, Mashriqi was stabbed^{clxvii} on June 09th, the day the Muslim League accepted the plan; this was done to prevent Mashriqi's final effort to keep India united. The Muslim League and Jinnah, the Congress, and Gandhi refused to form a united front against the British as repeatedly proposed by Mashriqi.

It is clear that Mashriqi's efforts and his Khaksar Tehrik and *Al-Islah* awakened the nation to seek freedom. Ultimately, Mashriqi could not keep India united, as vested interests of the All-India Muslim League, Indian National Congress and Gandhi, and the British came into play. In a hurry, power was transferred to political parties that were suitable to the rulers, and India was partitioned — hence, Pakistan and India emerged.^{clxviii}

After partition, Pakistan and India's history was written from the perspectives of the All-India Muslim League and the Indian National Congress (and Gandhi), respectively. On the other hand, *Al-Islah* and Mashriqi's pivotal role was buried.

Conclusion

The *Al-Islah* weekly's successes^{clix} cannot be undervalued; the awakening brought about by *Al-Islah*, along with Mashriqi's preparations to overthrow British rule, forced the British to transfer power. If the *Al-Islah* had not helped to raise a massive Private Army and the rulers had felt no threat, they would not have even spoken to *non-Khaksar leaders* and certainly would not have considered transferring power. India's resources were too lucrative and could have helped the British pay off losses from World War II. For reasons such as this, the British were maneuvering and coming up with proposals to maintain their hold over India. When the time came for the British to exit, it was not in the interest^{clxx} of the British, Jinnah, Gandhi, and the Congress to keep India united and the nation was divided. Those who accepted partition failed to understand Mashriqi's vision, and the base realities of the post-partition state of affairs endorse his farsightedness.

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ⁱ List of countries is taken from various sources:

Dr. Mohammed Siddiq Khan's letter to Akhtar Ali Qureshi in Bahrain. British Library, India Office (London). IOR R/15/2/168 or IOR NEG 8897, pp. 25-26

For Burma, Persia (Iran), Saudi Arabia: Mashriqi stated "We have branches outside India in Burma, in Persia, as well as in Arabia." Mashriqi's Presidential Address on the opening day of the All-Faiths Conference at Indore, India (April 18-21, 1938)

For Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran: IOL L/1/1/629, p. 61

For Yemen: *Al-Islah*, May 05, 1939, p. 01

For Burma, Ceylon, Bahrain, South Africa: speech delivered by Khan Bahadur Shaikh Fazl-i-Haq Piracha (Member Central Legislative Assembly) in the Central Legislative Assembly Debates on September 23, 1942

Source for holding Khaksar camps in Rangoon (Burma), Aden (Yemen), Kabul (Afghanistan), Cairo (Egypt), Nairobi (Nigeria): Mashriqi's directive in *Al-Islah*, January 1939

ⁱⁱ Source for quote: IOL L/1/1/629, p. 61. Year (1938) is approximated as it was illegible in the source.

ⁱⁱⁱ Yousaf, Nasim. "Allama Mashriqi the Great - A Hero of All Times" http://www.allamamashraqi.com/images/Allama_Mashriqi_the_Great_-_A_Hero_of_All_Times.pdf

^{iv} The Movement was founded in 1930.

Al-Islah, December 08, 1939, Vol. 06, No. 49, p. 06

Al-Islah, February 15, 1946, Vol. 09, No. 06, p. 08

Al-Islah, February 08, 1946, Vol. 09, No. 06, p. 08

^v Five million in British India. *Al-Islah*, December 01, 1946

^{vi} Allama Mashriqi's biography was published (for the first time) on November 23, 1934 in the first edition of *Al-Islah* dated November 23, 1934 (*Al-Islah*, October 18, 1935, p. 02). It was written by Raja Muhammad Sarfraz Khan from Chakwal (Punjab). Sarfraz Khan was a Lawyer and Member Punjab Legislative Assembly. Sarfraz Khan joined the Khaksar Tehrik on October 16, 1935 and was appointed Salar-e-Alah on the same date (*Al-Islah*, October 25, 1935, p. 08). The biography of Mashriqi was later published intermittently in *Al-Islah*, such as the *Al-Islah*, August 30, 1935, p. 09-11, *Al-Islah*, October 18, 1935, p. 02, and *Al-Islah*, May 19, 1939.

^{vii} *Al-Islah*, April 03, 1936, p. 08, column 02 (top) (translation from Urdu)

^{viii} *Al-Islah*, April 03, 1936, p. 08, column 02 (top) (translation from Urdu)

^{ix} *Al-Islah*, June 14, 1935, Vol. illegible, No. 23, p. 03, column 01

Al-Islah, November 15, 1935, Vol. 02, No. 44, p. 01, column 03

^x For example in:

Al-Islah, August 14, 1936, p. 02-03

Al-Islah, August 21, 1936, p. 02, column 01

Al-Islah, February 19, 1937, p. 07, column 02-03

^{xi} *Al-Islah*, January 11, 1937, p. 01

Al-Islah, July 02, 1937, p. 12

^{xii} *Al-Islah*, February 11, 1938, p. 01

^{xiii} *Al-Islah*, August 27, 1937, p. 10

^{xiv} *Al-Islah*, January 11, 1946, p. 01

^{xv} *Al-Islah*, January 17, 1946, p. 01

^{xvi} *Al-Islah*, March 19, 1937 (last page)

^{xvii} *Al-Islah*, July 02, 1937, p. 12

^{xviii} *Al-Islah*, February 11, 1938, p. 12

^{xix} *Al-Islah*, April 08, 1938, p. 12

^{xx} *Al-Islah*, June 17, 1938, p. 12

^{xxi} *Al-Islah*, December 09, 1938, p. 07

^{xxii} *Al-Islah*, November 03, 1939. On February 22, 1940, police raided Mohammadi Press, Lahore, which used to print *Al-Islah*.

^{xxiii} *Al-Islah*, January 11, 1946, p. 01

^{xxiv} *Al-Islah*, August 23, 1946, p. 12

^{xxv} *Al-Islah*, January 11, 1946, p. 01

^{xxvi} *Al-Islah*, December 06, 1935, p. 05

Al-Islah, July 08, 1938, p. 06, column 01

^{xxvii} For example the policy appeared in *Al-Islah*, April 03, 1936, p. 08

^{xxviii} *Al-Islah*, March 19, 1937, p. 08

^{xxix} *Al-Islah*, March 26, 1937, p. 05

Al-Islah, May 21, 1938, p. 05

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- ^{xxx} *Al-Islah*, April 03, 1936, p. 02
- ^{xxxi} *Al-Islah*, April 03, 1936, p. 02
- ^{xxxii} *Al-Islah*, April 03, 1936, p. 02
- ^{xxxiii} *Al-Islah*, April 03, 1936, p. 02
- ^{xxxiv} *Al-Islah*, April 03, 1936, p. 02
- ^{xxxv} *Al-Islah*, April 03, 1936, p. 02
- ^{xxxvi} *Al-Islah*, April 03, 1936, p. 02
- ^{xxxvii} *Al-Islah*, April 03, 1936, p. 02
- ^{xxxviii} *Al-Islah*, April 03, 1936, p. 02
- ^{xxxix} For example in:
Al-Islah, April 03, 1936, p. 01
Al-Islah, April 24, 1936, p. 01
- ^{xl} *Al-Islah*, August 30, 1935, p. 08
Al-Islah, April 03, 1936, p. 03
Al-Islah, October 22, 1937, p. 06
- ^{xli} *Al-Islah*, October 22, 1937, p. 05-06
- ^{xlii} *Al-Islah*, July 05, 1935, p. 05-06
- ^{xliii} *Al-Islah*, December 06, 1935, p. 03-10
- ^{xliv} *Al-Islah*, August 06, 1937, p. 16
- ^{xlv} *Al-Islah*, August 06, 1937, p. 16
- ^{xlvi} *Al-Islah*, February 14, 1936, p. 04
Al-Islah, August 21, 1936, p. 12
Al-Islah, December 09, 1938, p. 07-10
- ^{xlvii} *Al-Islah*, November 01, 1935, p. 12
Al-Islah, April 24, 1936, p. 07
Al-Islah, August 28, 1936, p. 07
Al-Islah, September 10, 1937, p. 01, column 01
Al-Islah, September 10, 1937, p. 04
- ^{xlviii} Mashriqi's tour program of Punjab province. *Al-Islah*, July 05, 1935, p. 02, column 03
- ^{xlix} For example:
Mashriqi's telegram to Governor of NWFP. *Al-Islah*, November 13, 1936, p. 12, column 03. *Al-Islah*, November 20, 1936, p. 06, column 02
Mashriqi's reply to Raja Mehmoodabad. *Al-Islah*, November 12, 1937, p. 01, column 02
Mashriqi's reply to Pir Bakhsh Khan (Member NWFP Legislative Assembly). *Al-Islah*, December 24, 1937, p. 02, column 02
- ⁱ *Al-Islah*, December 03, 1937, p. 19
- ⁱⁱ *Al-Islah*, September 13, 1935, p. 08
- ⁱⁱⁱ *Al-Islah*, June 11, 1937, p. 07
- ⁱⁱⁱⁱ *Al-Islah*, June 11, 1937, p. 06
- ^{lv} *Al-Islah*, June 11, 1937, p. 07
- ^{lv} *Al-Islah*, June 11, 1937, p. 07
- ^{lvi} *Al-Islah*, June 11, 1937, p. 06
- ^{lvii} *Al-Islah*, April 17, 1936, p. 01
Al-Islah, October 28, 1938, p. 07
Al-Islah, November 11, 1938, p. 05
- ^{lviii} Sixty pound art paper was used to print the *Khaksar Camp* (Photo Album). It was bounded in hard cover and title (front and the back) stamped in gold print. It was shipped in a box to avoid creases or any other type of damage. In 1938, the album's price was two rupees four *annas* (Indian currency) with regular mail; for a V.P. Parcel (payment collected upon delivery), the price was two rupees nine annas and two rupees sixty annas if purchased through a commission agent (*Al-Islah*, October 28, 1938, p. 07). The album was very popular and it was sold to a large number of Khaksars and others (various editions were published). Khaksars were directed to show the album to people in India and in foreign countries to enlighten them about Khaksar military activities as well as Khaksar aims. It encouraged additional enrollment into the Khaksar Movement and the results were astronomical.
- ^{lix} *Al-Islah*, December 02, 1938, p. 06, column 01
Al-Islah, December 16, 1938, p. 07
- ^{lx} For example:
"A Look at the Downfall of the Muslims" *Al-Islah*, April 17, 1936, p. 05, 06, 11
"Nations' Downfall Lies in Disunity" *Al-Islah*, April 24, 1936, p. 06

A story of Joan of Arc under the title "A Brave Woman of France" *Al-Islah*, April 03, 1936, p. 10
About Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar's trial *Al-Islah*, May 17, 1946, p. 05
^{lxi} For example: "Islam and Government" *Al-Islah*, September 13, 1935, p. 02
^{lxii} "Christianity & Islam" *Al-Islah*, July 05, 1935, p. 10
Al-Islah, February 07, 1936, p. 07-10
Al-Islah, October 23, 1936, p. 11
Al-Islah, December 04, 1936, p. 11
Al-Islah, March 05, 1937, p. 05
Al-Islah May 14, 1937, p. 07
^{lxiii} *Al-Islah*, May 29, 1936, p. 07
Al-Islah, October 02, 1936, p. 10
Al-Islah, March 26, 1937, p. 05
^{lxiv} *Al-Islah*, May 08, 1936, p. 09
^{lxv} It published a story of Joan of Arc under the title "A Brave Woman of France" *Al-Islah*, April 03, 1936, p. 10
^{lxvi} *Al-Islah*, April 17, 1936, p. 05
Al-Islah, September 04, 1936, p. 06, 10
Al-Islah, February 22, 1937, p. 10
^{lxvii} *Al-Islah*, January 10, 1936, p. 05
Al-Islah, August 14, 1936, p. 05
Al-Islah, October 02, 1936, p. 07
Al-Islah, March 26, 1937, p. N/A
Al-Islah, August 20, 1937, p. 05-07
Al-Islah, August 27, 1937, p. 07-09
^{lxviii} *Al-Islah*, January 29, 1937
Al-Islah, November 12, 1937, p. 05
^{lxix} *Al-Islah*, August 21, 1936, p. 05
Al-Islah, March 26, 1937, p. 09
^{lxx} *Al-Islah*, April 09, 1937, p. 03
^{lxxi} *Al-Islah*, August 13, 1937, p. 10
^{lxxii} *Al-Islah*, April 01, 1938, p. 07
^{lxxiii} *Al-Islah*, August 27, 1937, p. 10
^{lxxiv} On August 01, 1937, Nawab Jung participated in a Khaksar Camp in Hyderabad Deccan (held from July 30-August, 1937). He was wearing Khaksar uniform (*Al-Islah*, August 13, 1937, p. 03) and held a spade on his shoulder. Information about the date of the Camp is taken from *Al-Islah* May 09, 1937, p. 11. At this Camp, Nawab Jung made a speech, which appeared in *Al-Islah* on October 01, 1937, pp. 07-08.
^{lxxv} See endnote 5 for more information on Raja Muhammad Sarfraz Khan.
^{lxxvi} *Al-Islah*, August 12, 1938, p. 05. In Pakistan, Habibullah Khan held important political positions such as Federal Interior Minister (late President Muhammad Ayub Khan's regime), Chairman Senate (late Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's regime), and Acting President of Pakistan (when President Fazal Ilahi Chaudhry went abroad for medical treatment).
^{lxxvii} *Al-Islah*, September 24, 1937, p. 05
^{lxxviii} *Al-Islah*, June 04, 1937, p. 12
^{lxxix} *Al-Islah*, August 27, 1937, p. 09
^{lxxx} *Al-Islah*, February 12, 1937, p. 02-03
Al-Islah, September 17, 1937, p. 04
Al-Islah, September 23, 1938, p. 03 to 14

One of the functions of the Khaksars was to provide community service regardless of religion, sect, caste, color or creed. Social service performed by the Khaksars included volunteer firefighting, clearing standing water, providing financial help to the needy, laying to rest the unclaimed deceased, helping widows, providing assistance during natural disasters, helping to solve missing children cases, clearing blocked drainage systems, etc. (*Al-Islah*, June 28, 1935, Vol. illegible, No. 25, p. 04) (Also see *Hindu*, May/June 1935). They saluted Muslim and non-Muslim leaders sending the message that we are one and there is no disunity amongst Indians. The Khaksars used to send reports on the services they performed. Such services were published in *Al-Islah*, not only to inform about Khaksar activities but to encourage the public to adopt community service. The idea was to unite Muslims and non-Muslims whose unity had been ruptured by the British in order to maintain their rule.

Community service was also a method of teaching and directing the nation toward self-reliance and nation building; it was an important and practical step to guide a nation which lacked such concepts as there was no prior trend amongst the citizens across India of serving fellow citizens on a *daily* basis. To encourage this trend, *Al-Islah* regularly

published news about such services. Community service also helped the Khaksar Tehrik to grow (see *Al-Islah*, August 06, 1937, p. 09).

^{lxxxix} *Al-Islah*, June 14, 1935, Vol. illegible, No. 23, pp. 09, 11

^{lxxxix} *Al-Islah*, January 22, 1937, p. 08

^{lxxxix} *Al-Islah*, August 26, 1938, p. 05

Al-Islah, November 25, 1938, p. 01

^{lxxxix} *Al-Islah*, April 23, 1937, p. 03

^{lxxxix} *Al-Islah*, August 13, 1937, p. 11

^{lxxxix} *Al-Islah*, December 30, 1938, p. 11

^{lxxxix} *Al-Islah*, December 09, 1938, p. 12

^{lxxxix} *Al-Islah*, April 01, 1938, p. 01

^{lxxxix} *Al-Islah*, May 13, 1938, p. 04

^{xc} *Al-Islah*, August 14, 1936, p. 09

Al-Islah, August 21, 1936, p. 06

^{xc} *Al-Islah*, August 26, 1938, p. 12

^{xcii} *Al-Islah*, July 26, 1935, p. 05

Al-Islah, February 22, 1937, p. 12

^{xciii} For example: Letter from Rangoon (Burma), *Al-Islah*, February 14, 1936, p. 02

^{xciv} *Al-Islah*, July 05, 1935, p. 01

Al-Islah, January 10, 1936, p. 01

Al-Islah, April 17, 1936, p. 01

Al-Islah, August 28, 1936, p. 01

^{xcv} *Al-Islah*, February 05, 1937, p. 02-03

Al-Islah, March 05, 1937, p. 11

^{xcvi} Debate in NWFP Legislative Council. *Al-Islah*, November 15, 1935, p. 27

Resolutions. *Al-Islah*, January 08, 1937, p. 01

^{xcvii} For example:

The North West Frontier Government was not pleased with Mashriqi and many of the Khaksar activities; as such the NWFP Government imposed restrictions in the 1930s. *Al-Islah*, January 01, 1937, p. 01

At a Khaksar Camp (March 26-28, 1937) in Delhi, Mashriqi and the Khaksars were arrested. *Al-Islah*, April 09, 1937, p. 12, column 02

^{xcviii} Bashir Ahmed Siddiqui (a Khaksar leader) appealed to the Governor of NWFP (Now Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa) to remove restrictions on the Khaksar Tehrik. *Al-Islah*, March 19, 1937, p. 11

^{xcix} *Al-Islah*, March 04, 1938, p. 05

Al-Islah, April 08, 1938, p. 06

Al-Islah, May 13, 1938, p. 05

^c *Al-Islah*, December 31, 1937, p. 42

Al-Islah, January 28, 1938, p. 07

^{ci} *Al-Islah*, November 19, 1937, p. 12

^{cii} A letter from Tattha (Sind), *Al-Islah*

^{ciii} *Al-Islah*, September 24, 1937, p. 11

Al-Islah, December 31, 193, column 03

^{civ} *Al-Islah*, March 12, 1937, p. 12

Al-Islah, August 27, 1937, p. 07

^{cv} Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah:

Al-Islah, June 07, 1946, p. 03

Al-Islah, June 07, 1946, p. 05

Al-Islah, June 21, 1946, p. 05

Al-Islah, June 28, 1946, p. 05

Al-Islah, July 05, 1946, p. 05

Mahatma Gandhi and Indian National Congress:

Al-Islah, August 02, 1935, p. 06

Mashriqi's public address on the negative politics of All-India Muslim League and the Indian National Congress. *Al-Islah*, November 22, 1946, p. 05

^{cvi} *Al-Islah*, June 17, 1947, p. 11, column 03

^{cvi} Different figures have been quoted in books/documents.

^{cvi} Through *Al-Islah*, Mashriqi created a model in the shape of the Khaksar Tehrik in which men and women adopted positive traits and habits such as strict discipline, unity, service before self, dedication to the cause, honesty, and sense of

sacrifice. The Khaksar Tehrik inculcated among the Khaksars the virtues of self-respect, self-honor, and self-pride. It instilled among the members a sense of tolerance, equal treatment, community service, and respect for all, regardless of religion, color, class and, creed. The model became an example of equality, justice, and accountability. Without *Al-Islah*, the creation of Khaksar Tehrik model would have been impossible.

The amazing part is that there was no formal academy/institution or even a building where Khaksar training was held. Public places, open areas, and playgrounds were used. Another noticeable feature is that the Khaksars performed all activities with no remuneration in mind. They spent their own funds to purchase uniforms and equipment and devoted time on a daily basis; in case of travel to participate in Khaksar Camps, they bore travel and food expenses and left their professional/personal work behind for the Tehrik's activities, an unprecedented phenomenon witnessed in the history of South Asia. The credit for this goes to the leadership and organizational skills of Mashriqi as well as the contents of *Al-Islah*.

^{cix} *Al-Islah*, December 24, 1937, p. 02, column 01

Al-Islah, December 31, 1937, p. 38

^{cx} *Al-Islah*, March 11, 1938, p. 09

Al-Islah, December 09, 1938, p. 15, column 03

^{cxii} *Al-Islah*, March 03, 1939, p. 01

^{cxiii} *Al-Islah*, March 03, 1939, p. 01

^{cxiiii} Mashriqi's letter to Shah Muhammad Zaman (Salar) who launched daily "Mujahid". *Al-Islah*, February 05, 1937, p. 09, column 03. *Al-Islah*, December 09, 1938, p. 15

^{cxv} *Al-Islah*, May 09, 1937, p. 02

^{cxvi} *Al-Islah*, August 05, 1938, p. 08, column 02

^{cxvii} *Al-Islah*, December 24, 1937, p. 32, column 02

Al-Islah, December 31, 1937, p. 38, column 03

^{cxviii} *Al-Islah*, December 24, 1937, p. 32, column 01

^{cxix} A Secret Police Abstract of Intelligence Punjab dated April 03, 1943

^{cx} In February, 1941, the *Radiance* weekly was started from Aligarh, U.P.

Yousaf, Nasim. *Government of British India on Allama Mashraqi and Khaksar Tehreek (Movement): A Select Chronology; A descriptive timeline of the correspondence of the Secretary of State, Viceroy of India, Provincial Governors, and high officials, intelligence reports, and other events (Focal Period: 1930s and 40s)*. AMZ Publications (USA), p. 277

^{cxii} *Al-Islah* in Burmese language is published in Rangoon. *Al-Islah*, July 31, 1936, p. 06

^{cxiii} *Al-Islah*, July 31, 1936, p. 06

Al-Islah, September 18, 1936, p. 03, column 01

^{cxv} *Al-Islah*, July 31, 1936, p. 06

^{cxvi} Dr. Sir Gokal Chand Narang's (Ex-Minister in the Punjab Government) speech at Lahore. *Al-Islah*, December 02, 1938, p. 10

^{cxvii} IOR L/P&J/8/678, pp. 110-3

^{cxviii} See endnote 1

^{cxix} *Al-Islah*, August 11, 1939, p. 13

^{cx} There might even be more journals following Khaksar ideology, however, for now, I have only traced the ones mentioned in this piece.

^{cxii} Yousaf, Nasim. *Hidden Facts Behind British India's Freedom: A Scholarly Look into Allama Mashraqi and Quaid-e-Azam's Political Conflict*. AMZ Publications (USA), pp. 55-70

^{cxiii} Governor of U.P.'s (Haig) letter to Linlithgow, Viceroy of India, dated November 08, 1939

^{cxiv} IOL MSS EUR F125/102, pp. 99-100

^{cxv} The Governor of Punjab's Provincial Fortnightly Report for the First Half of June 1940. IOL L/P&J/5/243

^{cxvi} Muhammad, Shan. 1973. *Khaksar Movement in India*. Delhi, India: Meenakshi Prakashan, p. 49

^{cxvii} On February 19, 1940, a security of Rs. 1,000 was demanded from Mohammadi Steam Press, Lahore, which printed the *Al-Islah*. IOL L/P&J/5/243, Governor of Punjab's Provincial Fortnightly Report for second half February 1940 enclosed in Craik's, Governor of Punjab, letter to Linlithgow, Viceroy of India, March 09, 1940.

^{cxviii} An issue of *Al-Islah* (March 08/15, 1940) was published from Delhi (after being banned in Lahore). IOL L/P&J/5/243, Governor of Punjab's Provincial Fortnightly Report, second half March 1940

^{cxix} IOL L/P&J/5/243

^{cx} IOL MSS EUR F125/89, pp. 34-6

^{cxii} IOL MSS EUR F125/89, pp. 34-6

^{cxiii} He was kept in Vellore Central Jail.

^{cxiv} On January 14, 1939, Mashriqi issued an important directive to Khaksars all across India and abroad. According to this order, the Khaksar Tehrik would achieve its final objective (the freedom of British India) by 1940.

In *Al-Islah* of January 1939, Mashriqi issued an order to hold Khaksar Camps, from December 27-31, 1939, in various cities, namely Lahore, Peshawar, Karachi, Calcutta, Quetta, Lucknow, Hyderabad, Deccan, Delhi, Mysore, Jaipur, Indore, Rangoon (Burma), Aden (Yemen), Kabul (Afghanistan), Cairo (Egypt), Nairobi (Nigeria), and so on. Mashriqi asked Khaksars to assemble in as large a number as they could, under the command of their respective City Salar (City Commander) and Provincial Nazim-i-Ala (Provincial Commander). After the said camp, a Central Camp of All-India Khaksars would be held at suitable place (place of the event was not disclosed); the Khaksar Tehrik would be brought to its final objective. *Al-Islah*, January 20, 1939, Vol. 06, No. 03, pp. 07-08

^{ext} On December 01, 1939, Mashriqi established a parallel Government in British India. According to details published in *Al-Islah* (see reference below), the country was divided into 14 provinces (with a center at Lahore) and the names of provincial commanders were announced. Each commander (called Hakim-e-Ala) was ordered to ensure that his power was comparable (*Al-Islah*, December 29, 1939, p. 06) to that of the British Governor in his respective province. For instance, commanders were to have their own warfare equipment and other paraphernalia. A directive was also issued to augment Khaksar strength by enrolling 2.5 million new Khaksars across India by June 15, 1940. (*Al-Islah*, December 24, 1939, Vol. 06, No. 47, p. 05) Efforts to this end were taken immediately and startling results were witnessed.

Also see:

- *Al-Islah*, November 17, 1939, Vol. 06, No. 48, p. 05
- *Al-Islah*, December 01, 1939, Vol. 06, No. 48, pp. 03-06
- Also listen to veteran Khaksar leader Sher Zaman's (author of several books on Mashriqi and the Khaksar Tehrik) video recorded interview by the National Archives of Pakistan; extracts are available on www.youtube.com

^{exh} On July 08, 1940, the Director of the Intelligence Bureau (Home Department, Government of India) wrote a secret letter to the Political Agent in Bahrain. The Director listed the addresses of people in Bahrain who were to receive copies of *Al-Islah* (published from Calcutta). He stated that packets containing copies of the paper were stopped by the censor in Karachi. He also stated that the Government was considering taking action against the newspaper, which had recently started publication from Calcutta. IOR R/15/2/168, p. 34

^{exxi} Professor Karrar Hussain's (in Pakistan, he became Vice Chancellor, Baluchistan University) *Khutba* was published in *Al-Islah*. *Al-Islah*, Aligarh, May 23, 1941, Vol. 23, No. 03

^{exxii} IOL L/P&J/8/680. IOL L/I/1/629, p. 18

^{exxiv} IOL L/P&J/8/680

Yousaf. *Government of British India...*, p. 302. See endnote 118 for full title.

^{exlv} Yousaf. *Government of British India...*, p. 355. See endnote 118 for full title.

^{exxvi} Yousaf Nasim, *Pakistan's Freedom & Allama Mashriqi: Statements, Pakistan's Freedom & Allama Mashriqi: Statements, Letters, Chronology of Khaksar Tehrik (Movement), Period: Mashriqi's Birth to 1947*. AMZ Publications (USA), p. 232

^{exxvii} Under British rule, most of south India was integrated into a region called the Madras Presidency. In 1956, the Madras Presidency was disbanded and Tamil Nadu was established.

^{exxviii} "Addendum To The Note On The Khaksar Movement" Microfiche: MF-2658, Roll-16, National Archives of India, p. 06

^{exlix} "Addendum To The Note On The Khaksar Movement" Microfiche: MF-2658, Roll-16, National Archives of India, p. 01

^{cl} "Addendum To The Note On The Khaksar Movement" Microfiche: MF-2658, Roll-16, National Archives of India, p. 06

^{cli} A Secret Police Abstract of Intelligence Punjab dated September 11, 1943

"Addendum To The Note On The Khaksar Movement" Microfiche: MF-2658, Roll-16, National Archives of India, p. 06

^{clii} Started by Maulvi Siraj-ud-Din (father of Maulana Zafar Ali Khan), a retired Postmaster. Syed, M.H. *Encyclopedia of Modern Journalism and Mass Media*, p. 274

^{cliii} "Addendum To The Note On The Khaksar Movement" Microfiche: MF-2658, Roll-16, National Archives of India, p. 07

^{cliv} "Addendum To The Note On The Khaksar Movement" Microfiche: MF-2658, Roll-16, National Archives of India, p. 06

^{clv} "Addendum To The Note On The Khaksar Movement" Microfiche: MF-2658, Roll-16, National Archives of India, p. 07

^{clvi} *Al-Islah*, March 08, 1946, p. 03

^{clvii} *Al-Islah*, August 14, 1946, p. 05

^{clviii} News about the arrest of Khaksar Salars (Khaksar leaders). *Al-Islah*, May 17, 1946, p. 03

^{clix} *Al-Islah* reported that slides were shown in the Poona cinema, inviting released army personnel to join the Khaksar Fauj (Army). They stated "The only way to independence of India is Hindu-Muslim unity. Read Khaksar Constitution." Slides also stated "If you wish to attain global rule, become pious and one." These slides were made in English, Urdu, and Marathi. (*Al-Islah*, October 25, 1946, Vol. 09, No. 42, p. 05).

In addition, flyers and pamphlets were distributed to induct released soldiers after the end of World War II.

^{clx} *Al-Islah*, August 16, 1946, p. 05

^{clxi} Prepared under the guidance of Mashriqi. *Al-Islah*, March 08, 1946, p. 06

^{clxii} *Al-Islah*, December 01, 1946

^{clxiii} *Al-Islah*, November 15, 1946

^{clxiv} Mashriqi made this proclamation on December 01, 1946 at 10 p.m. Printed by Punjab National Press (Lahore) under the auspices of Abdul Rehman Malik Printers & Publishers and released from Icchra (Lahore) (translation from Urdu)

^{clxv} Gandhi stated "You should not feel sorry at heart that India is to be divided into two." Gandhi's speech at a prayer meeting on June 4th 1947. *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*. Volume 95. Pp. 203-05

^{clxvi} The Muslim League meeting was a mere formality. Not much opposition or speeches were allowed and the Mountbatten Plan was accepted in a "hush-hush" manner. Jinnah did not allow attendees to resist the Plan.

^{clxvii} *The Canberra Times*, Australia, June 11, 1947

^{clxviii} Upon acceptance of partition by the All-India Muslim League, Indian National Congress and Gandhi in June 1947, Mashriqi found no reason to continue with *Al-Islah* and the Khaksar Movement. As such, Mashriqi with a very heavy heart announced the disbandment of both. *Al-Islah's* last issue came out on June 30-July 04, 1947. After the creation of Pakistan, *Al-Islah* (Lahore) was published in English. *Al-Islah* (Lahore) in Urdu is still periodically published by the Khaksar Tehrik (Icchra, Lahore, Pakistan).

^{clxix} The *Al-Islah* also helped to achieve Allama Mashriqi's mission of inculcating unity, strict discipline, tolerance, equality, self-less service, and most importantly, from the independence perspective, a strong spirit among millions to not rest until freedom was secured.

^{clxx} The British wanted to leave behind a weak region that would be dependent. Jinnah wanted to emerge as the Founder of Pakistan. The Congress and Gandhi were for the first time getting a major portion of India for their community as a separate country.