

## BIOGRAPHICAL LITERATURE ON FATIMA JINNAH — A REVIEW

DR. SHER MUHAMMAD GAREWAL\*

Mohtarama Miss Fatima Jinnah (1893-1967) was one of the most fascinating, striking and remarkable women in our national history. Possessing certain basic qualities of a promising Muslim woman, she started her public career with distinction and won recognition as the most devoted and the closest companion of her illustrious brother, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948). She rendered meritorious services both to the Quaid and the nation.<sup>1</sup>

During the Quaid's heroic struggle for freedom, Miss Fatima Jinnah constantly looked after his personal and domestic affairs, and she acted as a vigilant caretaker of his health, food and lodgings, and keeping him free from his personal and domestic chores and responsibilities.<sup>2</sup> During the critical 1937-47 decade, she readily helped and assisted him in taking the right decisions. Indeed, she had been a constant source of help and encouragement to him.<sup>3</sup>

Trained in the political traditions of her distinguished brother, Fatima Jinnah herself played a significant role in promoting and advancing the cause of Pakistan. Under his guidance, she took active part in organizing the Muslim women, being mainly responsible for organizing the All-India Muslim Women Students' Federation in 1937. Along with Quaid-i-Azam, she had toured endlessly, awakening, organizing, and inspiring the Muslim women.<sup>4</sup>

After independence, she continued to serve the nation as an inspiring patron, guide and mentor, keeping alive to the Quaid's political legacy. The Quaid had stood for the introduction of an Islamic system of

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\* Professor, Department of General History, Government College University, Lahore, Pakistan.

government in Pakistan, based on the principles of moderation, toleration, fraternity, equality, democracy and social justice and so did Fatima Jinnah.<sup>5</sup> She was one of the greatest critics of unhealthy, unjust and undemocratic activities and policies of the vested interests in the country. Through her special, occasional or periodical messages, speeches and statements, she vehemently condemned social injustices, political repression, oppression, tyranny and absolutism.<sup>6</sup> And in her struggle to keep the torch of democracy aflame, she came into direct conflict with authoritarian rulers — for instance during the Ayub regime,<sup>7</sup> which had a very healthy impact on the contemporary society of Pakistan.<sup>8</sup>

Regrettably but practically she has received scant attention of our scholars and historians. The lack of an authentic and authoritative work on her may be attributed to her low profile in active politics in the post independence era and it might not have aroused their interest and curiosity. Secondly, it is also due to the paucity of relevant historical material and lack of accessibility to her papers.

Though not much has been said and written about her, we still think that a comprehensive, scientific biography of Miss Jinnah can be produced on the basis of historical material found scattered in different sources.

However, some direct or indirect references regarding her life and achievements are found in almost all biographical works on Quaid-i-Azam. Though these are merely passing references, they do throw some light on one or the other aspect of her life and personality.

For example, in his study on Quaid-i-Azam, Hector Bolitho, while referring to her ultimate decision in 1929 to live with his distinguished brother, writes "From this time to his death, she, abandoned all other interest, to his care, and his career."<sup>9</sup>

Her devotion care and support to the Quaid was admitted by the Quaid himself. A few days before assuming the highest office of the new state, at one of the dinner speeches, he said: "Miss Fatima Jinnah is a constant source of help and encouragement to me. In the days when I was expecting to be taken as prisoner by the British government, it was my sister who encouraged me, and said hopeful things when revolution was staring me in the face. Her constant care is about my health."<sup>10</sup> In another version the Quaid is reported to have remarked: "During all these year of worry and hard work my sister was like a bright array of light and hope, whenever I came back home and met her. Anxieties would have been much greater and my health much worse but for restraint imposed by her. She never grudged. She never grumbled. Let me reveal to you something that you probably do not know. There was a time when we

were face to face with a great revolution. We were ready and prepared to face bullets and even death. She never said a word but on the contrary she encouraged me. For solid ten years she stood by me and sustained me."<sup>11</sup>

Her devotion and care for his brother may also be found in certain diaries or recollections. Col. Ilahi Bakhsh (1904-80) who treated the Quaid during his last days refers to her affection and devotion to her brother that often she would go without sleep for nights nursing him, humouring him, reading out to him or just sitting by his side with her soothing presence.<sup>12</sup> She emerges as the most devoted, most concerned, most sympathetic and untiring nursing sister. Khalid Mahmood Rabbani's account of Quaid's last days also confirm it.<sup>13</sup>

Likewise while referring to the pitiable condition of the dislocated Muslims at Delhi in 1947, G. Allana records that: Hearing the harrowing tales of the woes of the Muslims in Delhi, the "women of Karachi rose to the occasion, and under the leadership of Miss Fatima Jinnah, they collected woolen blankets and warm clothes in thousands to be rushed by plane to the camps in Delhi, where Muslims were passing a life of utter destitution and humiliation."<sup>14</sup>

Similarly Sharif al Mujahid records some evidence concerning Fatima Jinnah endorsing Quaid's view point in respect of an Islamic polity. Miss Jinnah categorically told James Michener, a journalist with a Pulitzer Prize award, "We are a Muslim state ... we are not a state run by priests or a hierarchy. We are a state organized according to Islamic principles and ... they are very fine principles for organizing a state."<sup>15</sup>

Stanley Wolpert states that how Jinnah was received by Fatima Jinnah at Karachi, on his arrival from London in December 1946: "Fatima was waiting to take him to home, to care for him properly, as she alone could do."<sup>16</sup> Aziz Beg remarks, "Jinnah was not 'all western in outlook' as Macaulay had envisioned an educated Indian of tomorrow but it is strangely true that the two men found sympathy and solace in the company of their sisters – what Hanna was for Macaulay, Fatima was for Jinnah."<sup>17</sup> Studied together these and such other scattered references found in the works on the Quaid yield the image of Fatima Jinnah as a devoted sister, social worker, and a staunch supporter of her brother's political philosophy.

More revealing is Fatima Jinnah's biography of the Quaid, *My Brother*. Though small in volume, it is a mine of new information. It really brings to light new facts about Quaid's serious illness in his last days, the mysterious circumstances in which the Quaid died and the nation was orphaned. She reveals new facts about her self and her brother's family

background and business crises of her father, Poonja Jinnah, faced. The study of this book shows that she had mastery over English and could easily explain the difficult situations in that language.<sup>18</sup>

Surayya Khurshid, in her recollections<sup>19</sup> of the days she stayed with Miss Jinnah, during the fifties and sixties of the last century, says that Fatima Jinnah was generally a strict disciplinarian, but at the same time kind, noble and gracious, and took great interest in the women's problems. She stood for a congenial family life and she engaged herself in community and social work. However, she was deadily opposed to blindly adopting western ways of life and culture. Surayya also records her views on Pakistan's domestic and foreign policies and was for establishing equal friendly relations with great powers. Unnecessary inclination towards western block was disliked by her. Surayya even noted some personal habits of Miss Jinnah, like smoking.<sup>20</sup>

Some other writers' recollections also throw considerable light on Miss Jinnah's life particularly her political contribution in challenging autocratic dictatorship. The recollections of Ayub Khan, Altaf Gauhar and Shaukat Hayat Khan, for instance, are noteworthy in respect of her participation in the presidential elections of 1964-65,<sup>21</sup> when she agreed to challenge Ayub Khan when others were afraid to do so. So, her unexpected decision to contest the presidential elections mentally perturbed Ayub Khan and his associates. They were placed in a predicament. Particularly Ayub Khan found himself in a difficult situation. Dislike rather hatred with regard to Miss Jinnah's erstwhile public career and her decision of contesting presidential elections found negative expression in his recollections.<sup>22</sup> He writes, "I do not know what considerations weigh with Miss Jinnah. She was leading a solitary life and had shown little interest in politics except for issuing periodicals statements to the press on days of national interest." "Since the death of Quaid-e-Azam" he continued, "she had maintained a consistent posture of opposition and criticism towards every government. Even during the days of Liaquat Ali Khan, she was running an opposition of her own, never missing an opportunity of creating a sense of depression and distress among the people and undermining the confidence in the government of the day." "In her seclusion and under the protection of the memory of Quaid-i-Azam, he added, "she set herself (as) an arbiter and a mentor." "When Martial Law was promulgated she welcomed the change but soon after reverted to her customary role." "On one occasion", he further points out, "I wrote to her that she might acquaint herself with the full facts of government policies before pronouncing judgment on them. I think she never forgave me for offering this advice."<sup>23</sup>



However, Miss Jinnah had decided to contest presidential elections after full consideration. She had fully discussed with her confidants the pros and cons of her contesting the election. She had specific mission behind her decision. Her acting or performance as a political critic, guide or mentor was in fact constructive in nature and spirit. Whatever the case may be, Miss Jinnah's emergence as a rival presidential candidate proved a nightmare for Ayub Khan and his associates. One may say that her decision to contest the elections for the post of president later enabled women leaders to emerge and reach the highest offices in the government.

Altaf Gauhar's recollections<sup>24</sup> of Ayub era, in general, and of presidential elections, in particular, are very interesting and revealing.<sup>25</sup> As one of the high-ups of that dictator's regime, he was able to watch the developments very closely. He gives the other side of the picture. Recalling the presidential elections, when he was the Secretary of Information and Broadcasting, he admits that by hearing the news of Miss Jinnah's decision to fight the presidential elections, Ayub Khan and his associates were really embarrassed and demoralized. They stood crestfallen. Her subsequent successful election campaign in both the West and East Wings of Pakistan demoralized them all the more.<sup>26</sup>

He admits that, no doubt, Miss Jinnah had no experience of government, no knowledge of administration and no contact with world leaders, yet she was the idol of the people and during the election campaign hundreds of thousands people would gather only to catch a glimpse of her. He further says that she was frail and elderly and could hardly speak any of the national languages but her charisma (like the Quaid) was irresistible. She was seen by the crowds as the only person who could bring down Ayub Khan's authoritarian regime and restore the democratic rights of the people. And the halo around her brightened with each public appearance. He frankly admits that the ruling political party was in complete disarray. It had no cadres and organization, only a clutch of paid employees. They were paralysed by the appearance of Fatima Jinnah on the political scene.

More interesting are Shaukat Hayat's reminiscences of the presidential elections.<sup>27</sup> Recalling the circumstances that led to holding the presidential elections, Shaukat Hayat says that the Combined Opposition Parties (COP) requested Miss Jinnah to contest the election as a rival candidate. Fatima, asked Shaukat to reach Karachi at once for consultation. When he reached there, she sought his honest advice with regard to COP's request. An interesting dialogue between them took place, which was as follows: "I asked her, 'Miss Jinnah, do you want a politician's answer or

that of a well-wisher.' She replied, 'Of course, I have called you as a son to obtain a correct and frank advice.' My reply was, 'Miss Jinnah, if you hope to win, please do not make even an attempt, because election will be rigged against you. It would be impossible to win in this limited electoral college of eighty thousand created by him, but if you are prepared to lose it, it would be the greatest service to the Nation by breaking the back of the present dictatorship.'<sup>28</sup> So Miss Fatima, next morning, decided to contest the election only in the interest of the Nation.<sup>29</sup> Though she lost the election, she broke the backbone of the dictator. As it was already expected, recalls Shaukat Hayat, the dictator absolutely played foul. He tried his best to create every possible hurdle in her way. He misused the government controlled media against the Opposition. The Opposition's viewpoint, in general, and Miss Jinnah's standpoint, in particular, were not given due coverage particularly on Radio. The quote M. Rafique Afzal, "During the 1964-65 elections, the Government made Radio Pakistan maintain a blackout on the opposition viewpoint to the extent of reducing coverage of Miss Fatima Jinnah's speeches to mere passing mention."<sup>30</sup> Thus in one of its programmes, *Masi Mehro*, the Lahore Radio Station even ridiculed a woman's candidature in the elections, as Rafique Afzal further remarks.<sup>31</sup> Altaf Gauhar, then Secretary, Information and Broadcasting, himself admits that Government made bunglings in broadcasting the speeches and statements of the presidential candidates: "the question-answer session which were broadcast by Radio Pakistan, after careful editing to ensure that nothing damaging to Ayub was put on their air, also went badly for Miss Jinnah."<sup>32</sup> According to Shaukat Hayat, Ayub Khan used every trick to win the elections. He remembers that Ayub Khan mutilated his own constitution and resorted to rigging, display of troops to overawe the voters, corruption and use the foreign influence (China) in order to win over Maulana Bhashani to change sides though he himself had sponsored the candidature of Miss Jinnah. "Ayub ended up with a blatant rigging of Election to defeat her, eventually ending her life by physical strangling by an agent."<sup>33</sup>

Some of the books written on the Muslim women's contribution to the Pakistan movement also contain some useful material about Miss Jinnah. Sarfraz Hussain Mirza's work on Muslim women's role in the Pakistan movement frequently refers to Miss Jinnah's key role during the struggle for freedom.<sup>34</sup> Though he repeatedly refers to her membership of the All India Muslim Women's Central Subcommittee from Bombay and gives full sketch of her life.<sup>35</sup>

*Tahrik-e-Pakistan and Khawateen*, another important work on Muslim

women's role in the Pakistan movement, by Nurusabah Begum herself a freedom fighter from Rohailkhand, U.P. who played an active part in awakening the Muslim women during the struggle for freedom. She gives a graphic account of Miss Fatima's hectic role in the awakening of Muslim women. She tells us how she eagerly met Miss Fatima in 1943 and since then how she and Muslim women of Delhi worked under the inspiring leadership of Fatima Jinnah. Who would preside over the Muslim women's meetings frequently held inside the city. She also tells us how Miss Jinnah showed great interest in improving the socio-economic condition of Muslim women of Delhi. Delhi Muslim women established children schools under her instructions and guidance,<sup>36</sup> and also set up an industrial home under Fatima Jinnah's name.<sup>37</sup> She also tells how they would get Quaid's guidance and instructions through the Mohtarama and how she was the great source of inspiration and encouragement.<sup>38</sup>

Begum Salma Tassaduq also a great freedom fighter from Punjab, in her autobiographical reminiscences, *Azādī kā Safar*, highlights the Muslim women's role in our struggle for freedom,<sup>39</sup> and throws light on the leading role of Miss Fatima Jinnah in organizing and inspiring the Muslim women.

Begum Shaista Ikramullah from Bengal, a distinguished female writer and political activist of the Pakistan movement, in her memoirs entitled *From Pardah to Parliament*, also depicts Miss Fatima's role and personality,

"I must say a little more about Miss Jinnah, for the great part that she has played in bringing the Muslim women forward is not fully realized abroad. She has not sought publicity and limelight. But to those who have the privilege of knowing her, the part she has played in this great drama is well-known. So many women now doing very important work for Pakistan were given their first job to do by Miss Jinnah."<sup>40</sup>

On her personality, she writes:

"She (Miss Jinnah) is an extremely good judge of character and capabilities and she has a quality especially rare in prominent people that she does not get taken in by flattery. She can assess a person pretty shrewdly almost on the first meeting, but no amount of trying would get you an inch further with her unless she herself wishes it. She is extremely reserved and makes friends with great difficulty."<sup>41</sup>

She also points out:

"It is my greatest privilege to have enjoyed her friendship for twenty years. Her kindness and advice to me in very difficult times have been invaluable, and when she is a friend she is a real friend, putting her friend's welfare before her own personal interest. Many a time, after I had plunged into Muslim League work, has she restrained my enthusiasm because she realized it was against my interests to go headlong into politics in this way [Shaista was the wife of a government officer, Ikramullah who would later become a foreign secretary of the country and also served as an ambassador]. She has never abused my enthusiasm and always understood my difficulties. In short, she has been truly a guide, philosopher and mentor."<sup>42</sup>

Now, we come to more important historical materials — press or journalistic writings — which deals directly with Miss Jinnah's life, personality and achievements. Much has been said and written about Miss Jinnah by way of articles, papers, comments and interviews published in country's newspapers, magazines, journals and periodicals during the last five decades.<sup>43</sup> A good deal was said and written in the country's press on her death (1967). *The Pakistan Times* (Lahore), *Dawn* (Karachi), *Nawa-e-Waqt* (Lahore), *Jang* (Karachi), *Imroze* (Lahore) and *The Morning News* (Dacca), flashed the news of Miss Jinnah's sorrowful demise on front pages. The English dailies i.e. *The Pakistan Times* and *Dawn* wrote appreciable editorials highlighting Miss Jinnah's personality and her contributions to our national history. *The Pakistan Times* titled its editorial under the caption: "The Noblest Lady", while, *Dawn*, as: "Madar-e-Millat." The papers under official control were noted for more restraint or reported in a restricted manner. However, *Nawa-e-Waqt* wrote an inspiring editorial, highlighting the salient features of her charismatic personality, her sacrifices and her political ideals, equality and social justice.<sup>44</sup> It also opined that she did not die a natural death.<sup>45</sup> Some of the national dailies in the subsequent years also brought out special editions on the life and achievements to Miss Jinnah, which also serve as a significant source material on her life and personality.

Another valuable source on Fatima Jinnah is her speeches and statements. She delivered scores of speeches and statements throughout her public career, which have been collected and edited by different institutions and individuals. *Gulbāng-i-Hayāt* (1951), the first collection of



her speeches and statements first published by Ferozsons of Lahore, comprises her important speeches made during 1939-1951. Two others appeared in 1993. One was prepared and edited by Azhar Munir (published by Frontier Publications) under the caption: *Madar-i-Millat Ka Jamhoori Safar*, while the other by Wakeel Anjum (published by Jang Publishers of Lahore) under the name: *Shama-e-Jamhuryyat*. Two similar collections also appeared recently.<sup>46</sup>

These collections mostly contain Miss Jinnah's speeches and statements on restoration of democracy in Pakistan. Azhar Munir's collection begins with the inclusion of Miss Jinnah's speech on the Quaid on Radio Pakistan in September 1951 some parts of which (critical remarks) were interrupted and suppressed. But the learned editor fails to include the portion of that broadcast whose suppression had greatly annoyed her. Salahuddin Khan's, *Speeches, Messages and Statements of Madar-e-Millat, 1948-1967* (pub. 1976) is more valuable contribution in delineating her ideals, both social and political.

Above all her own original papers mainly including her letters, telegrams, messages or other documents housed in National Archives of Pakistan are of most historical significance.<sup>47</sup> A three-volume collection of published or unpublished documents related to Mohtarama's biography has been preserved in the library of National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Islamabad.<sup>48</sup> If they are properly scanned or carefully studied, they are bound to throw a good deal of new light on Fatima Jinnah.

Chronology is considered a bedrock in historiography. Thus, *Madr-i-Millat Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah: A Chronology 1947-1967* by Riaz Ahmed, recently published by National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Islamabad represents a valuable contribution. Published very beautifully, it is full of information surely not less important than the biographies of Fatima Jinnah written so far. A similar valuable work has also appeared recently from Lahore.<sup>49</sup>

Though few and far between, Fatima Jinnah's biographies yield a good deal of source material. Though a few in number, they considerably help us in understanding her personality and achievements. Most probably the first biography of Fatima Jinnah was done by Ibrahim Jalees, *Fatima Jinnah* (Lahore, 1951). Then came Khalid Mahmud's *Madar-i-Millat* (Lahore, 1964), and Manzar Bashir's *Madar-i-Millat: Raushni Aur Umeed Ki Shua*, (Lahore, 1968), but they have been long out of print. One of them *Madar-i-Millat Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah* by Agha Ashraf has recently appeared from Lahore. The general get up of this book shows that it has been

written hurriedly and is simply based on one or two earlier biographical works on Miss Jinnah. Sairah Hashmi's *Aik Taasir Do Shakhsayyatein* (Fatima Jinnah and Quaid-i-Azam), (Lahore, 1995), stands in a class by itself. Written in an artistic and beautiful literary style, it includes an inspiring foreword by Majid Nizami, who considers her as the greatest benefactor of our nation.

More recently, many more biographies of Miss Jinnah have appeared, which are not less interesting for at least general leaders.<sup>50</sup>

Most important in this genre is Agha Hussain Hamdani's *Fatima Jinnah: Hayât Aur Khidmât*<sup>51</sup> which has gone into two editions. On the whole it is a fairly tolerable study, which deals, with the life, accomplishments and services of Miss Jinnah, succinctly. It is widely read and quoted book. Yet it is not free from some basic defects. Most of its introduction is superfluous. Some of his sources are weak — for instance. Abdullah Malik's book *Tārikh-e-Hindo-Pakistan*, which is simply meant for B.A. students. He fails to clarify whether Fatima Jinnah had a natural or violent death, although he mentions both the viewpoints. He also goes in for a sectarian bias. However, Hamdani may serve as a base for further research.

Finally Habib Jalib's tribute deserves to be mentioned.<sup>52</sup>

اب رہیں چین سے دُنیا میں زمانے والے  
سو گئے خواب سے لوگوں کو جگانے والے  
دیکھنے کو تو کروڑوں ہیں مگر کتنے ہیں  
ظلم کے آگے کبھی سر نہ جھکانے والے  
مر کے بھی مرتے نہیں مادرِ ملت کی طرح  
شمع تاریک فضاؤں میں جلانے والے

1. [People of this time may now live in peace,  
Those who were awakening them had gone to sleep themselves.
2. There are crores to be seen, but how many,  
Are there not to bow before tyranny?
3. They do not die (even) after death like Madar-i-Millat,  
Those who keep alight the torch in darkness tr. — Ed]

And this can be attempted on the basis of the sources indicated above.

## Notes and References

1. See, File No. 1099, *Fatima Jinnah Papers*. National Archives of Pakistan, Islamabad, pp. 11, 15-18, 24-33, 34-39; "Fatima Jinnah: Life Sketch." *The Morning News*, Dacca, July 10, 1967, pp. 1-6; "The Noble Lady" (Editorial). *The Pakistan Times*, July 12, 1967, "Madar-i-Millat" (Editorial), *Dawn*, Karachi, July 10, 1967; Ahmad Saeed, *Muslim India 1857-1947: A Biographical Dictionary*, Lahore, p. 122.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: Speeches as Governor-General of Pakistan*, Government Publication, Karachi, 1963, p. 5.
4. See, Riaz Ahmed, *Madr-e-Millat Fatima Jinnah: A Chronology (1893-1967)*, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Islamabad, 2003, [Mostly based on Riaz's chronology]; *Madar-e-Millat* (Urdu Pamphlet), Nazria Pakistan Foundation, Lahore, 2003; Fatima Jinnah, *My Brother*, Karachi, 1987, p. 11.
5. Sher Muhammad Garewal, "Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah as the Greatest Protagonist of Islamic System of Government in Pakistan", *The Journal of Research Society of Pakistan*, Lahore, January, 1999, pp. 1-16.
6. See, Salahuddin Khan (ed), *Speeches, Messages and Statements of Madar-e-Millat Fatima Jinnah (1948-1967)*, Research Society of Pakistan, Lahore, 1976; Azhar Munir, *Madar-e-Millat Ka Jamhuri Safar*, Frontier Publications, Lahore, 1963; Wakeel Anjam, *Sharah-e-Jamhuryyat: Madar-e-Millat Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah Ki Taqarir Ka Majmua*, Jung Publishers, Lahore, 1993; *Gulbang-e-Hayat: Khatoon-e-Pakistan Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah Ki Taqarir Ka Majmua 1939 to 1951*, Ferozesons, Lahore, 1951.
7. "The Noble Lady", *The Pakistan Times*, *op. cit.*, "Madar-i-Millat", *Dawn*, Karachi, *op. cit.*
8. Altaf Gauhar, *Ayub Khan: Pakistan's First Military Ruler*, Sang-e-Meel Publication, Lahore, 1993, pp. 278-84. In the words of Sharif al Mujahid, "Most significant was the fact that President Ayub Khan, who had ruled Pakistan with feeble, if any, opposition, for most of six years in office, was being challenged seriously for the first time by a national figure of consistently of high repute in public estimation, whose emotional appeal with the masses had remained unabated since independence in 1947." "Pakistan First Presidential Election", *Asian Survey*, June, 1965, pp. 280-94.
9. *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan*, John Murray Publications, London, 1954, p. 101.
10. *Speeches as Governor General*, p. 5.
11. Rafia Shareef, "Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah", *Freedom*, Karachi, March 4, 1949, vide Sharif al Mujahid (ed). f.n. 14, *My Brother*, p. 40.

12. Ilahi Bakhsh, *With the Quaid-i-Azam During his Last Days*, with foreword by Mohtarama Jinnah, 1949, republished by Quaid Azam Academy, 1978.
13. Khalid Mahmood Rabbani, *Quaid-i-Azam Kay Akhri 50 Din Aur unkay Zati Muamlay*, Pakistan Study Centre, Pubjab University, Lahore, 1989.
14. Quaid-e-Azam, *The Story of a Nation*, Ferozesons, Lahore, 1967, p. 512.
15. *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah: Studies in Interpretation*, Quaid-i-Azam Academy, Karachi, 1981, p. 265.
16. *Jinnah of Pakistan*, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 1989, p. 305.
17. *Jinnah and His Times*, Baber & Amer Publications, Islamabad, 1986, p. 174.
18. Fatima Jinnah, *My Brother*, edited by Sharif al Mujahid with his Preface, Quaid-i-Azam Academy, Karachi, 1987. Its Urdu translation was also published by the same Academy and in the same year. (G. Allana had reportedly her write it; see the preface by Sharif al Mujahid).
19. Surayya Khurshid, *Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah Kay Shabo Rose*, Gulam Ali & Sons, Lahore, 1976.
20. *Ibid.*
21. For somewhat a detailed and critical study of 1964-65 Presidential elections, see Sharif al Mujahid, Pakistan's First Presidential Election, *op. cit.*, Fakhira Rashid, *General Ayub Khan Aur Miss Fatima Jinnah: Sadarati Intikhab 1964-65*, unpublished M.A. Thesis (History) submitted in 1994.
22. See Ayub Khan, *Friends Not Masters*, Oxford University Press, Lahore, Pakistan Branch, 1967.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 233.
24. See, Altaf Gauhar, *Ayub Khan: Pakistan's First Military Ruler*, Lahore, Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1995.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 273-88.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 274-75.
27. Shaukat Hayat, *The Nation that Lost its Soul*, Jang Publishers, Lahore, 1995, pp. 254-58.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 225.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan 1958-69*, vol. II, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Islamabad, 1987, pp. 41-42.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
32. Altaf Gauhar, *op. cit.*, p. 281.
33. Shaukat Hayat, *op. cit.*, p. 244; see also Ta'us Khan, *Madar-i-Millat ka Qatl*, Lahore, 2003.
34. Sarfraz Hussain Mirza, *Muslim Women's Role in the Pakistan Movement*, Research Society of Pakistan, Lahore, 1969, pp. 38, 42, 48, 49.



35. *Ibid.*, pp. 121-23.
36. Nurusabah, *Tahrik-e-Pakistan Aur Khawateen*, Shaikh Ghulam Ali & Sons, Lahore, 1970, pp. 49-53.
37. Fatima Jinnah was really very much interested in the technical and industrial education of the Muslim women. For a detailed study, see Riaz Ahmed (ed), *Fatima Jinnah on Technical Education*, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Islamabad, 2003.
38. *Ibid.*
39. Salma Tassaduq, *Azadi Ka Safar: Tarikh-i-Pakistan Aur Muslim Khawatin*, Pakistan Study Centre, Punjab University, Lahore, 1990.
40. Shaista Ikramullah, *From Purdah to Parliament*, The Cressent Press, London, 1963.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.
43. See, Riaz Ahmed (ed), *Madar-e-Millat: Qaumi Akhbarat Ki Nazar Mein*, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Islamabad, 2003.
44. *Nawa-e-Waqt*, July 12, 1967.
45. Many people claim that Mohtarama did not die a natural death and was killed.
46. See, (a) Jamiluddin Ahmed (ed), *Madar-e-Millat Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah*, Urdu Science Board, Lahore, 2003; (b) Riaz Ahmad (ed), *Madar-e-Millat Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah: Unpublished speeches, messages, statements and interviews 1948-67*, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Islamabad, 2004.
47. See, *Accession List of Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah Papers*, National Archives of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1981.
48. *Ibid.*
49. See, Sajjad Ahmed, *Madar-e-Millat: Mah-o-Sal Kay Ainey Mein*, Urdu Science Board, Lahore, 2003.
50. These include: Ahsan Ali Bajwa, *Madar-e-Millat: Fakhar-e-Millat* (Faisalabad, 2003); Khalid Pervez, *Chiragh-e-Mehro Wafa: Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah* (Multan, 2003); Muhammad Rafique Alam, *Madar-e-Millat Abroo-e-Millat* (Lahore, 2003); Tehmina Sher Durrani, *Shaheed-e-Jamhuryyet Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah* (Lahore, 2003); Khalid Kashmiri, *Madar-e-Millat Tay Azadi-e-Sihafat* (Lahore, Aks-e-Jabar Publications, 2003); Rizwan Malik & Samina Awan, *Mohtrama Fatima Jinnah as a Feminist Leader* (Lahore, Centre for south Asian Studies, Punjab University, Lahore, 2003); Inamul Haq Kausar, *Fatima Jinnah Aur Baluchistan* (Quetta, 2003).
51. Agha Husain Hamdani, *Fatima Jinnah: Hayat Aur Khidmat*, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Islamabad, 1989.
52. *Imroze*, Lahore, July 10, 1967, p. 1.