



## The Role of Ulma-e-Jhang in Nizam-e-Mustafa movement in 1977

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**Abstract:** Different types of mud were collected to create a man and this mud was consisted of four different elements. These elements in the creation of man shows that there would be anarchy on the earth and People shall fight each other. Man settlement on earth and its cruel, rude behavior and inhuman activities can be observed now. Allah almighty sent a chain of messengers for the welfare and betterment of humanity. Nearly one lac twenty four thousands selected people called Rasool/Nabi came to stop cruelty, keep justice, harmony and social equality in every field of life. Allah did not allow humanity to lead the life on his own way but according to His will. He gave His own system and reveled it through Holy books and prophets exercised it before humanity. From Adam to Jesus, this system was applied on the earth in human beings. Whenever, any one tried to break it or stood against this heavenly message, First he was invited and motivated to join it otherwise, he had no option. He was to bow before Him or put to destruction. Parameters/teachings of this system were completed at the advent of Holy Prophet Muhammad(Pbuh). The last order of Allah almighty, the last new world order was presented fifteen hundred years ago, before humanity to be obeyed. It was called Nizam e Islam, Nizam Quran, Nizam Deen. Past centuries have proved that system of Prophets was/is the best one to save and develop the life and characteristics of man. So, whenever, this system was/is applied, humanity felt security, development, social equality and social justice among themselves. With the passage of time, this system is renamed as Nizam –e- Mustafa in subcontinent especially in Pakistan in 1977. It was only aim to establish the laws of Quran and Sunnah in the country and this movement was called Tehrek Nizam e Mustafa. Ulam e Jhang played a key role in this movement from start to end.

**Key words:** Ulma-e-Jhang , Nizam-e-Mustafa movement, Bhutto’s Politics

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## **Introduction:**

Indian Muslims took part in Pakistan movement. It was the movement of the Muslims of the sub-continent. They demanded a separate homeland for the Muslims. Indian Muslims sacrificed their lives, assets, jagirs, business, respect, honor and their birthplaces only to get a piece of land where they could spend their lives according to the teachings of the Holy Quran and Sunnah. They got Pakistan where the rules of Islam were to be exercised. Implementation of Sharia, rule of law, equality and justice for all was their old dream which was to be fulfilled in the form of Pakistan. It was their goal and aim. Unfortunately, it could not be happened. Pakistan came into being on the map of the world as an ideological state. But from the very beginning, Government of Pakistan went into the hands of secular, westernized and selfish feudal lords. They totally changed the scenario of ideological state. First foreign minister of Pakistan, Sir Zafrullah khan was Qadiani. First Law minister of the ideological state was Hindu named Jugandar Nath Mandal. Qadiani FM was to defend and flourish the ideas and policies of ideological Islamic state outside the country. On the other hand, Hindu Law minister had to create harmony, brotherhood and religious tolerance among the different Islamic parties and sects of the country to constitute the Islamic Law in the country.

Fortune made a great jock with Pakistani nation. Their two main cabinet members were non-Muslims. Land lords, bureaucrats, aristocrats and the military establishment were the ruling elite of Pakistan, which had no major contribution and

sacrifice in the creation of Pakistan. Common man sacrificed for the creation, defense and development of the country. Tehrik Khatam-e- Nabuwat 1953, 1974 and Tehrik Nizam-e-Mustafa 1977 are very clear examples of the common man scarifications. Ruling elites always deceived masses for their personal benefits. They did not fulfill their duties. Role of Ulma is also discussion able. In 1974 (in Tehreek Khatam-e- Nabuwat), they kept the command of the movement under their control and succeeded. In 1977, they comprised and proved themselves second rate leadership. Ulma are/were used by politicians and establishment many times on the name of national interest. Religious leadership could not read the minds of ruling class. That is why; their struggles could not be fruitful in the last rounds. Tehrik Nizam-e-Mustafa 1977 is vivid example of this mind set.

### **Causes of Tehrik Nizam-e-Mustafa 1977**

70's of 20th century had remarkable effects in the political history of Pakistan. Bhutto and PPP emerged on political scenario of Pakistan. East Pakistan emerged as a new country named as Bangladesh. Qadyani sect was declared non-Muslims. Bhutto's climax and downfall could be seen in seventies. Pakistan future political as well as religious leader ship emerged on the map of the country for next many years.

Tehrik Khatam –e-Nabuwat and Tehrik Nizam Mustafa, two Islamic movements were launched by People of Pakistan in seventies. They showed their passion, courage and tolerance

against the secular and Un-Islamic approach and powers. Every one worked for the cause of Islam and Nizam-e-Islam.

Bhutto struggled for the unity of Muslim Ummah. Atomic programme was in progress; in spite of USA intervention and resistance. All this made Bhutto a reformer and hero of the nation and Islamic World. It produced his rivals within and outside the country.

In this scenario, Zulifqar Ali Bhutto announced the national elections in March 1977. After the declaration of election date, opposition parties (9 political parties) jointly decided to face Z.A Bhutto at the PNA platform. They knew that they could not compete him separately. Unfortunately, united opposition could not face the charismatic personality of Bhutto jointly. PPP won the elections with big margin. Opposition was defeated by PPP ruthlessly in National Assembly elections. Elections 1977 resulted following party numbers in National Assembly:

Party name	Punjab	Sind	NWFP	Baluchistan	Fata	Total Seats
PPP	107	32	07	07	-	153
PNA	08	11	13	-	-	32
Qayyum League	-	-	01	-	-	01
Independent	11	-	-	-	08	19

Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) boycotted Baluchistan National Assembly Elections due to PPP military intervention in Baluchistan. (1)

### **United Opposition:**

United opposition was consisted of nine political parties renowned as ‘Nine Stars’. These nine stars were named as Muslim League Pagara Group, Jamiat Ulma-e- Islam, Jamiat Ulma-e-

Pakistan, Tehrik-e- Istiklal ,Pakistan Democratic party, Khakhsar Tehrik, Muslim Conference, Islami Jamiat and Pakistan Jamhoory Party. Nine stars alliance was presided by Mufti Mehmood. Rafique Ahmad Bajwa Advocate was its General Secretary.(2)All the important parties joined the opposition. They tried their best to bridge the hurdles but lack of political science and tactics of election caused their defeat

Religious parties' have\had good street power. So they are\were good agitators and pressure groups. Unfortunately, they cannot\could not win the hearts of people for vote. So they cannot\could not compete the politicians in the politics. There are many reasonable reasons of united opposition defeat in 1977 elections; a few very important are given below:

- **Pre-Pole Rigging:**

Opposition made a noise of pre pole rigging. Blame game started. Opposition parties boycotted Provincial Assembly elections. They accused that PPP was involved in pre-pole rigging. It was blamed that Bhutto high jacked Moulana Jan Muhammad Abbasi before elections. He won the seat without any contest. It was also accused that PPP four chief ministers also won their seats without any contest from their respective constituencies following their leadership. (3)

## 2- **Role of International Media:**

This pre-pole rigging was highly propagated by national and international media. Opposition started movement against Bhutto pre-pole rigging. It was the beginning. Soon, opposition realized that they could not succeed Bhutto through elections.

They had no match with Bhutto’s charismatic leadership. He had very deep roots in masses. So, they highlighted the PPP pre pole rigging in the international media in their favor positively. This exercise helped opposition to create problems for government. (4)

### **3- Rigging Movement Re-named as Tehrik Nizam-e-Mustafa**

PNA made a very impressive and surprising move. They effectively re-named the rigging movement as Tehrik Nizam-e-Mustafa. According to Moulana Siddique, Nine political parties made an alliance against Bhutto in 1977. They were defeated. They did not accept their defeat. They declared election riggingful. They boycotted the Provincial Assembly elections. After NA elections defeat, that political alliance was re-named as Tehrik Nizam-e-Mustafa. (5) According to Moulana Muhammad Iqbal, 1977 movement was started on pre pole election rigging by PPP. Later on, it got the name of Tehrik Nizam-e-Mustafa. Nowab Zada Iftikhar Ahmad Ansari for MNA and Mufti Abul Haleem for MPA were the PNA candidates from the district Jhang. Nowab Zada won the MNA seat but MPA elections were boycotted. (6) The enforcement of Nizam-e-Mustafa slogan was the voice of Jhang people’s hearts. They got this country at the name of Islam. This slogan spread country wide like a fire. People realized that their dream was near to reality. Religious and political leadership was at the same page. They tried their best to prove Bhutto as un-Islamic leader and PPP as a secular party.

#### **4-International conspiracy:**

Z.A Bhutto declared that Tehrik Nizam-e-Mustafa was an international conspiracy against Pakistan and him. Bhutto claimed that he was the victim of conspiracy between a foreign power, by which he means the USA on the one hand and the other General Zia and PNA.(7) On 28<sup>th</sup> April, 1977, he made a speech before joint session of Parliament. Conspirator elements wanted to get rid of him. Destruction of Pakistan economy was their goal. He alarmed that The Elephant (USA) did not accept their national viewpoint over Vietnam and Central East. It was the reason of USA angered to him. He said,

“Is it a secret that in the past few months, foreign currency has flooded Pakistan; so much of it has come that I can find no parallel for this in flux? The rate of dollar in Karachi, as a result, has gone down to seven rupees to six rupees. The money is being used to bribe people to do various things; they are being bribed to go to jail, they are being bribed to give azans, many postmen, milkmen and meter readers are being bribed to distribute anti PPP literature.”(8)

A big amount had been distributing among agitators to weak Bhutto govt. A member of Muslin League has alleged that during the PNA Movement, Agar khan was given the lakhs of rupees. (9)It is also a fact that PNA would have taken Rs: 25 crores during the elections and 5 crores after the elections to topple the Bhutto Government. (10) Military intervention proved true Bhutto’s suspicions later on.

## **5-Pakistan Nuclear Program:**

Bhutto's ambition to make Pakistan a nuclear weapon country was not open to doubt. After Indian exploded a nuclear device at Pokhran in 1974, he said,

“If necessary Pakistan will eat grass to produce the bomb.”(11)

He did his best to unite the Muslim Ummah at one platform. It was his dream to utilize the resources and powers of Islamic countries for the betterment and security of the Muslims. So he wanted to produce Islamic atom bomb. He says:

“The Christian, Jewish and Hindu civilizations have these capability (atomic) .The Communist powers also possess it. Only the Islamic civilization was without it, but that position was about to change. (12)

He declared USA as his enemy. USA was swirling against Bhutto's nuclear activities in Pakistan. Bhutto knew that if he went ahead with achieving the plant in its weapons grade form, he would be overthrown and might face worst consequences. USA had given him a shut up call by her FM Henri Kissinger and outgoing American ambassador (Islamabad) had gone so far as to tell Bhutto bluntly that if he did not back down he would no longer stay in power.(13) Bhutto did not care about it. Pakistan atomic program continued. USA had to face the hard man. Pakistan had adopted national interest on the atomic issue. Bhutto's ambition to become an atomic power force was not liked by USA. USA tried to overthrow Bhutto with the help of PNA

leadership. USA intervention was one of the causes of Tehrik Nizam-e- Mustafa.

## **6- Role of Pakistan and International Establishment:**

Pakistani establishment and politicians along with International establishment wanted to get rid of Bhutto. It was clear then that PNA was used to weaken the Bhutto government. Its leadership played in the hands of Pakistani as well as international establishment. Plan was to overthrow the Bhutto government. He said,

A foreign power was bent upon overthrowing him and when it failed to get the PNA to defeat him in the elections, it struck through the army. (14)

They used fair and unfair means to get rid of Bhutto at every cast. It was now open secret that PNA leadership was high jacked. USA, General and PNA had shackled hands to overcome Bhutto before March 1977. (15) Bhutto reformed the society in the last five years. He brought revolutionary changes among the people of the country. Economic growth rapidly increased. His policies proved fruitful to the common people. It brought a socio economic revolution in the society. PNA had no response to these policies. They had no political agenda to serve the nation except Bhutto rivalry. They could not face Bhutto in election. So, they became puppet in the hands of military and foreign powers. Bhutto's rivalry had become common rival outside and inside the country. This rivalry resulted Tehrik Nizam-e- Mustafa.

## **7- Fear of Bhutto’s Social Reforms:**

Opposition was afraid of Bhutto’s social reforms in the country. ZA ABhutto emerged on the political scene of Pakistan as a reformer, antiestablishment leader and supporter of the poor as a change maker. He brought a great social revolution in the lives of his countrymen. He gave first unanimous federal constitution to the nation. He gave rights to laborers. Fundamental rights were approved and applied in the Pakistani society for first time in the history of Pakistan. Students were supported. Unions were established to save their basic rights. A large number of un-skilled communities were sent to Arab countries which brought a great socio-economic revolution in the lives of the poor Pakistanis. He took essential and necessary actions to promote and up-grade the atomic program. He is\was considered the founder of atomic program in Pakistan. He did not bow before any superpower. The most important and big one was the sense of an independent life. People realized that Bhutto had given them new political and social life. Now they were free from every chain of cruelty, injustice and slavery. (16) Bhutto knew that PNA leadership was afraid of his socio economic revolution in the country. He was sure that opposition allegation was not based on rigging of elections but fear of social reforms which PPP government had launched in the country. This fear caused Tehrik Nizam-e-Mustafa.

## **Targets of Tehrik Nizam-e- Mustafa:**

it was a common impression that PNA shall enforce Nizam-e- Mustafa in the country after the removal of Bhutto

government. PNA government will provide equal opportunity of justice to everyone. People will lead a simple and prosperous life. (17) These ideas were being flourished in the society. It boasted up the movement. People were ready to follow PNA to enforce the Islamic Law into the country. The first and foremost attention was to implement the teachings of the Holy Quran and Sunnah. For time being, people forgot the social revolution of Bhutto and his reforms in the country. This resulted an impressive and long lasting movement. Targets were mighty and hurdles were great.

### **DEMANDS OF PNA:**

PNA demanded re-elections and enforcement of Nizam-e-Mustafa in the country to achieve above mentioned targets. Opposition parties started agitation politics to fulfill their demands. “Jail Bharo” movement was launched. Processions and meetings were held country wide. These were pressure building tactics adopted by opposition against the government. (18)It is still million air questions that Tehrik Nizam-e-Mustafa was against Bhutto’s charismatic personality or PNA was really sincere to establish Nizam Muatafa in the country?

### **Government Reaction:**

ZA Bhutto government had to face two challenges; inside the country PNA movement and foreign intervention. Bhutto took a few steps to cool down the political scenario of the country and to break down the PNA movement. On May10, 1977, PPP government passed a forbidding bill of wine and gambling. Later on, Friday as a national holiday bill was also passed by assembly.

Both bills were passed by the Senate on Thursday, May 12, 1977.(19)

### **Contribution of Ulma-e-Jhang in the movement:**

Following steps were taken by Ulma-e-Jhang to contribute this historic and religio- political movement of Nizam-e- Mustafa.

### **Speeches and Processions:**

Just three years ago, a religious alliance was established in Tehrik Khatam-e-Nabuwat in the reign of ZA BHUTTO government. People gathered, struggled and at last succeeded. Opposition was facing the same rulers in 1977 too. People were again ready to sacrifice their lives and properties to implement the Islamic Law. So, same alliance was re-launched. People forgot their personal, ethnic and sectarian grievances and gathered under the umbrella of PNA. (20) So, once again, a great movement was launched at Jhang for the emergence of Nizam-e-Mustafa. Ulma-e- Jhang took active role in the movement. Procession and meetings were held .Agitation tactics were also used to build a continuous pressure over government.

### **Government sanctions and Ulma’s Reaction:**

Government sanctioned rit<sup>144</sup> upon a few Ulma to speech in public. Ulma-e- Jhang did not care about it. Moulana Siddique was one of them. A meeting was held before Tasweer Mahal Cinema. Ulma gathered there and made speeches in favor of Nizam-e- Mustafa and against the PPP government and Bhutto. Moulana Muhammad Siddique swirly criticized. He resembled nine stars (opposition nine parties alliance renown as PNA too) with child’s nine months stay in her mother’s belly. Secondly, Nine Stars were resembled with Miraj ul Nabi, incident of the Holy

Prophet, who met 9 times to Allah Almighty only to less the number of prayers. (21)

### **Arrestments:**

Moulana Siddique was arrested by police just for making a fun upon Bhutto and his family. He said,

“We accept this reality that first Nusrat(success\ Bhutto wife) was for Bhutto but now it will be for Asgar Khan and it will be Benazir.”(Un-matched\ daughter of Bhutto)(22)

He was put to Jhang jail and later on Mianwali jail. Religious leadership was being arrested on daily basis. Moulana Haq Nawaz, Moulvi Yasin, Abdul Alim, Moulana Hafeez-ul- Din and Moulana Muhammad Siddique were arrested due to break up of rit144.(23)

### **Jail Bharo Tehrik:**

It was decided that Nine Stars political including religious leadership will present arrestment voluntarily on daily basis. Later on, masses will follow them. Jamie Sheikh Lahori was centre of the movement activities. Arrestments were to be there. First of all main leadership presented themselves. They were six in numbers from different parties. Qari Muhammad Tayyab( JUP) , Mufti Abdul Haleem (Jamiat ahel hadith), Muhammad Iqbal Sharvani (JUI), Basher Ahmad Baghi,( democratic party), Muhammad Rafique (Jamiat-e- Islami)and Abdul Hamid ( Pakistan Khakhsar) were arrested very first day for the Jail Bhoro Tehrik. Mufti sahib was left in the village of Attharan Hazari. Others were put to Jhang Jail for a month. A large number of common people were arrested by following the leadership. These arrestments were on daily

basis. Prisoners were sent to Jhang jail. Later on they were transferred to other jails in the province. Nearly 500 people were arrested. Jail Bharo Tehrik was on full swing. The main leadership of Jhang was sent to Mianwali Jail for three weeks. The movement ended on July 5, 1977 after General Zia Martial Law in the country. Military took over Z.A Bhutto's government. Jhang religious leadership was released after Martial Law. (24)

### **Agitation and Arrestment on Daily Basis:**

It was planned that volunteers would register their names first to Mulvi Yaseen (imam masjid momin pura Jhang) and then got them arrested. A peaceful procession started from Municipal Committee Jhang and ended at Rail Bazaar Jhang. Volunteers presented themselves for their arrestments with great velour, passion and courage. Slogans were raised in favor of Nizam-e-Mustafa in the country. Government was swirly criticized in speeches and meetings. Afternoon, People shattered and went their homes with the hope, the next day, they might be prisoner. People's velour and passion was sight able. Unanimous decision was taken that bail would not be accepted. Everyone would present himself for prison. 60 to 70 prisoners were sent to MianWali Jail from Jhang jail. (25)

### **Ghazi Elm ul Din Shaheed's Barak:**

Mianwali Jail Prisoners were very happy after the imprisonment. Some of them had to stay in Ghazi Elm ul Din Shaheed's Barak no: 6. They also came to know about the barracks of great leaders; Moulana Attaullh Shah Bukhari, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. It was not a prison for them now. These moments

had become everlasting and historic for them. They were proud of being prisoners. (26)

People supported and followed their leadership. Ulma and students of Madaris –e- Jhang played very important role in this movement. They participated in processions, meetings and agitations. They sacrificed their lives. They kept a continuous pressure over government to resolve the issue peacefully. Personal, ethnic, religious and sectarian differences were ignored. Every sect ignored its grievances and united themselves.

### **Effects of the movement:**

Movement left great effects in the society. Tehrik Nizam Mustafa and Tehrik Khatam –e-Nabuwat brought a great revolution in the life of a common man.

- People came to know about the dignity of the Holy Prophet.

.2- They also showed their ‘good will’ for governing system of the country in future.

3-A large number of religious leadership was also the birth of this movement, which led the people of Jhang for next thirty years.

### **LOCAL Leadership of the MOVEMENT:**

Local leadership of Jhang consisted of Moulana Muhammad Siddique( JUP), Nowabzada Iftikhar Ahmed Ansari (Pakista democratic party), Mufti Abul Haleem (JUI), Mehr AmirSultan (Jamiat Islami), Hakim khan Muhammad (Khakhsar Tehrik ), Shaikh Muhammad Sharif (Tehrik-e- Istaklal), along with Moulana Ilyas Balakoti , Moulana Haqnawaz,Shaikh Aslam, Qari Muhammad Tayyab, Moulana Muhammad Farooq, Qari Abd-ul-

Shakoor, Moulana Abd-ul- Rashid Rizvi and Moulana Abd-ul – Rashid Hanif(27)

### **Example of unity and brotherhood:**

JUI and JUP specially, did well in this movement. Their leaders, members and followers worked from dawn to dusk. (28) People had blind faith over their religious leaders. Ulma played a key role in the movement. Their role cannot be ignored. Ulma-e- Jhang motivated and guided people towards this movement. Processions and meetings were held to inform and up-date knowledge to people about the current situation at national level. Such types of meetings were necessary to keep contact and to boost up the moral of masses. Ulma-e- Jhang performed their responsibility very well. Every sect showed its solidarity, harmony and brotherhood. These Ulma provided street power and brave leadership to the movement too. It was the struggle and hard work of the Ulma-e- Jhang, the movement got fame soon. The movement was right on the target. Its end was very close to success. But all was changed in the end. Government was changed but nizam remained same.

### **CONCLUSION:**

It is concluded that

- it was a golden chance for political as well as religious leadership to implement Nizam-e- Muastafa in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. People trusted them. Nation had great confidence over them.
- People believed that like Khatam-e-Nabuwat movement, leadership would be sincere to the issue. Result of the movement shows that they were not sincere about the enforcement of Nizam-e- Muastafa.

- This time, national and local leadership lost their final round. They compromised and deceived the Muslims of Pakistan and their eternal differences and grievances appeared.
- In the same time, General Zia, Chief Martial-law Administrator took over the Bhutto government on July 5, 1977. He promised for re-elections in the country within 90 days.
- Opposition along with religious parties joined hands with military power. They did not resist over Un-lawful military intervention. It seemed that their aim was to get rid of Bhutto, not to enforce Nizam-e-Muastafa in the country.
- PNA leadership knew that they could never win elections without the help of establishment against Bhutto. So, all they joined military alliance. Bhutto was hanged and PNA parties were in the government without taking part in elections.
- With the passage of time, opposition forgot enforcement of Islamic Laws in the country. They did not demand for re-elections because the dead Bhutto was the most dangerous to them.
- Ulma-e-Jhang also joined hands with military establishment following the national level religious leadership. After Bhutto's death, PNA leadership joined the umbrella of military power. Secondly, they did not even comment about the Islamic Laws. It shows that a political movement was camouflaged under the flag of Tehrik Nizam Mustafa.

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