



**RESEARCH PAPER**

**Issues of Pakistani Politics and Political Thoughts of Shah Saeed Ahmad Raipuri (RA)**

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**ABSTRACT**

The aim of this research is to investigate the political thoughts of Ḥazrat Shah Saeed Ahmad Raipuri (RA), the 4<sup>th</sup> *maasnad nasheen* of Khanqah Raipur. He inherited his thoughts from the *Waliullahi 'Ulamā'* and *Mashaekh-e-Ra'ypūr* as he was the graduate of Mazahir Uloom Saharanpur (India), a center of freedom movement during the colonial period, and spent thirty years under the supervision of Ḥazrat Shah Abd-ul-Qadir Raipuri, the 2<sup>nd</sup> *masnad nasheen* of Khanqah Raipur, and further thirty years under the supervision of Ḥazrat Shah Abd-ul-Aziz Raipuri, the 3<sup>rd</sup> *masnad nasheen* of Khanqah Raipur. He denounced the Afghan Jihad and anti-shia wave in Pakistan because he considered that US-funded Afghan Jihad was part of the Cold War against Russia and anti-shia riots were to counter the influence of the Iranian revolution in Pakistan. These phenomena affected the internal politics and Pakistan's relations with regional countries as well. In this context, the thoughts of Ḥazrat Raipuri-IV have been investigated to find solution to meet issues of Pakistani politics.

**KEYWORDS**

Khanqah Raipur, Waliullahi Tehreek, Mashaikh Raipur, Non-Violence, Peace, Security, Saur Revolution

**Introduction**

'*Aliyah Raḥīmiyah Ra'ypūr* Order was started with Ḥazrat Shah Abd-ur-Rahim Raipuri (RA), who founded *Khanqāh 'Aliyah Raḥīmiyah Ra'ypūr* shortly *Khanqāh Ra'ypūr*, in Raipur town (District Saharanpur India) (Raipuri, 2013). He was the *Khalīfah-e-Majāz* of Ḥazrat Haji Imdadullah Muhajir Makki (RA) and *janshīn* of Ḥazrat Rasheed Ahmad Gangohi (RA). After the death of Ḥazrat Rasheed Ahmad Gangohi RA in 1905, Ḥazrat Raipuri-I (Ḥazrat Shah Abd-ur-Raheem Raipuri) became the *sarprsat* of all the movements and institutions which were working under his *sarprasti*. Thus, Khanqāh Ra'ypūr became the vicegerent and successor of *Khanqāh Gangohi*. He emerged as the *sarparast* and prominent leader of the 'Silk Letter Movement'. After his death in 1919, Ḥazrat Raipuri-II (Ḥazrat Shah Abd-ul-Qadir Raipuri) became the *masnad nashīn* of Khanqah Raipur who, being the *masnad nashīn* of the Khanqah, played his role following the footprints of Ḥazrat Raipuri-I till 1947. Ḥazrat Raipuri-III (Ḥazrat Shah Abd-ul-Aziz Raipuri) migrated to Pakistan and settled in Sargodha after the partition of India. In 1951, Ḥazrat Raipuri-II advised Ḥazrat Shah Saeed Ahmad Raipuri to initiate a struggle among the youth of colleges and universities in the light of *Waliullahi* philosophy and teachings. After he died in 1962, Ḥazrat Raipuri-IV (Ḥazrat Shah Saeed Ahmad Raipuri) continued his struggle under the supervision of his father Ḥazrat Raipuri-III. He

established Jamiat Tulba-e-Islam, Tanzim Fikar-e-Waliullahi Pakistan, Shah Waliullah Media Foundation and Rahimia Institute of Quranic Sciences (Trust) Lahore.

Pakistan has been facing a severe wave of sectarianism, non-violence and terrorism since the 1980s. Apparently, sectarianism and religious militancy are religious issues. However, both are linked with politics, the Cold War in Afghanistan, and the Iranian revolution because both merged after the Iranian revolution and US-funded Afghan Jihad. All the organizations with Deobandi background declared the Cold War in Afghanistan as Jihad. Khanqah Raipur opposed the Afghan Jihad and declared it as the Cold War between Russia and Afghanistan. Ḥazrat Raipuri-VI was also against the anti-Shia riots in Pakistan in the 1980s and 1990s. He considered that Afghan Jihad was to abolish the anti-US 'Saur Revolution' in Afghanistan and the anti-Shia wave was to malign and confine the Iranian revolution in her geography. Therefore, Ḥazrat Raipuri-IV's political thoughts are most relevant to the issues of Pakistan. In this research, his thoughts have been investigated to find a suitable solution to meet sectarianism, terrorism and other issues of Pakistani politics.

Ḥazrat Raipuri-IV spent thirty years under the supervision of Ḥazrat Raipuri-II and then further thirty years under the supervision of Ḥazrat Raipuri-III after the death of Ḥazrat Raipuri-II. Therefore, his political thoughts were in accordance with the thoughts of *Mashaekh Ra'ypūr* and '*ulamā*' of *Waliullahi Tehrik*. He was convinced by the political thoughts of Ḥazrat Raipuri-II and Ḥazrat Hussain Ahmad Madani in particular. He joined Hizb-ul-Ansar in 1937 when he was very young upon the advice of Ḥazrat Raipuri-II and became aware of the political struggle, thoughts and philosophy of *Waliullahi 'ulamā*. He was associated with prominent political leaders of the country, including Ḥazrat Madani and Ḥazrat Raipuri-II, which had a profound impact on his political thought.

### Non-Violence

Ḥazrat Shaik-ul-Hind has given great importance to 'Non-Violence' in his political thought after his release from Malta. Therefore, Jamiat Ulema-e-Hind followed 'Non-Violence' as a guiding principle and successfully attempted to eliminate the British. Maolāna Obaid Ullah Sindhi adopted 'Non-Violence as a policy, when he returned to his homeland after his exile in 1938. Ḥazrat Raipuri-IV also declared the policy of 'Non-Violence' as the first and guiding principle of his political thoughts due to his learning during his schooling under the supervision of the leaders of the freedom movement and *Waliullahi Tehrik*. Particularly, he spent thirty years under the supervision and training of Ḥazrat Raipuri-II which shaped his thoughts (Noumani M. A.-u.-M., 2023).

Ḥazrat Raipuri-IV was against the system of oppression imposed on the country and was a proponent of establishing a righteous system on *Waliullahi* philosophy in the country. He was convinced of realism and pragmatism instead of emotionalism and romanticism to achieve the goal. Moreover, he used to talk about the changing of the system on the basis of 'Non-Violence' after achieving organizational power and realization regarding national interests (Saeed-ur-Rehman, Moulana Shah Saeed Ahmad Raipuri RA: *Shakhsiyat-o-Afkar*, 2018). He said that:

*"We do not want violence. Actually, we want to defeat imperialism through organizational power and awareness. We understand that the violence under any title, in the name of Islam or any other name, is a tactic of imperialism. If you look at the history of the world, the imperialist policy of violence is not*

*useful in any way. Therefore, the right policy would be based on Non-Violence, organizational power and realization of the national interests. (Moulana Nasir Abd-ul-Aziz, Interview of Hazrat Shah Saeed Ahmad Raipuri RIP Part-III, 2008)"*

Hazrat Raipuri-IV believed that all the revolutions in the world took place on the principle of Non-Violence, which supports the political insight and ideology of Hazrat Shaikh-ul-Hind. He said that:

*"By Non-Violence, we mean that organizational power and realization of national interests should be created in the nation instead of extremism and militant mindset. Extremism and militant mindset would cause the deaths of Muslims because of a Muslim-majority country. You can see the war-torn Afghanistan in this regard. The only way to compete with the imperialist countries is by gaining organizational power and realizing national interests. After establishing the government, it can be decided for the armed struggle in unavoidable circumstances. However, it is a common practice nowadays to settle down the disputes with the political dialogue. (Moulana Nasir Abd-ul-Aziz, Interview of Hazrat Shah Saeed Ahmad Raipuri RIP (Part-IV), 2008)"*

Hazrat Raipuri-IV followed the principle of Non-Violence throughout his life to change the oppressive system of the country and established his *jama'at* on Non-Violence as well. Whereas some other religious parties were used very naively for the nefarious ambitions and purposes of the imperialist countries in the past because the parties neglected the *Waliullahi* ideology (Noumani M. A.-u.-M., 2023).

### **Cooperation Between the Students of Religious and Contemporary Institutions**

Hazrat Shaikh-ul-Hind took steps for the cooperation between the students of religious and contemporary institutions when he observed that there would be no success without cooperation between the two after his release from Malta. So, in order to remove the intellectual backwaters of Dar-ul-Uloom Deoband and Aligarh, he went to Jamia Millia Islamia and invited these two institutions to work together in the national struggle. Nazarat-ul-Maarif-ul-Qurania was also established under the same objective on 13<sup>th</sup> June 1913, whose administrative head was Maolana Obaid Ullah Sindhi. Hazrat Raipuri-IV adopted the thought for his future struggle. Therefore, it was his priority to bring together the graduates of college and the *Madrasah* on one platform (Awan S.-u.-R. , 2023). He explained his program in his own words as:

*"Our program is to bring together the students of colleges, universities and Madrasahs on the same platform. In this way, we can minimize the gap between these two, which the British created. (Zaidi, 1976)"*

### **Principles for the Stability of State**

Hazrat Raipuri-IV emphasized three basic principles for the stability and welfare of the state. According to him, it is necessary to establish the system of the state on these natural principles for its survival. Those natural principles are given below:

#### **a) Justice and Fairness**

Hazrat Raipuri-IV thought that justice is the primary condition for any state's development because it is a state's key responsibility to provide justice to the people. He used to express that we have not been able to form our judicial system in accordance with Islamic teachings and national aspirations, while the nations that became

independent after us are now performing the duties of leading the world due to their strong judicial system. He considered the judicial system established by the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and Sahabah, the companions of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), as his ideal (Fouz G. M., Report: Speech of Ḥazrat Shah Saeed Ahmad Raipuri RA, 1998). Furthermore, he considered the *Walīullahī* thoughts and ideology indispensable to establish a system based on justice and fairness. Therefore, he said:

*“The ideology of Imām Shah Waliullah Dehlawi (RA) is important and necessary to abolish an oppressive system and structure a system based on justice and equality. (Arif M., Report: Address of Ḥazrat Shah Saeed Ahmad Raipuri RIP, 1994)”*

### **Peace and Security**

Ḥazrat Raipuri-IV considered that peace and harmony are very important for the stability of the state. He said there would be no hope of prosperity and development in a nation whose religious and political thought were suffering chaos. So, he thought eliminating all kinds of communalism and sectarianism was the primary responsibility of the state (Noumani M. A.-u.-M., 2023). His proposed strategy to establish peace can be inferred from his given below-narrated incident.

*“Once Khawaja Khan Muhammad, a very great and influential elder, invited me at a feast where the officials of local district administration were also invited. In those days, Shia-Sunni riots were a routine matter. A senior officer told Ḥazrat Sahib that it had become very challenging to maintain law and order due to these riots. Later, at the dinner table, I told the officer that I have found the solution to his problem as I had listened his conversation with Ḥazrat Khawaja Sahib. When he was fascinated, I said you should take over the Jamia Masjid of Mianwali. Further, give one mosque to your DSP and magistrate. He replied that the ‘ulama’ would get angry in this way. I said that do not worry about it, I would convince them that the whole system is in the hands of powerful officers. So, there is no use of preaching in the mosques only. Every Friday, they would also take the accounts of bribery, looting and oppression from their subordinates and officers. (Ahmad C. R., Report: Imam Shah Wali Ullah Seminar Bahawalpur, 2005)”*

### **Economic Equality**

According to Ḥazrat Raipuri-IV, it is the responsibility of the state to establish a system of economic equality in the state. A state which exploits the people under the guise of capitalism can never be stable. He wanted that the prevailing gap between rich and poor should disappear. He was against the theory of religious class that poverty and richness are fateful decisions (Arif M., Report: Ḥazrat Shah Saeed Ahmad Raipuri RIP ki Markazi Tarbiyati Seminar Munaquida Shaiwal ki Dorsi Nishat me ki Gai Taqreer, 1984). He thought that it is the responsibility of the state to provide food, cloth, house and other necessities of life. Therefore, he said:

*“To get food, cloth, shelter, and other necessities of life is the basic right of every citizen. Depriving them of basic needs is cruelty with them, which we have been facing for fifty years. It is the basic reason behind our humiliation. (Awan S., 1997)”*

## The Division of Oppressor and Oppressed

The history of the Prophets shows that they always did a well-organized struggle against political monopolists of the society and brought justice to the oppressed from the oppressor. From the Qur'anic verses, we know that the main purpose of Jihād is to support the oppressed against the oppressor. Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) gave importance to the 'Hailf-al-Fudul' because the agreement aimed to support the oppressed people and suppress the oppressor. This was the spirit under which the companions of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) sacrificed their lives on the principle of 'Oppressor and Oppressed' instead of Muslim and Non-Muslim. Imām Shah Waliullah Dehlawi (RIP) concluded that the dominance of oppression and self-interest causes Divine punishment. This factor, the division of humanity on the basis of 'Oppressor and Oppressed', greatly influences the thoughts and struggle of Ḥaḏrat Raipuri-IV. He was convinced that today, the only nation is capable to lead the world that considers the division of humanity only on the basis of 'Oppressor and Oppressed' (Noumani M. A.-u.-M., 2023). So, he was convinced for the division of human beings in the world under the principle of 'Oppressor and Oppressed'. He said that:

*"There are only two poles of human beings, the oppressor and the oppressed, according to teachings of all Prophets, Islam and righteous 'ulama'. We should have love and sympathy with every infidel and polytheist of the world being 'Oppressed' instead of hate on the basis of faith and further consider him enemy only being 'Oppressor'. It is the base of real humanity. (Idara, Report: Shah Waliullah Seminar Islamabad, 2004)"*

There are different forms of oppression in the world nowadays. Big powers are trampling the rights of third-world countries. The rich class of Pakistan is exploiting the downtrodden and poor class. The individualistic approach caused by capitalism has created selfishness, self-interest and greed in everyone. In these circumstances, Ḥaḏrat Raipuri-IV had set the pattern for struggle throughout his life on the principle of 'Oppressor and Oppressed'. He said:

*"I have no concern with any party or government as I have only believed in the division of 'Oppressor and Oppressed'. Therefore, I criticize the oppression and system structured on this ideology". (Report: Address of Hazrat Shah Saeed Ahmad Raipuri RIP, 1974)"*

## Ḥaḏrat Raipuri-IV and Democracy

Ḥaḏrat Shah Waliullah Dehlwai introduced his thoughts about a democratic system instead of monarchy in those days when Europe was not familiar with the concept of democracy. He emphasized the need to for an assembly of intellectuals to meet with affairs of the state on collective basis (Abassi, 2004). Similarly, Ḥaḏrat Sindhi was also convinced with the primary role of democracy for political struggle and declared it as very necessary for the rise of nations (Somroo, 2017). Following the footprints of *Waliullahi 'ulama'*, Ḥaḏrat Ḥaḏrat Sindhi said that:

*"Our youth should not believe in any other system except the democratic system. It's not possible to unite the people for national cause except this system." (Azad M. A.-u.-K., Khutbat-o-Maqalat: Imam Obaid Ullah Sindhi, 2002)*

Unfortunately, some Muslim scholars and intellectuals, in their hatred of western democracy, have considered democracy against the *khilafat* as an attempt to present Islam against the democracy. In the context of subcontinent, thinkers like

Allama Muhammad Iqbal was also inspired with this intellectual fallacy. Its reality that new political, social and economic demands had merged due to the rise of Europe. In those circumstances, there was the need to form a viable political structure based on Islamic ideology and principles in the changing requirements to solve political, social and economic issues. But some Islamists with autocratic mindset propagated that democracy was the Western system of government and against the teachings of Islam. Therefore, today the democracy is being presented as opposite of *Khilāfat* and being insisted to follow the old structure. Although it is the dire need to introduce a new form of government in the light those Islamic principles on which institution of *Khilāfat* was established. One of the reasons for this point of view was the backwardness of 3<sup>rd</sup> World countries where Western democracy was failed to deliver. However, it was fruitful for ruling elite influential class. Ḥazrat Raipuri-IV was not agreed to accept the prevailing form of democracy, in 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries, because it was based on capitalistic philosophy. However, he did not consider the total denial of democracy because the method to elect Ḥazrat Usman RA and thought of Ḥazrat Shah Waliullah reflect the real face of democracy. According to him, democracy means a system of government that prefers the interests of the people over the interests of elite class and formulates policies according to their aspirations. He was advocate to empower institutions to decide the fate of the nation and affairs of the state instead of an individual. He did not consider the prevailing democratic system in Pakistan as a real democracy because selfish politicians used to exploit the people on the basis of their capital (Saeed-ur-Rehman, Moulana Shah Saeed Ahmad Raipuri RA: *Shakhsiyat-o-Afkar*, 2018). He explained it as:

*“What is democracy?..... The government of 14 crore people should establish an economic system for their benefits. What kind of democracy is there?..... In which the system has structured to guard the interests of land lords and capitalists. The farmer and labor, who have to work in the fields dawn to dusk, is unable to understand his rights.” (Soomro, 2005)*

Ḥazrat Raipuri-IV did not consider *khilāfat* and democracy to be contradictory in the context of Islamic history. So, he declared the *Khilāfat-e-Rāshidah* and the glorious past of the Muslims as ascension of real democracy in which a poor woman could questioned the *Caliph* about her rights. He explained it as:

*“These (people) claim for Khilāfat-e-Rāshidah but they are ignorant of the system of Khilāfat-e-Rāshidah. That is, how was their economic system? How were their institutions? How did they overcome poverty? How to bring economic prosperity?..... Therefore, the objective of Islamic dominance is to have a prosper society, to have peace, to get rid of quarrels, to develop the society and to have spiritual progress.” (Moulana Nasir Abd-ul-Aziz, Interview of Ḥazrat Shah Saeed Ahmad Raipuri RIP Part-III, 2008)*

Ḥazrat Raipuri-IV considered dictatorship as opposite to democracy. He believed that the minds of the Muslims had become so fixed regarding the personal government that it had become very difficult to talk and explain democracy and institutions. It was his desire to take the Muslims out of this romanticism and made it clear that we would not aware of the *Khilāfat* and democracy until we get rid of the illusion of authoritarianism and personalism. According to him, today we would have to educate our young generation to establish a proper democratic system according to the contemporary requirements. He referred to understand the difference of Western democracy and Shah Waliullah’s philosophy of democracy in this regard (Saeed-ur-Rahman, 2018). He said as:

*“Allah Almighty declares the Islamic system as watchman. Watchman is one who guards the residents of a mahalla and city from thieves and robbers. Whereas Sikhs, Hindus, Christians and Pārsi reside in the mahalla at the same time and he guards all of them. Therefore, a person is considered as watchman who is brave, unbuyable and does not go with thief or robbers.” (Asghar Ali, Report: Jado Jihad-e-Azadi 1857 ka Paigham, 2007)*

### **Philosophy of Jihād and its Contemporary Interpretation**

Imām Shah Waliullah Dehlawi defined *Jihād* as the struggle for the domination of Islam and the practical struggle to get rid of the system of operation and disbelief (Dehlawi S. W., Hujjatullah-ul-Baligha, 1982). His *jamaʿt* sacrificed for *Iʿlā-e Kalimat-ul-Ḥaq* (Struggle for the dominance of Islam) and freedom. Ḥazrat Raipuri-IV also defined the struggle for the dominance of Islam as *Jihād*. So, he said to explain the meaning of *Jihād* as:

*“The struggle, through life, wealth, and all available sources, for Iʿlā-e Kalimat-ullah and dominance of Islam. Moreover, one’s effort at its best level for ‘Amr bil maʿruf wa Nahi ‘nil Munkar’ (Enjoining (what is) right and forbidding (what is) evil); justice, promotion of goodness, and prevention of evil. An organized struggle to get rid of cruel rulers and ethicist leadership, to refute polytheistic beliefs and practices, to rebut the ill thoughts of Jews and Christians through arguments and proofs is also called Jihād. (Shaheen, 1997)”*

The British propagated that Islam had only fought defensive wars to demoralize the *‘ulamā*, associated with *Waliullahi Tehrik*, in the Sub-continent. It was an attempt to prove that Islamic *Jihād* is a defensive war and that there is no concept of offensive war in Islam. Furthermore, it was also propagated that these wars were fought for mutual killings and power. The *Waliullahi Jamaʿt* foiled these two conspiracies of British imperialism and made it clear that the purpose of *Jihād* was to struggle against the oppressor for the sake of the oppressed people. That is why, *Sahab* sacrificed their lives to save oppressed infidels from oppressors. In this regard, *Waliullahi Jamaʿt* never adopted a defensive strategy and defended its narrative bravely. Ḥazrat Raipuri-IV was also convinced by the point of view of leaders of *Waliullahi Tehrik*. He said that:

*“Jihād is a well-organized struggle against oppressors without any discrimination of religion. It is the state (in Islam) which is empowered to make decisions for armed struggle instead of any individual. (Fouz G. M., Report: Address of Ḥazrat Shah Saeed Ahmad Raipuri RIP, 1995)”*

Ḥazrat Raipuri-IV used to consider every party as an agent of British imperialism, which wanted to alienate Muslims from the true meaning of *Jihād* during the colonial period. Therefore, he was against the *Qādiyānī Jamaʿt* as the British used it against the *Waliullahi Jamaʿt* to make its role doubtful for the freedom movement. Because it issued a *fatwa* on the sanctity of *Jihād* in favor of the British to let down the role and resistance of *Waliullahi Jamaʿt* for freedom. He said that:

*“Essentially, we consider Qādiyānism as a political sect. The British established this jamaʿt in the guise of religion to guard its political interests. Although it was in the guise of religion but the British wanted to gain political advantage from it by getting a fatwa on the sanctity of Jihād to keen down the Waliullahi Tehreek and the resistance of Syed Ahad Shaheed. That is why we want to make it fail by considering it the political power of the British.*

(Moulana Nasir Abd-ul-Aziz, Interview of Ḥazrat Shah Saeed Ahmad Raipuri RIP Part-III, 2008)"

Cold War merged as a new phenomenon after World War II. So, USA and USSR started an organized struggle against each other. Actually, CW was a war between two blocks, Capitalism and Communism, instead of two countries. However, these two countries were leading the blocks. The USA used the religion card to defeat the USSR and communism. Although the USA was disgusted with religion itself but it dramatized for 'Religious Unity' to achieve its nefarious purposes. In this way, the USA organized all the religions against the 'La-Mazhabiat' and 'La-Daniyat' (Secularism). Behind the scene, the USA wanted to use religion against the USSR, in which it succeeded. During that period, all the political parties of Pakistan, including Jamaat-e-Islami, were victims of this conspiracy. Ḥazrat Raipuri-IV continued to expose the American agenda of 'Religious Unity' in the light of *Walīullahī* ideology and philosophy. So, he said that:

*"Today, Mazāhib-e-Bāṭilah (Out dated religion) are being united with the revolutionary religion (Islam) which is like the mixing impure thing with pure. So, Muslims could need to seek guidance from religion to solve their socio-political issues." (Idara, Report: Ḥazrat Shah Saeed Ahmad Raipuri ka Khatab, 1982)*

Ḥazrat Raipuri-IV explained that how the West had wanted to use non-revolutionary people as:

*"America wants to use the non-revolutionary people of every religion, especially from Asia, as its tool to guard its interests. (Report: Address of Ḥazrat Shah Saeed Ahmad Raipuri being Sarparast of Jamiat Tulba-e-Islam Pakistan, 1982)"*

As a continuation of the above, the USA gathered violent religious elements from all over the world and aligned them against Russia under cover of *Jihād* by taking advantage of the ongoing resistance in Afghanistan. The USA also provided them with political, military and financial support. In those days, propaganda favoring *Jihād* was in full swing through electronic and press media. Therefore, a single word against *Jihād* was considered tantamount to blasphemy. Ḥazrat Raipuri-IV observed the delicacy of the situation and advised the religious community not to become the part of USA camp against Russia in those difficult times. He used to say that we are being used against Russia and it would be challenging to get rid of America if it succeeded (Sindhi, 2022). He said that:

*"Jihādi organizations have been aggravating the problem by opting the policy in the name of Jihād and violence. The organizations have been used for imperialist purposes at the behest of imperialist forces. Former President Zia-ul-Haq used these organizations against Russia upon the direction of America. These organizations admit that it was fine as long as we were being used against Russia to guard the interests of America. Now, we are being sanctioned after the retreat of Russia. (Raipuri S. S., Need to Introduce the Real Leadership of Freedom Movement, 2002)"*

Ḥazrat Raipuri-IV believed that there would be a disappointment when the Muslims would come to know about the conspiracy of America and Pakistan would have to face the consequences. He often raised the question before the religious community that why religious groups do not issue the *fatwa* against the oppressive system of Pakistan at the pattern which has already been used in Afghanistan against Russia. So, he said that:



*“It is ill-logical to issue a fatwa for Jihād in Afghanistan because there is an oppressive and disbelief system in Pakistan. So, it is obligatory for us at first to lay down the foundations of all the institutions of Pakistan according to the principles of Islam if we want to do Jihād. Actually, America wanted to establish its base camp in Afghanistan to counter Russia. Therefore, dollars were distributed for Jihād and leaders were assembled with money. In this way, people were misled about religion. Due to dollar-funded Jihād, 3-3.5 million Afghan were killed and 5 million were forced to migrate who are roaming in the world helplessly. As a result, Afghan people became enemies of Pakistan and Jihādi organizations played a vital role in providing strong grounds for America’s stay in the region. (Moulana Nasir Abd-ul-Aziz, Interview of Ḥazrat Shah Saeed Ahmad Raipuri RIP Part-III, 2008)”*

Ḥazrat Raipuri-IV did not doubt the sincerity of the youth who sacrificed their lives during the Afghan war. He was deeply saddened that they became the fuel of the Cold War due to the lack of political awareness and misleading attitude of the religious class. As a result of the Cold War, Islam became infamous as a terrorist religion which caused disappointment among the students of Madrasahs. His disagreement with Afghan *Jihād* was purely political in nature. His position was very clear that we should never be used by America to guard its interests in the region (Pasha, 1989).

### **Philosophy of Unity of the Muslim World**

Ḥazrat Sindhi had a program of ‘unity of the Muslim world’ when he set out for Afghanistan upon the advice of Ḥazrat Shaikh-ul-Hind. However, after the experience of Afghanistan, because the Afghan government refused to support the freedom movement of India due to the pressure of the British and the fall of the Ottoman *Khilāfat*, he came to the conclusion that the idea of the ‘unity of the Islamic world’ was not viable at the time. Because after the fall of the Ottoman *Khilāfat*, the trend of national democracies had started and each nation was redrawing its borders (Sarwar, 1972). He observed with his far-reaching political insight that it was the era of national democracies. So, he reshaped his thoughts and concluded that the struggle with the nationalist approach was the only way to strengthen the Muslims of India. In this way, blocks and alliances could be formed by strengthening the national democracies to counter the global colonial powers. Ḥazrat Raipuri-IV adopted a practical and realistic approach to observe the catchy slogan of ‘unity of the Muslim world’ instead of sentimentality. He thought that the British divided the Ottoman *Khilāfat* into small states to break the unity of the Muslims and imposed a monarchy to guard their interests. He concluded that the idea of the ‘unity of the Muslim world’ would be successful only if we would achieve real freedom based on the understanding of the national interests to set an example for the Muslims of other Islamic countries (Saeed-ur-Rehman, Moulana Shah Saeed Ahmad Raipuri RA: *Shakhsiyat-o-Afkar*, 2018). In this context he said as:

*“We are told that the Islamic world would be united if we united. However, is it within our limit to be united? Whereas imperialist countries are dominant in world politics which strengthens its politics by dividing the countries. Then, how can the countries (Muslim countries) become united under its influence? They would be able to understand their national interests when they would get freedom from imperialism. Freedom and understanding of national interests would outcome in unity. When the passion for unity would merge, they (Muslim countries) could resist the imperialism of America and Europe.” (Idara, Report: *Khitab Ḥazrat Shah Saeed Ahmad Raipuri RIP*, 1988)*

Ḥazrat Raipuri-IV was concerned about the role of Muslim countries as agents of imperialism because 'The Council of Islamic Ideology' and alliances like 'Muslim World League' were doing nothing but verbal statements and approvals in resolutions. Therefore, he adopted the realistic approach and considered national independence at the initial level. (Saeed-ur-Rahman, 2018).

### Interrelationship of System and Civilization

During their heydays, Muslims served the world with peace and justice. Their system and civilization influenced the world. In the context of the subcontinent, the Muslims gave intellectual unity and collective wisdom to this region divided on the basis of caste, race and religion. Although they were small in numbers but they had a profound impact on the civilization of the world due to their humanistic and philanthropist ideology. After our fall, the system of Europe prevailed over us and according to the law of nature, their civilization also prevailed. It was *Waliullahi Jama'at* that became a hurdle in the way of this cultural dominance, otherwise, the history and culture of the subcontinent would not be different from Andalus today.

Ḥazrat Raipuri-IV thought that opposing Western civilization for the sake of opposition would no longer work. However, we would have to understand that whose system prevails, its civilization also prevails. He further advised a role against the Western system with a political strategy. He explained the matter as:

*"People are being projected to international fame who oppose Western civilization and Western morals and do not oppose the Western system. Europe is using so-called Islamic organizations and presenting them as Mujaddid under its influence to accept Islam without a system. The question is, why is Europe projecting such people who do not oppose its civilization and culture? These people want to support the Western system and want to confront us with youth. If we oppose only civilization and culture and do not put efforts into getting rid of the cruel system, then its cultural effects will somehow be avoided?" (Tahir, Report: Maghrabi Nizam aur Maghrabi Tehzib, 1981)*

### Analysis of National Politics

Ḥazrat Raipuri-IV used to analyze the national politics of Pakistan in the light of Ḥazrat Shah Waliullah's era, its requirements and his revolutionary thoughts. He believed that *Waliullahi* philosophy was the only hope which had the capacity and ability to bring us out of the fall. Ḥazrat Shah Waliullah had concluded after the in-depth analysis of the national politics of the subcontinent that the ruling elite had been suffering from the immoral of Qaiser and Kisra who were taxing the poor people to meet their self-interests and luxuries and the government institutions were utterly ineffective in providing justice. Ḥazrat Raipuri-IV's point of view was that our nation had been surrounded by the same problems today which Ḥazrat Shah Waliullah had pointed out in the context of the Mughal rule. He considered that our political system has failed to deliver due to the selfish attitude of political leaders, as switching parties to secure their interests has become the norm. He said that:

*"Self-interested rulers have indulged the whole nation in trouble for their interests and luxuries." (Hussain H. M., Report: Jamia Sherazia Karachi me Taqreeb, 2000)*

National politics has been dominated by landlords, vassals and capitalists whose faith is based on the principles of 'capital' and 'self-interest.' Ḥaẓrat Raipuri-IV wanted to see national politics free from the influence of these self-interested and selfish politicians. In this context, he said that:

*"God punishes a nation that accepts its false and self-interested leaders. You may study the events of the whole world; history and the Quran tell us that the nations were tormented when nations accepted hypocritic and false leadership. The success is that nations should accept true, God-fearing and philanthropist people as their leaders." (Kayani, Report: Imam Shah Waliullah Seminar Lahore, 2004)*

Ḥaẓrat Shah Waliullah used to criticize the rulers and ministers of his time and said that they had lost the national-level approach and suffering from luxuries due to their selfish and self-interested attitude (Dehlawi S. W., Hujjatullah-ul-Baligha, 1982). In the context of *Waliullahi* thoughts, Ḥaẓrat Raipuri-IV also used to criticize the role of prevailing bureaucracy as it was under the influence of the Western capitalist education system. He explained it as:

*"The bureaucrats, i.e., secretaries and generals, the elite class of our country, who go to key positions with higher education have selfish and self-interested mindsets. They have no spirit and passion to serve the nation and the country." (Idara, Report: Khitab Ḥaẓrat Shah Saeed Ahmad Raipuri RIP, 1988)*

Ḥaẓrat Shah Waliullah has pointed out another reason for the political downfall of the Muslims that the state was not functioning in the right direction as its rite had been compromised due to a fragile central government. Therefore, Marathas, Jats and Sikhs were spreading unrest in the state. During his reign, under the cover of EIC, British imperialism also started to intervene in national politics and colonized this region very soon. *Waliullahi Jama'at* played a full political role against this colonial setup and saved the nation from the slavery of the British. Ḥaẓrat Raipuri-IV was an eyewitness of this national struggle of *Waliullahi Jama'at*. He thought that we had gained freedom from the slavery of the British but after partition, we have practically accepted the slavery of America since the inception of Pakistan. Therefore, our national politics has been occupied by America due lack of a nationalist approach and spirit of freedom, which uses rulers and religious representatives whenever it wants, like chess pieces, for its broader interests. He said that:

*"We got freedom from it (Britain) but came under the control of a powerful world empire (America) which knee down Europe after its breakdown and brought the European block under its influence. The ruling class of the country understands that the US holds the power of our country as it brings up whomever it wills and defeats whomever it wills. It is as if we have fallen back into the pit of slavery while aiming the goal of freedom." (Idara, Report: Khitab Ḥaẓrat Shah Saeed Ahmad Raipuri RIP, 1988)*

Ḥaẓrat Raipuri-IV considered that today we would have to think about whether we got real freedom as a result of partition. Have we changed our political, economic, educational, judicial, bureaucratic and military system of the colonial era and established a new system afresh as a sovereign nation after the inception of Pakistan? If not, what are its causes and motives? He considered this period of slavery worse than the slavery of Europe. He explained the slavery after partition as:

*“It is said that the country is independent. But we understand that there was direct rule of Europe earlier (before partition) and now it has dominated by its manager. It is a dangerous situation that the enemy has become invisible. This is a deception of freedom otherwise the system, policy and ideology belong to us. Rather, during the enemy's rule, there were no defects which we have been facing since freedom.....Just as it is folly to order furniture and decoration pieces for a house without taking possession. So, it is useless to reform a country without real independence.” (Idara, Report: Hazrat Shah Saeed Ahmad Raipuri ka Khatab, 1982)*

When nations are politically depressed and in decline, they think that change is inevitable. However, in the context of the subcontinent, the British introduced the idea of waiting for the *Messiah*. Unfortunately, it has deeply rooted in us. Due to this reason, our nation is still waiting for the charisma of these political *messiahs* who have been tested repeatedly despite the crisis. In these circumstances, imperialism also introduces such political parties as a second option with the slogan of ‘change’ which play with the emotions of the youth. However, neither have any program regarding the change nor any mechanism for training its political workers. As a result, those clamoring to bring forth new youth leadership are forced to be content with the same old faces who have proven for disappointment and failures. Similarly, the religiopolitical parties are so helpless that the colonialists make their alliance whenever it is required to achieve their interests and align them against each other whenever it is required. Hazrat Raipuri-IV was deeply disappointed with these so-called liberal, religious and religiopolitical parties which exploit the people in the name of national politics. He believed that these political parties were not capable to guide the nation in the right direction due to compromised politics and self-interest attitude (Moulana Nasir Abd-ul-Aziz, Interview of Hazrat Shah Saeed Ahmad Raipuri RIP (Part-IV), 2008). In this context, he said that:

*“How can today's political parties be able to lead a generation with a free conscience whose policies revolve around ephemeral expediency and personal interests.....Today's political (religiopolitical) parties are working under the current wrong system. These parties maintain and strengthen the existing structures of Non-Islamic society, non-religious system of government, Non-Islamic economic system and Non-Islamic political philosophy. Then how can these parties break such dirty structures? These parties consider minor reforms within the current system as the Islamic revolution. We do not expect any Islamic revolution from them.” (Idara, Report: Irshadat-e-Saeed, 1980)*

Hazrat Raipuri-IV was very clear that the system could not be changed by being part of the system and his message was very open for all those political parties which were doing politics in the name of changing the system. This is why, despite keeping a close eye on national politics, he kept away from practical politics and kept his party away from it. He had this final political opinion that the national revolution was not a temporary and incomplete change. Rather, Islam is a complete system of life and has the full capacity to deal with national problems. He said that:

*“Islam is a complete system. It has a political and economic system. When the supremacy of Islam is discussed, it means that its supremacy would be kept in view within the three spheres (Sharia, Tariqat and politics).” (Kayani, Report: Istafada Az Rahber Tanzeem Fikar-e-Waliullahi, 2011)*

Hazrat Shah Waliullah has advised to the study of Quranic philosophy regarding the rise and fall of the nations. He believed that these events have been discussed in the Holy Quran for our guidance so that we can take care of ourselves in light of these

dreadful events. Ḥaẓrat Raipuri-IV was used to advise for the study of the Holy Quran in the light of *Waliullahi* principles. He said that:

*“Today, we have become numb and Allah Almighty is punishing us with different torments like Bani-Israel. These events and history of Bani-Israel have not been described in the Holy Quran so that nobody would take a lesson from it.” (Arif M., Report: Ḥaẓrat Shah Saeed Ahmad Raipuri RIP ki Markazi Tarbiyati Seminar Munaquida Shaiwal ki Dorsi Nishat me ki Gai Taqreer, 1984)*

Ḥaẓrat Raipuri-IV considered politics with sectarian and regionalist approaches against the nation’s interests. So, he emphasized for real struggle at the national level and advised the people for a collective approach instead of selfishness (Idara, Report: Khitab Ḥaẓrat Shah Saeed Ahmad Raipuri RIP, 1988). He believed that it is obligatory to follow *Waliullahi* philosophy to meet with the political issues of Pakistan. So, he said that:

*“You would have to learn the thoughts of Ḥaẓrat Imām Shah Waliullah if you want to establish a system of justice and fairness to live with freedom, honor and dignity like the (free) young people of the world. This outdated social structure can only be changed through the revolution in the light of Waliullahi philosophy.” (Soomro, 2005)*

### **Analysis of International Politics**

Ḥaẓrat Sindhi used to analyze national issues in the context of internationalism. So, he considered the importance of international conditions and requirements to determine the right course of action for national goals and interests because he had observed and analyzed the revolutions during his exile after the ‘Silk Letter Movement’. Therefore, he clinched that healthy nationalism was not possible without internationalism and an understanding of its requirements (Sarwar, 1972). In this context, Ḥaẓrat Raipuri-IV was the follower of Ḥaẓrat Sindhi and believed that it is essential to keep an eye on the international situation to understand the real problems of national politics. Although national revolution would be the priority, but if international conditions and changes are treated as irrelevant, then it would not be wise because a party without international vision would be unable to revolt against the outdated structure. He explained it as:

*“If you want to bring about any change in this country, you will have to look into the international world. If you enhance your exposure from this country and nation to the international level, you will be able to revolt here and be able to guard it. On the other hand, if you confine it to your county and do not try to understand the changes at the international level by considering it irrelevant, out of your limits and out of politics, you will not be succeeded.” (Arif M., Report: Ḥaẓrat Shah Saeed Ahmad Raipuri RIP ki Markazi Tarbiyati Seminar Munaquida Shaiwal ki Dorsi Nishat me ki Gai Taqreer, 1984)*

Ḥaẓrat Raipuri-IV was fully aware of international affairs. He inherited this taste due to the continuity of *Waliullahi Jama’at* because he was an eyewitness of its struggle and had spent sixty years under the supervision of Ḥaẓrat Raipuri-II and his father Ḥaẓrat Raipuri-III to learn *Waliullahi* thoughts and pattern of struggle. So, the history of *Waliullahi Jama’at* shows that Ḥaẓrat Shah Abd-ul-Aziz Dehlawi was an expert in geography and used to update his information about the economy and politics of other countries of the world. Similarly, Ḥaẓrat Shaikh-ul-Hind had a profound study of the history of international politics. Ḥaẓrat Sindhi had observed the revolutions of the world

during his exile, being an eyewitness and his analysis was very good in this regard. The *malfuzat* Ḥazrat Raipuri-IV shows that he had a deep view of international affairs, especially the situation of Arab countries. Ḥazrat Raipuri-IV inherited the international political insight of *Mashaekh Ra'ypūr* and used it to analyze the politics of Muslim countries in a very logical manner. In this context, he thought that British imperialism had decentralized the Ottoman *Khilafat* and divided it into small states to maintain its monopoly over these small states because it was relatively easy to control a small state. So, the British succeeded in this well-thought-out trick, and more than fifty Muslim countries are under its monopoly and influence till today. Despite having such a large number, Muslim countries do not have the right of veto power in the United Nations and their role in international politics. He said that:

*"Today, the Muslims have rule over sixty countries but have no status in United Nations. The Security Council stumbles them. On the other hand, the US rejects their argument in favor of the Israeli state of 35, 40 lakh Jews."*  
(Ali S., 2005)

The thoughts of Ḥazrat were an evolutionary form of the same intellectual continuity under which Ḥazrat Raipur-II used to express regret regarding the national sovereignty and backwardness of industry of the Islamic countries (Nadvi S. A.-a.-H., Sawaneh Ḥazrat Moulana Abd-ul-Qadir Raipuri RA, 1965). Therefore, he had an opinion about Islamic countries that all of them are playing the role as a tool of imperialism. If they had the national approach with international vision, they would not have suffered from this decline of knowledge and consciousness today. In this context, he said that:

*"There are sixty Muslim countries but all are the supporting tool of imperialism, that one Muslim country support imperialism against another Muslim country. i.e. when Egypt's independence was to be taken away, she (America) had her military base camps in all Muslim countries. Today, its ships are seen oppressing and attacking Iraq by using (its naval base camp in) the Mediterranean Sea. Imperialism killed three or four million people in Afghanistan and forced thousands to migrate by using (Pakistan) as the military base."* (Ahmad C. R., Report: National Seminar to Celebrate 150th Anniversary of Struggle for Freedom-1857, 2007)

According to him, the global Zionist forces are playing the hypocritical game of democracy and monarchy from the sidelines with the support of America. On one side, it destroyed the political and national systems of Iraq, Labia and Syria under the slogan to restore genuine democracy by blaming with the titles of monarchies and dictatorships. On the other side, the heirs and dictators of the real monarchies are being nurtured in their arms. Ḥazrat Raipuri-IV used to express his worries about the helplessness of Islamic countries that their own purchased weapons could be used against each other but could not be used for their own freedom and the freedom of Palestine. In this context, he said that:

*"We hate Israel, but we are sitting in America's lap. The Islamic world's own purchased weapons cannot be used to defeat Israel to liberate the Palestinians. An Arab country can use the US base against another Arab country, but it cannot be used for the freedom of the Arabs. How great the humiliation, how great the helplessness and how great the torments?"* (Arif M., Report: Ḥazrat Shah Saeed Ahmad Raipuri RIP ki Markazi Tarbiyati Seminar Munaquida Shaiwal ki Dorsi Nishat me ki Gai Taqreer, 1984)

Ḥazrat Raipuri-IV was convinced that today's imperialism is the US, which is so proud of its power that it has taken up as task of exploiting and destroying poor countries. However, on this basis, some people hate the people of America instead of her colonial policies and modern colonial system. However, he was not agreed with it. In his conversation, he often seemed to express that we are against the US system, not against her people because they are also facing oppression by a few US capitalists. He explained it as:

*"In fact, the people of the West are oppressed by the system. A few thousand capitalists in America are exploiting millions of people on the basis of the capitalistic system. Most people are surviving there on loans, the green card system and overtime. So, we hate the American system, not the American people. We are against the corrupt system of Britain, not British citizens. We want to free the people of America and Western Europe from the pharaoh characteristic's-based system."* (Idara, Report: Ḥazrat Shah Saeed Ahmad Raipuri ka Khatab, 1982)

Ḥazrat Raipuri-IV often said that despite the sad consequences of the Second World War for Germany, if Britain and Germany can be united, why can't we form an alliance with the countries of our region? According to him, global imperialism used religion and sectarian thinking as a tool to shield us from the influence of the Russian and Iranian revolutions in our region. Instead of trying to change our country by studying the evolutionary history of these independent nations, we were subjected to intellectual and religious chaos. He said that:

*"Today, it is the dire need to learn the thoughts of Imām Shah Waliullah who has presented all the social and political solutions. So, in the light of Waliullahi philosophy, study the revolutions of the sovereign nations of the whole world. Observe the ideology of the youth of sovereign countries and study the revolutions of Vietnam, Korea, Iran and China."* (Soomro, 2005)

The Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) made an agreement with the infidels on common principles regarding oppression and war in the form of 'Misaq-e-Medina'. In the light of this, Ḥazrat Raipuri-IV concluded that we have to establish good relations with the countries of our region for political stability. Imperialism has always tried to prevent the countries of this region from coming closer to each other. Because the market for their used weapons would collapse as a result of good relations. He believed that we had made a mistake by joining the US block after the partition and spoiled our relations with our neighboring countries as its outcome. It can be rectified only by establishing friendly relations with regional countries on the basis of common interests. He said that:

*"There would be no need for war strategy when we establish a relationship with regional powers on the basis of peace and mutual cooperation. In this way, the dominance of the enemy would be ended..... (As a result) The control of multinational companies and interference would also end. Especially the role of China (in the region) would be beneficial and it would lead us to freedom because American imperialism gets political and defense benefits by imposing conditions when it helps someone."* (Moulana Nasir Abd-ul-Aziz, Interview of Ḥazrat Shah Saeed Ahmad Raipuri RIP (Part-IV), 2008)

## Conclusion

Non-violence is the guiding principle of Ḥazrat Raipuri-IV's thoughts, which he inherited from Ḥazrat Shaikh-ul-Hind Mehmood Hassan Deobandi (RA). His

whole focus was on the young generation of Pakistan as Ḥazrat Raipuri-II had advised him in 1951 to work among the youth of colleges and universities. However, Pakistani youth became the victim during the Afghan Jihad and sectarian wave. He denounced the division of humanity based on belief, sect or religion during the Cold War. He was convinced that today, the only nation is capable to lead the world that considers the division of humanity only on the basis of 'Oppressor and Oppressed'. It exposes the artificiality of Jihad against every non-Muslim instead of oppressor and anti-Shia thoughts. He was convinced to establish a democratic system in the country to guard the people's interests because he did not consider any contradiction between democracy and the *khilāfat*. He highlighted the importance of a nationalist approach by denouncing the 'Pan-Islamism'. He observed with his far-reaching political insight that it was the era of national democracies. So, he reshaped his thoughts and concluded that the struggle with the nationalist approach was the only way to strengthen the country. He emphasized to build healthy relations with the regional countries to get rid of US influence over the country and to guard the interests of the people.



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