

**PARTY POLITICS IN PUNJAB.**  
**A STUDY ON UNIONIST PERCEPTION ABOUT ALL**  
**INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE.**

**(1937-1947)**

**M.PHIL RESEARCH**

**By**

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## **ABSTRACT**

This work deals with the comparative study of two major political parties of British Punjab named Muslim League and Unionist. Time period marked out for this research is from 1936-47. It covers the political spectrums under the frame of religious segments of Indian subcontinent since the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century until the creation of Pakistan 1947, the overall struggle for freedom and independence resulted in a deep-rooted mass movement, which brought forth Muslim Leaders onto our platform to construct a unified bond in terms of their party objective. Therefore, Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Sikandar Hayat signed a pact to determine the future goals of Muslim motive, 1937. Muslim League established its stronghold in Punjab with the due help and support received from Unionist Party.

It would undoubtedly be stated that Muslim League could not achieve the status of sole popularity in Punjab without receiving the help and support from Unionist party. Their victory in national elections (1945) and provincial elections (1946) was the proof of a political alliance. This collaboration went into turmoil due to the internal weakening of Unionist Party. Self-exile of Khizr Hayat (Unionist Leader) created an opportunity for Jinnah to rise as the only Leader.

## **INTRODUCTION**

The history of Punjab has always been intensified with struggle of power and politics. In fact, the diversity of the ethnos linguistic and religion cultural composition of the region was the main cause behind the dominance of a single party rule. Therefore, by the start of twentieth century there were many political parties in Punjab which were established by Muslims, Sikhs, Hindus, and other communities. For instance, The Ghadar Party Kirti-Kisan Party, All India Kisan Sabha, Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Zamindar Party, Muzafat Awadh Raj, Watan Party, Azad Party, and Hindu and Paisa political party. These all parties were aimed to ground politics at regional level that is why the top leaders of All India Muslim League thought of the need to establish the subbranch of Punjab Muslim League in 1907 at Lahore. Shah Den was its first president who was a prominent figure in politics of Punjab along with Main Muhammad shafi who was the first secretary of Punjab Muslim league. Another significance of Punjab Muslim league was that it was first prominent Muslim political organization in Punjab. Along with All India Muslim League another political party that

existed before was All Indian National Congress these two parties were considered main rival of one another in sub-continent.

The other prominently active political party of Punjab was Unionist party which was founded in 1923. This party mainly focused on rural sector. It was founded by Sir Fazal-e- Hussain and Chhotu Ram it was non-communal party with main objective to protect agriculture community of Punjab. Sir Fazal-i-Hussain rendered huge services in politics of Punjab he is credited for bringing Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan into the Unionist Party who later proved himself as a prominent and promising politician of Unionist party. Unionist party was a group of Punjab legislative council members consisting of 24 Muslims and 6 Hindus. The main Muslim leaders of unionist party were Nawab Muzafar Ali, Nawab Shah Nawaz Momdot, Malik Khizar Hayat Tiwana, Malik Ata Muhammad khan Nawab of Kalabagh, Mian Ahamd khan yar Doltana, Fazal-i-Hussian and Muhammad Zulfiqar Khan. Punjab Unionist party had open membership for all communities. On 1 January 1921 first Punjab assembly was constituted. Chhtuto Ram passed Indebtedness Bill from Punjab legislative council to give relief to peasants and landlords who were in debt. Chhuto Ram also started Bhakhra Scheme which laid foundation of "Green Revolution".

Muslim league was in competition with another political party name "Shiromani Akali Dal" which was established on October 14, 1920, its first president was Sukhbir Singh Badal .It mainly focused on urban areas along with congress giving tough competition to Muslim league in urban areas of Punjab. It was not easy for Muslim League Punjab to collaborate with Punjabi political leaders in presence of congress and Akeli Dal in urban areas of Punjab .In 1927 after Delhi Muslim proposal All India Muslim League spilled into two groups one Punjab group known as Shafi league(Lahore league) and second Bombay league (Jinnah league )it was unexpected scenario in Muslim League due to which anti-Muslim League parties had great opportunity to weaken the roots of Muslim league all over the sub-continent .

Later Jinnah realized division of Muslim league will only damage Muslims so he united Muslim league and later reorganized in 1934 .In 1936 Jinnah came to Punjab on the invitation of many Muslim leaders among which famous were Allama Muhammad Iqbal who wrote 13 letters to Jinnah in 1936 to collaborate with Punjabi leader Sir Fazal-i-Hussain and Chhotu Ram but he couldn't convince them after the congress harsh attitude towards Muslims and death of sir Fazal-i-Hussain in July 1936 it gave Jinnah an opportunity to again to collaborate with Unionist party

that led to historical pact known as Jinnah-Sikandar pact 1937 according to Stanley Wolpert“ it made Pakistan possible”.

In 1937 elections Muslim league failed to perform, it only secured 2 seats among which one member Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan left Muslim league and joined Unionist party, it was a great set back to Muslim league. Muslim League Started new efforts giving new direction towards its political activities .On other hand Unionist party won 82 Muslims seats and overall 98 out of 175 seats in Punjab making government with chief minister Sir Sikandar Hayat .In 1937 elections congress formed 8 ministries out of eleven and started a mass movement in Muslim majority areas including Punjab which made it clear to the Muslims that congress is not only anti-Muslim league but also against the Muslims which led to consolidation of the Muslims .Due to harsh attitude of congress many Muslims started to join Muslim league one of the prominent leader who joined Muslim from Punjab was Mian Iftikhar-ud-din.Sir skinder Hayat always provided comfortable zone for the Muslim league leaders in Punjab politics after Jinnah- Sikandar pact but after his death in 1942 again differences raised between Unionist party and Muslim league in Punjab .It was not easy for Muslim league to compete in Punjab after death of Sikandar Hayat because Malik Khizar Hayat Tiwana was a strong candidate against Muslim league. After involvement of women in Punjab politics Muslim league strengthened in Punjab. In 1945-46 elections Muslim league proved as a strong candidate winning 75 out of 86 Muslim seats in Punjab.

Muslim league politics in Punjab was full of ups and downs it failed to mark its ground in Punjab in early years and things started to change after Jinnah- Sikandar Pact and again after death of Sir Sikandar Hayat it faced challenges but proved itself in 1945-1946 elections.

### **STATEMENT OF PROBLEM:**

The present study will highlight the **obstacles that were faced by All India Muslim League to gain authoritative position in Punjab without support of any political party.** The study will also uncover the **significance of the Jinnah-Sikandar Pact and its outcome.** The study will reflect the **approach adopted by All India Muslim League in Punjab after the death of Sikandar Hayat.** The study will bring out **factors due to which All India Muslim league failed to form its government in Punjab after 1946 provincial elections.**

## **SCOPE AND SIGNIFICANCE**

The significance of this research is to infer facts that why Muslim league fail to achieve any political achievement in Punjab without the support of Unionist Party and it will attempt to reveal the facts that why the feudal lords, Landlords and Punjab political leaders stood against Muslim league in Punjab. The present research will explore the importance of Jinnah-Sikandar Pact 1937 its impact on politics of Muslim league in Punjab along with factors that made it possible. The study will also reflect attitude of Sikandar Hayat as chief minister of Punjab (1937-1942) towards Punjab Muslim League. The significance of this research is to infer facts that why Muslim league fail to achieve any political achievement in Punjab without the support of Unionist Party and it will attempt to reveal the facts that why the feudal lords, Landlords and Punjab political leaders stood against Muslim league in Punjab.

The study aims to find out change in political circumstance of Punjab Muslim league after death of Sikandar Hayat in 1942. Discovering political challenges faced by Punjab Muslim league and Political dimension of Punjabi leaders along with role of congress to strengthen its roots in Punjab. The research will also uncover political activities of Khizr Hayat Tiwana in comparison with political activities of Sikandar Hayat.

The present research will analytically conclude factors that cramped Muslim league to form government in Punjab after 1945-1946 elections giving insight view of election strategy adopted by Muslim League to secure maximum seats in 1945-1946 elections specifically in Punjab. The study will also uncover the impact of elections on Punjab politics and steps taken by Muslim League leaders in interim cabinet (1946) towards Punjab.

## **METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES OF RESEARCH**

To execute this research study the scientific and the qualitative research methodology will be adopted. It is based on library and archival research. A lot of material is available but only those will be consulted and relied on which are authentic, well known and reachable. The conclusion will be based on the unbiased judgments of all these sources.

## **OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY:**

The objectives of this research are:

- To highlight the reasons due to which All India Muslim League failed to strengthen its position in Punjab without ant support.
- Significance of Jinnah-Sikandar pact.
- To give deep view of approach of All India Muslim League in Punjab after death of Sikandar Hayat.
- To highlight the factors due to which All India Muslim league failed to form its government in Punjab after 1946 provincial elections.

## **RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

1. Why All India Muslim League failed to strengthen its position in Punjab without support of Unionist party?
2. What was the significance of Jinnah- Sikandar pact (1937)?
3. How Muslim league established its independence on the political front of Punjab after death of Sikandar Hayat?
4. Why Muslim League failed to form its government in Punjab after 1946 elections?

## **ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY**

The research study is divided into 4 chapters, including *introduction* as preface and conclusion.

The division of chapters is as under:

1. Rise of Muslim Politics in Punjab.
2. Major Political Parties in Punjab
3. Punjab Muslim League
4. Unionist Leadership and Punjab Politics

## **RESEARCH GAP**

There has been a lot of work available on Muslim's politics in the Punjab but none of those reflects the clear picture as reflected in present research. This research will give clear

glimpse of the dynamic of political activities of Punjab Muslim League and Unionist Party from years 1936-1947 which will be helpful for the reader who wants to understand the dynamic of Muslim league in Punjab. The research will be carried out with the strong critical analysis based on strong logic and evidence that will clear all the ambiguities of the reader. It will also help the future researchers to get the authentic data regarding Muslim politics in Punjab from 1936-1947.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

The study will be based on the literature that clarifies the role of Muslims in politics of Punjab with reference to the activities and services of Punjab Unionist Party and Punjab Muslim League. There has been a lot of work available in English as well as in Urdu languages but none of those is equipped with the comparative analysis of Muslim politics of Punjab during the time marked out for this research. There are different sources entitled with different approaches of geography, history, society, and politics of Punjab before 1947. For instance, a prominent name in the list of Historians , who contributed a lot on Punjab politics is that of Dr. David Gilmartin. He is a distinguished professor of History at North Carolina State University and authored " Empire and Islam" where He stated a view that Sir Fazal-i-Hussian became quite successful in his early political campaigns for Punjab Unionist party and his strategy towards authoritative Muslims of west Punjab. The book also throw light on politics of Punjab Muslim league along with explaining factors that why Unionist party was more successful as compared to Muslim league in Punjab.

Another book selected for literature review is written by Stanley Wolpert who was an American historian, Indologist, and author on the political and intellectual history of modern India his book "Jinnah of Pakistan" explained why Punjab Muslim league failed to mark its political standing without support of Unionist party and impact of coordination among unionist party and Punjab Muslim league in politics of Punjab. The book also explains impact of Jinnah-Sikandar pact on Punjab Muslim League.

Famous Historian Ayesha Jalal serves as the Mary Richardson Professor of History at Tufts University her book "The Sole Spokesman" gives us detail insight view of conflicts inside Punjab Unionist party and among Non-Tiwana of Sargodha, Hayat family of Wah (Skindars family), Doltana of Multanfor the premiership of Punjab and direction of Punjab Muslim League after Death of Sikandar Hayat. The book also discussed the impact of shift of support for political parties in Punjab. The book also explained impact of Shaukat Hayat leaving Unionist Party and joining



Punjab Muslim League along with some other members of Unionist party. The book also reflects the influence of British Governor of Punjab over Kizhar Hayat and its outcome for Unionist party. Hector Bolitho, an author belonged to New Zealand, was a novelist and biographer of Jinnah his book "Jinnah the Creator of Pakistan" elaborated the role of youngster's involvement in politics who were inspired by Muhammad Ali Jinnah and their efforts towards Punjab Muslim league and the impact of their services towards the party. The book also explained political activities carried by the youngsters along with explaining their political strategies for Punjab Muslim League. Another article of Q.Abid and M.Abid "The Punjab Muslim League. (1940-1947)" give us the view of that step like establishment of Muslim Student Federation Punjab under the leadership of Malik Barkat Ali brought what kind of impact for Punjab Muslim league. They also discussed rapid decline of Unionist party after 1944 along with explaining factors that were responsible for its decline while also explaining its impact on politics of Punjab.

Ian Talbot is a Professor of History at Southampton University, He is one of Europe's leading historians of South Asia, and the author of many books on the sub-continent wrote "Punjab And The Raj" which, explained role and contribution of media in the publicity of Punjab Muslim league and its outcome for the party along with also explaining active street politics by the member of Punjab Muslim league and its upshot for the party .The book also discussed public mobilization of Muslim women for taking part in politics of Punjab for support of Muslim league and against Kizhar Hayat and its impact for Muslim league political standing in Punjab. He also explained political rise and fall of Punjab. Another book by Ian Talbot "Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement" emphasizes the factors that caused supremacy of Muslim league over Unionist party. That explained that which directions were adopted by the Punjab Muslim League and how they strengthened on political ground in Punjab in competition with Unionist Party.

To evaluate the political scenario of Punjab during Pre-Partition phase few research articles are also of great significance. Out of those ones, one has been penned down by Q.Abid and M.Abid. They explained afterwards situation of 1945-1946 elections in Punjab. The article gives detail insight view of results of 1945-1946 elections of Punjab and political development afterwards along with explaining in detail the political strategy adopted by the British government, Congress and Unionist Party against Punjab Muslim League. The article also throws light on the political consolidation in Punjab and its impact on the Punjab Muslim League and distribution of power within Punjab after 1945-1946 elections.

## **CHAPTER 1: RISE OF MUSLIM POLITICS IN PUNJAB**

### **Geographical significance of Punjab**

The Punjab region was originally known as Sepata Sindh, The Veda land of seven rivers flowing into the ocean. In the Sanskrit language, the name of that region as mentioned in the Mahabharata was Panchanad, which means “Land of five rivers”. But after the Muslim Conquest, this region was converted into the “Punjab”, this word was taken from the Persian language. The word Punjab is a compound of two words; the first one is “Panj” which means “Five”, and the second word is “Ab” which means “Water”. It was introduced after the Turks-Persian Conquests, and it popularized during the Mughal’s Rule. <sup>1</sup>All five rivers (Jhelum, Ravi, Sutlej, Chenab, Beas) are tributaries of the Indus River, and the Chenab River being the largest.

Moreover, geographically, this province was triangular. The Indus River and its tributary, the Sutlej from the two sides up to their confluence (Junction), the base of the triangle in the north being the lower Himalia range between these two rivers. In British rule, they also merged a large tract outside these boundaries. Along the northern border, the Himalian divided it from Kashmir and Tibet, on the west side it was separated from the Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP) by the Indus until it reached the boundary wall of Dera Gazi Khan District, which was devided from the Baluchistan range by the Suliman Mountain Range. To the south lay Sindh and Rajputana, while on the east the Jammu and the Tons rivers separated it from the united province. Approximately the area of Punjab had 3, 57,000 square kilometers about the modern-day size of Germany. It was the largest province of the British Raj. <sup>2</sup>

The surrounding of the present day of the Indian State Punjab, Haryana, Chandigarh, Himanchal Perdash and Delhi (but excluding the former princely states which were later combined into the Patiala and East Punjab States Union), and regions of the Pakistani Punjab, Islamabad Capital Territory and Khyber Pakhtun Khawa, in 1901 the British Raj detached Northwest Frontier

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<sup>1</sup> Ikram Azam, “Pakistan and the Indian heritage” *Islamabad: Pakistan Futuristics Foundation & Institute*, 1983), 13

<sup>2</sup> J.S. Garewal, “Business Communities in the Punjab,” *The Journal of Regional History*, 33. (1982): 63.

Province (NWFP) from Punjab, due to some administrative and political issues. The frontier districts beyond the Indus were separated from Punjab.

The land of the five rivers “Punjab” remained always a serious discussion for every coming ruler and his troops, due to its geographical condition and fertile land even many more reasons. This region was based on the Hindu and Non-Muslims majority areas, but it remained under the Muslim rulers for a long time. The Sikhs rulers and their troops were also interested to capture that region for their rule and use. So, the Sikh ruler Raja Ranjeet Singh who belonged to the Gujranwala District of Punjab, attacked Punjab in 1799, forcefully annexed that all religions. The Sikh Empire was divided into four provinces: Lahore in Punjab, which became the Sikh’s capital, Multan, Kashmir, and Khyber Pakhtun Khawa from 1799 to 1849. The Sikh administration could survive for almost 50 years. They had to leave their empire from the “Battle of Feroz Shah” which was fought in December 1845. In that battle, the British army officer defeated the Lal Singh and its troops, it was the initial victory over the Sikh’s Empire.<sup>3</sup>

Later, the British Raj completely annexed Punjab in the Second Anglo-Sikh war which was fought from April 18, 1848, to March 30, 1849, with the result of defeating the Sikhs by the British Raj. Finally, the “Battle of Gujrat” ending the Second Anglo-Sikh War. So, the new administration came into power in Punjab after 1849 and the East India Company annexed Punjab completely on the 2nd of April 1849 and merged into the British Raj. Lord Dalhousie established the board of administration by including the most experienced and seasoned British officers.<sup>4</sup> This board was led by Sir Henry Lawrence, who had previously worked as a British citizen in Lahore Darbar and also made up with his younger brother John Lawrence and Charles Grenville Mansell. Under the board, a set of praised officers collectively known as the “Young Men” of Henry Lawrence, due to their help in the administration Sir Henry Lawrence Obtained a new province. But this board couldn’t work for a long time, it was terminated by Lord Dalhousie in 1853. After that Sir Henry Lawrence was appointed as a Rajputana agency and his younger brother John Lawrence was appointed as first Chief Commissioner.<sup>5</sup>

## **Punjab during the British Raj**

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<sup>3</sup> Ian Talbot, Punjab and the Raj (Delhi: Manohar, 1988), 38.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid,42

<sup>5</sup> Ikram Azam, Pakistan and the Indian heritage, *Islamabad: Pakistan Futuristics Foundation & 2 Institute*, 1983, 137.

The board established the hard policies non-interference concerning religious, cultural, and political matters. The six aristocrats were given power and regular little money to control the worship places and their maintenance. After the British Crown in 1858, the terms and the conditions of this region changed, a new type of rules and regulations was introduced by Queen Victoria and her Administration. After that Punjab was directly under the British Crown. The Delhi Territory was shifted from NWFP to Punjab in 1858. The British Crown did this action just to punish Delhi City and its rulers, because of the participation in the war of independence in 1857. Delhi city was the center of the war of independence in 1857 and Bahadur Shah Zafer and his followers captured the “Red Fort” and defy the British Ruler. It was not good for Delhi and its people and for Delhi Rulers.<sup>6</sup>

At that time the Chief Commissioner was Sir John Lawrence who was appointed as the first Lieutenant-Governor on 1st January 1859. He replaced the Chief Courts with the Judicial Commissioner in 1866. All administrative functions of the Government carried by the Lieutenant consisting of two Indian Civil Services Secretaries. The territory consisted of 29 Districts, 5 Divisions, and 43 Princely States. Deputy Commissioner was responsible for the discipline of the district and reported to the divisional commissioner. Furthermore, each district was subdivided into some Tehsils and every Tehsil was controlled by the Tehsildar or Naib Tehsildar.

In 1885, the Punjab officials started to work on the barren land of the Punjab area, around 60 lac acres. They designed and introduced the best and modern Canal system to reach the water in the center of Punjab, to fertile the land. Due to this development, the British Raj got the loyalty of Landlords and their peasants. Because, of the modern canal system, this produced more production of Crops and generated more Revenue. Almost, 10 lac people migrated to the new areas of Punjab. Many new towns, villages, and cities were established, and it was a great positive change in the industrial sector, such as Lyallpur (Faisalabad), Multan. Around 3 million acres to 15 million acres increased in the fertile zone from 1885 to 1947.<sup>7</sup>

From the very beginning of the 20th century, the Punjab region faced unrest in the agricultural sector. Punjab Land Act, 1906 and Colonization Bill in 1906 were the reason for this unrest in 1907. In reason of this disorder situation, the Provincial Government treated the mass

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<sup>6</sup> J.S. Garewal, “Business Communities in the Punjab,” *The Journal of Regional History*, 33.(1982): 63.

<sup>7</sup> Ian Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj* (Delhi: Manohar, 1988), 42

areas of the Punjab Rural uneven. Many protests and riots were organized by the Hindu revivalist Lala Lajpat Rai, leader of the Arya Samaj. This anarchy condition ended with many suitable charges in that region. In the First World War, many people participated from this region around 5% of the total population were died in this war. After that, the Rowlatt Act on 11 March 1919, was not a good sign for the Revolutionary Nationalists and the people of Punjab started the non-violent protest and these protests led to the Jallianwala Bagh incident in April 1919, where the Reginald Dye ordered to fire bullets on unarmed 10,000 protesters.<sup>8</sup>

The Montagu-Chelmsford reforms enforced by the Government of Indian Act 1919, extended the Punjab Legislative Council and launched the Dyarchy's Principles, by which some duties such as, Agriculture, Health, Local Government, and Education were shifted to the elected Minister. First Punjab Legislative Council Act 1919 was constituted in 1921, which was consisted of 93 members, and from these, 70% were elected while the other 30% were nominated. It is important that British Indian Ministers, like, Sir Sheikh Abdul Qadir, Sir Shahabuddin Virk, and Lala Hari Kishan Lal be the part of Dyarchy Scheme. In 1935, Indian Act Dyarchy System was replaced with the Provincial System. Now, Provincial autonomy was introduced in The Punjab Region.<sup>9</sup>

This Provincial Autonomy provided the Constitution Legislative Assembly of The Punjab which was consisted of 175 members, led by the speaker or an executive government responsible to the assembly. The largest Political party of Punjab named the Unionist Party formed its Government under Sir Sikandar Hayat from 1937 to 1942. Later, Sir Khizar Hayat succeeded in 1942 till the partition of 1947. The sitting of the party was held on 19th March 1945. In 1855, the first British census was carried out. It was just for the British Treaty, not for the Local Princely States.<sup>10</sup> The first regular census was carried out in 1881 with 20.9 million population and the final British organized census in Punjab, in 1941 with almost 35 million population, which is based on the 29 Districts within British Territory 43 Princely states, 52,050 villages, and 288 Towns.

In the time of the first proper organized British Census, in 1881 Lahore and Amritsar were densely populated over 1,00,000 between these two cities the commercial area of the

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<sup>8</sup> M. Rafique Afzal, *A History of the All India Muslim League: 1906-1947* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013), 23.

<sup>9</sup> W. W. Reinhardt, *The Legislative Council of the Punjab, 1897- 1912* (Duke University, 1968), 236-37

<sup>10</sup> Qalb-i-Abid, *Muslim Politics in the Punjab, 1921-1947* (Lahore: Vanguard, 1992), 2.

Amritsar (1,52,000) was slightly larger than the Cultural Capital of Lahore City (1,50,000). But over time, Lahore increased its population instead of Amritsar and as a result of the 1941 census, Lahore had more population than Amritsar. In the Colonial period, people migrated on the large scale within Punjab, because of the establishment of Canal Colonies In the western area of Punjab. This majority migration was mostly affected the populated areas of Punjab like Gurdaspur, Ambala, Sialkot, Jalandhar, Amritsar, Hoshiarpur, and Ludhiana, which are based on Juts, Rajput, Arians, and Kambosh.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, highly skilled farmers from the central and eastern Punjab also moved to western Punjab to establish their colonies and towns to earn and started farming on new land with advanced and modern technology which was related to their work.

### **Religious Pursuits of Punjabi Community:**

The Punjab province was comprised of three main religions i.e., Islam, Hinduism, and Sikhism. Besides that, there was also a small population who had different faiths and religions and their worship places, they were also following their own culture and religion but with time they were converted into these main faiths (Islam, Hinduism, and Sikhism). Muslims were in majority in the Punjab province from the very beginning, so this province was known as Muslim majority province. According to the final census of British held in 1941, the Muslim population in Punjab was almost 53.7%, in the same time Hindu population was only around 30% and the Sikh population was only 1.5% but on the other hand, there was a major increase in the population of Christian and Sikh from 1881 census to 1941 census.<sup>12</sup> The Hindu religion had been stopped from 1881 to 1941 because of the convergence into Islam. The convergence of Islam in Punjab was mainly, due to Islamic scholars named Ahmed Rida Khan, Fazal Ullah Hassan Shah, and many other respected scholars. This caused a more antagonistic reaction from Hindus and Sikhs

### **1.4 Establishment of Congress:**

Britishers were the founder of the congress especially Lord Ripon and A.O. Hume. They were the main members of this political party. Both worked for the development of Congress and organized annual sessions and gave many useful ideas for its betterment. From 1885-1910, five Britishers remained the president of the Congress and presided over the Congress' annual sessions.

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<sup>11</sup>Qalb-i-Abid, Muslim Politics in the Punjab, 1921-1947 (Lahore: Vanguard, 1992), 2.6

<sup>12</sup> J.S. Garewal, "Business Communities in the Punjab," The Journal of Regional History, 33.(1982): 63.

Charles Berdla, George You, and Sir Williams Widarbern worked prominently among them. Sir Williams Widarbern presided over Congress' annual session twice. The Congress session started with the speech of loyalty towards the British Government. Custom remained for a long time. The main reason behind this was to gain sympathy of Britishers for congress. In 1888, Congress established their political agency in London, and they spent more than sixty thousand rupees for its growth.<sup>13</sup> This agency worked for the betterment of Congress and organized lectures in all public places and distributed pamphlets about political information. The thinking of the British Parliament regarding Hindus was changed after this act. Later this agency was replaced with the Congress London Branch. Charles Berdla became the first president of this branch, as he was a member of the British Parliament. This Branch started its newspaper named "India".<sup>14</sup>

Congress leaders realized that they are nothing without the support of the British Government. So, they started to please British Government and invited them to their annual sessions of Congress. They welcomed them warmly to the British parliament with applaud and standing ovations. Celebrated their birthdays and introduced different new ways to satisfy them. The Congress' president W.C. Bonnerjee advised the Congress' committee to start their annual sessions with the positive aspects of Britishers towards India. In 1887, the annual congress session presided by Dada Bai Nuruji said, "We are loyal towards British till our last breath". And seen it. Sir Feroz Shah Mehta, in 1890, also conducted several debates and seminars to prove his faithfulness and obedience. Britishers never expected such type of devotion from people of the sub-continent, even from the Hindus' side.<sup>15</sup> This effortfulness was fruitful for Hindus as a result British Parliamentarian accepted them with their whole heart. In 1914 when a governor of Madras came to the annual session of congress, congress members attend him with a very warm welcome.

Hindu-British came in the relationship of brotherhood. Congress was the representative party of the sub-continent and also the biggest party. Major members of the Congress were Hindu, and they were anti-Muslims. Congress leaders boosted their good relationships with British parliamentarians. Congress always pretended itself as a public representative, but they only tried

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<sup>13</sup> Azra Asghar Ali and Sajid Mahmood Awan, "Political Development and the Political Parties in Punjab, 1849-1947" in *Pakistan Journal of Social sciences (PJSS)* Vol.29, No. (June 2009): 66.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*, 68

<sup>15</sup> W. W. Reinhardt, "the Legislative Council of the Punjab, 1897- 1912". *Duke University*, 1968, 236-37

to fulfill their Hindus' community by neglecting the other minorities of the sub-continent. Due to the good relationship between Hindus and Britishers, they always remained favorites for them. Congress always played an important role in every anti-British movement but never exposed themselves openly in front of the British.

### **Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and Congress:**

Sir Syed was very noble, patriotic, and nationalist. He never called himself a politician or a political worker, he was a socialist. He knew the real face of Congress, so he remained away from congress and also suggested Muslims keep them far away from this hypocritical politics of the sub-continent. He realized the down educational condition of Muslims, so he started to work on the educational status of Muslim students after the Urdu-Hindi Controversy 1867 in Banaras. He felt that both Hindus and Muslims could not remain united. They both had different religions, different sects, different languages, different regional heroes, and different political demands. Due to his unlikeness towards Congress, he disallowed Muslims to keep in touch with politics. But, later, he changed his statement and allowed Muslims to take part in it. He realized that political awareness was also much important for the development of the Muslim community. His Aligarh movement was also totally against Hindu Politics and the double-face of congress.<sup>16</sup> He observed that the western type of nationalism in this land wouldn't be good especially for the Muslims.

Sir Syed knew that if he wanted to get British sympathy, favoritism, and positive attitude they had to join the congress, but he refused to do this. A.O Hume was a very good friend of him but after this refusal to join congress he also became displeased with him. A.O. Hume did many tricks to convince Sir Syed to join congress by saying Governor-General also in the favor of Congress, Sir Syed said: "I have no fear about Governor-General and even Prime Minister Favor towards congress, I always stand against bad decisions of Congress towards Muslim Co

### **Congress and Muslims:**

During the A.O. Hume time, Muslims were extremely angry and confused about his political policies towards them, even Hume also knew the real issue and situation of the present day. At the start of their political career, he had very good terms with Sir Syed, but his efforts and works were

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<sup>16</sup> S. Qalb I Abid, "*Muslim Politics in the Punjab*" 1921-47, 2



just for the unity of Hindus and their political development. He never talked for the Muslims. The policies of Hume were just to praise the Hindus and he knew about the political history of this land, in 1943 Governor-General Lord Alien Brar wrote to Dhaka's Governor "Our Politics must be in the favor of Hindus only not for the Muslims". And another saying is "Unless the Hindu's majority is relaxed until Muslims can't do anything". So, that's why Hume started to neglect the Muslims' demands and started to commend the Hindus. It was the real policy of divide and rule and creating conflicts between both nations. On the other hand, anti-Muslim leaders of congress started to establish useful bounds with the British Government. Even the concept of congress establishment was based on the weak policies of the Muslims. Moreover, after the emergence of the anti-Muslim movement named "Lok Sabah, Arya Samaj and Hindu Mahasabha" in congress, they never tried to keep in their minds during the period of policymaking. Hindu writers wrote against the Muslims and criticized them. <sup>17</sup>They only promoted congress. In 1958, B.R. Nanda wrote a book on Mahatma Gandhi, and he didn't write a single word on the unfair policies of Hindu Mahasabha. This publication is a good example of congress's disorganization and biasness.

As congress claimed that they were the representative party of all sects and factions, but the matter of fact was to establish Hindu Raj. They held 22 annual sessions till 1905 and only 2 sessions presided by the Muslim, 1 from the Bombay named "Badar Uddin TayyabJee" and 2nd from Calcutta named "M.R. Sonai". In 1938, the congress committee had 136 committee members and only 6 Muslim members among all of them (3 from NWFP, 1 from UP, 1 from Bihar, and the last one was Sir Abdul Kalam Azad from Bengal). Abdul Kalam Azad was the president of the congress at that time. Only four provinces were members of the congress committee out of 11 provinces. NWFP Province remained in the limelight of Congress. Congress allowed to celebrate every anti-Muslim festival in the Muslims' majority areas, and it hurt the Muslims' sentiments. During the time of Muslims rulers, they were free in their religious practice and gave special attention to the Hindu religion and its values. A rich Muslim gave employment to the Poor Hindu as a servant. Even Aurang Zaib was the anti-Hindu gave special positions to the Hindus in his Government.

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<sup>17</sup> M. Khurshid, "The role of landlords and Pirs in the Punjab Politics and its After Effects," *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* 31, no 2. (1994): 46  
Ibid,52

Congress tried their best to remain against the Muslims' establishment like Hindus of Karachi were totally against the Sindh Madrasa Tul Islam and started a protest against it, raised their voices and slogans. They had a great conflict with the Aligarh University Movement. They were not ready to accept such a type of educational development for the Muslims. They knew that majority of the Muslims were uneducated, and they couldn't take a proper part in the civil services exam. In this way, Hindus were capable to appear in civil services exams and getting jobs.<sup>18</sup>

For a long time, the vote quantity of the Hindus was more than Muslims in Bengal and Punjab, the Hindus representative remained powerful in these provinces. A local Hindu voter never gave their votes to a Muslim representative. In 1889, the Muslim members of the congress gave their suggestion to the congress committee of the weightage system of these provinces should be on merit and control the undisciplined attitude of the congress representative. The seats should be distributed equally as the equal numbers of both communities. But the Congress didn't recognize their suggestions and demands, on this rude behavior of the congress committee, many Muslim Leaders left congress. Syed Ameer Ali and his political party named "National Muhammadan Association" tried to solve this issue, but very soon they realized the collaboration with the congress was the political death of Muslims.

### **All India Muslim league 1906:**

In the early years of the 20th century, after the partition of Bengal, the Muslim nation of the sub-continent entered a new reign. They forgot Sir Syed's advice to keep themselves far away from politics. An educated youth of Aligarh stepped forward in the political race of the sub-continent. In this way, Muslims of the sub-continent started their political struggle and the first step towards struggle was Shimla Deputation. Shimla Deputation has very much significance in the struggle for freedom. The delegation claimed the first time for the separate electorate for the Muslims, and the first time Muslims presented their requests and issues in front of the government about the protection of Muslim rights.

### **Shimla Delegation:**

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<sup>18</sup> David Gilmartin, "Religious leadership and the Pakistan Movement in the Punjab India, Partition: 'Process, Strategy and Mobilization', (Delhi: Oxford University Press 1993)

### Preparation:

After getting permission to meet with Viceroy Lord Minto, Nawab Mohsin ul Mulk gave the responsibility to prepare the address to the Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk and Major Syed Hassan Balgarami. They were very famous personalities of Hyderabad. On 16th September held a meeting in Lucknow at Syed Abdul Raheem's house. During this meeting, they permitted the address and signed it. Members of this delegation were also selected in this meeting. They nominated 34 members which were taken from all provinces like: <sup>19</sup>

- Bombay: Sir Agha Khan, Maulvi Rafi Uddin, Ibrahim Adam Gi Peer Bai, Syed Sardar Ali
- U.P.: Nawab Mohsin ul Mulk, Nawab Waqar ul Mulk, Haji Muhammad Ismail, Haji Muhammad Khan, Syed Nabi Ullah, Nawab Muhammad Moazamullah Khan, Maulvi Ahtasham, Syed Karamat Hussain, Abdul Salam Khan, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan
- Madras: Ahmed Mueen ud Din Khan
- C.P.: Maulana H. M. Malak
- Delhi: Hakeem Ajmal Khan
- Bihar: Maulana Shareef ud Din, Syed Ali Imam, Nawab Sarfaraz Hussain Khan
- Bengal: Syed Ameer Hussain Khan, Shehzad Bakhtiyar Shah, Syed Nawab Ali Choudhary, Nawab Nasir Hussain Khan, Mirza Shujaat Alli Baig, Mister Abdul Raheem
- Sindh: Allah Dad Shah
- Punjab: Mian Muhammad Shafi, Mian Muhammad Shah Den, Malik Umer Hayat Tiwana, Khawaja Yousuf Shah, Sheikh Ghulam Siddique, Colonial Abdul Majeed, Khalifa Syed Muhammad Hussain, Professor Muhammad Aslam Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed

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<sup>19</sup> Talbot, "The Growth of the Muslims League in the Punjab, 1937-1946," *India's Partition: Process, Strategy and Mobilization*, ed. Mushirul Hassan (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1993), 235.

In this Delegation, the members of Punjab province were quite large in amount instead of other provinces. Sir Agha Khan took responsibility as a representative of this Delegation and even he was invited from a foreign country to give this responsibility.<sup>20</sup>

### **Demands:**

On October 1st, 1906, Sir Agha Khan presented his address in front of Lord Minto at Shimla. In the beginning, they started with sayings about the habits of British Justice, Soft hearted about the public demands, accountability of the merit and after this, they started to tell the issue of their people. First of all, they started with the more common issue of Muslims, the Separate electorate, because the Muslims needed to protect their right. According to the 1906 census of sub-continent Muslims were 20% of the population. If other small minorities separated from the Hindus, then the weightage of the Muslims became more. The total population of Muslims was 6, 20, and 00,000. They also discussed the issues of western representatives; it was quite new for them, and they were not familiar with it. The separate nation was also an issue of that time, and the Hindus were never ready to accept the separate land of this nation. Unfair behavior of Hindus with Muslims from a very long time in Sindh and Eastern Bengal. Muslims weren't educated so they had no proper employment. Appointments on the Government jobs were not on merit.

They also discussed the University representative; provincial council policies should be designed in the favor of Muslims. Central council representative according to the requirement not on the population base, some basic amendments in administrative council, also demand the Aligarh University. In the end, they told the importance of the partition of Bengal.

### **Response of Lord Minto:**

He gave his answer to the Muslim delegation by accepting the Muslim services towards the British Government and discussed the splendid past, moreover, he also talked about the Aligarh Movement by Sir Syed. He also admitted the Legal demand of Muslims to separate the electorate in hidden words. More he said I can say with surety every process of Election System in sub-continent wouldn't be worked who ignored the different faiths and customs. It wouldn't just

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<sup>20</sup> Azra Asghar Ali and Sajid Mahmood Awan, "Political Development and the Political Parties in Punjab, 1849-1947" *Pakistan Journal of Social sciences (PJSS)* Vol.29, No. (June 2009): 66

be useless even created more problems. I agree with all of you and respect your demands.<sup>21</sup> He said Muslims should believe in him that he would be representative of Muslims on every platform which is related to him. Muslim's delegation got a very positive response from Lord Minto.

### **Establishment of All India Muslim League:**

The year 1906 was very important in the history of Muslims of the sub-continent because they started their political struggle for their upcoming generation, firstly they got success in Shimla Delegation later they established their political party which was representative of Muslims. This political party played an important role in the political survival of Muslims in this land. The idea of a political party and political awareness came in their minds very late but rising the upcoming unfair attitude of Congress, Muslims realized that now they have much need for the political party. The need for a political party to secure the Muslim right was not new. In 1867, the Urdu-Hindi controversy in Bihar was the first indicator for the Muslims to secure their rights. Muslim leader Sir Syed Ahmed Khan decided and advised Muslims to keep them away from politics but later they realized that it was the wrong decision. It was the political suicide of Muslims to keep them away from politics. Muslim leaders tried to organize the political association, but they failed. In 1901, Muslims established another political party named the Muslims Political Association in Lucknow. It could work just for 3 years.<sup>22</sup>

Partition of Bengal wasn't the demand of Muslims, British Government did this for their own relax in administration setup. But it was good in the favor of Muslims in Bengal. Congress started to argue on this partition and this partition became the cause of conflict between both communities and the condition became worst. In the mid of 19th century, there were multiple social, political, and religious movements started in Hindu Communities. They all were anti-Muslims and anti-Islam. Arya Samaj, Hindu Mahasabha, and Lok Saba were prominent in all of them. These organizations weren't ready to accept the concept of Muslims in the sub-continent, according to the "Hindustan is only for the Hindus". Arya Samaj was mostly affected in U.P. and Punjab provinces and both these provinces played an important role in the modern political history of the sub-continent. In 1900, another political party named Baharat Saba was established against

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<sup>21</sup> Azra Asghar Ali and Sajid Mahmood Awan, "Political Development and the Political Parties in Punjab, 1849-1947" *Pakistan Journal of Social sciences (PJSS)* Vol.29, No. (June 2009): 64

<sup>22</sup> Talbot, "The Growth of the Muslims League in the Punjab, 1937-1946," *India's Partition: Process, Strategy and Mobilization*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1993), 235.

the Muslims. This party was later converted into Hindu Mahasabha, which was based on the extremist and great hold on Congress politics<sup>23</sup>.

They started a movement against the slaughter of cows. The cow is a holy animal for them so from 1880 they were trying to forbid the slaughter of cows and eat beef to become part of the legislation. But they couldn't get success because Britishers also loved to eat meat. Britishers and Hindus removed the Arabic and Persian words from the Bengali Language. Now Bengali was turned into the Hindi Language. Modern Hindi Literature was totally against the Muslims and their facts and figures were also not true. Dianand Sar Suti wrote a chapter of hundred pages in Sita Rath Perakash against the Muslims. Chandra Chatterjee wrote a novel named "Anad Math" which was totally against the Muslim rules. "Vande Mataram" an anti-Muslim song also got fame in this period.<sup>24</sup>

### **Initial Stage:**

After the successful tour of the Shimla Delegation, the morale of Muslims became high. The first time they realized their struggle to protect their fundamental rights, the importance of political parties for their betterment. They came to know, now if they wanted to get accepted status in the sub-continent so without a political party it wouldn't be possible. So, after the Shimla delegation, Syed Ameer Ali realized the journey of a separate electorate for Muslims is very long and difficult, so he wrote a letter to Nawab Mohsin ul Mulk from London and gave suggestions about the struggle and up-hill work for a separate electorate. He elaborated on the importance of the Aligarh Movement and gave ideas to organize such a disciplined organization.<sup>25</sup>

The process for the new party started from September 16th, 1905, Lucknow session in which Muslim Leaders signed on Shimla address. They decided on the political party in the upcoming session of the Muslims Educational Conference. Members of Shimla Delegation also discussed this topic during Shimla tour after the return of Shimla Delegation Nawab Mohsin ul Mulk wrote to Sir Agha and said, we should live to the Shimla Delegation and form a committee on Shimla Members. This committee would remain in touch with the British government. On the suggestion of Nawab Mohsin ul Mulk, Sir Agha got agreed. At the end of December, the Nawab of Dhaka

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<sup>23</sup> Talbot, "The Growth of the Muslims League in the Punjab, 1937-1946," *India's Partition: Process, Strategy and Mobilization*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1993), 237

<sup>24</sup> Ibid,42

<sup>25</sup> Rafique Afzal, A history of the All India Muslim League 1906-1947 (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013), 4

named Saleem Ullah published a brief scheme on the promotion of political party. It was also known as Muslim Political Conference. In the last week of December, in the annual session of the Muslims Education Conference, Muslim Leader had already informed about the establishment of the Political Party. In history, for the first time, the Muslims Educational Conference removed their sanctions about political debates in this Conference.

### **Construction of Political Party:**

After the end of the Muslim Educational Session, on December 30th, 1906, they heard another session in which 300 Muslim Leaders participated from All Provinces. Mazhar ul Haqq gave a short speech and invited Waqar ul Mulk to preside in this session. He discussed the political importance for the Muslims and said this political struggle is not new for us. Congress had already shown its interest and importance during the partition of Bengal. He also shed light on the issue which would be the fear for Muslims after the sudden end of British Rule. Even under British Rule Muslims were insecure in many provinces.

After the aggressive speech of Waqar-ul-Mulk, Nawab Saleem Ullah presented a resolution about a new party and said we are ready to enter a war of politics as a nation. He also discussed the disagreement of the British and Congress, the majority is not ready to give basic rights to the minority. Our complaints are valid, and our leader Sir Syed suggested we remain away from politics and it was the right decision at that time but now it has become the basic need of us.<sup>26</sup> Hakim Ajmal was the first who showed his positive attitude on the decision of the political party. Later, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan, Sheikh Abdullah, and Maulana Muhammad Ali Johor also accepted the idea of a political party. After the short discussion on political parties, the resolution of the political party was passed and given the name, “All India Muslim League”.

### **Aims and Objectives:**

There were presented almost four resolutions in the session. From those four, one was related to the partition of Bengal, and they elaborated the importance of this partition and its significance. The main aims of the Muslim League are as below:

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<sup>26</sup>Rafique Afzal, A history of the All India Muslim League 1906-1947 (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013), 6

- Create loyalty in Muslims of Hindustan towards British Government and remove the misunderstanding between government and Muslim population.
- To protect the Muslim's political rights, polish their political thoughts, and convey their issues and problems in front of the government.
- To maintain and establish good relations with other minorities of the sub-continent.

From the very beginning, the leaders of the Muslims League had decided the purpose of this party was not to oppose the Hindus or British. Even the main purpose of this party was to boost the passion of Muslim unity and maintain good relations with other people to get the political rights through legal way.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, the goal of this party was to link the Muslims with the feeling of Brotherhood and protect them from other evils of society. Some extremists claimed that the aim of the creation of the Muslim League is as same as the Congress because both were trying to maintain good relations with the British Government and show loyalty towards them.

### **Constitution of Muslim League:**

Sir Agha Khan was selected as the first president, Syed Hassan Balgrami as a general secretary, Nawab Mohsin ul Mulk and Nawab Waqar ul Mulk were appointed as first joint secretary of the Muslim League. Aligarh was selected as a president office. Membership was limited for the elite class of Muslims. The people who weren't ready to take part in politics later played an important role in Muslim League. They formed a committee of 60 members for the formation of the party constitution. Maulana Muhammad Ali Johor wrote its constitution which was completed in two years.<sup>28</sup> The constitution of the party gave the name of "Green Book". So, in this way, the formation of the party was completed.

### **Early years of All India Muslim League:**

The first proper annual session was held on December 30th, 1907, in Karachi presided by Adam Ji Peer Bai. A special session was held in March 1908, in which the constitution of the party was presented by Mian Shah Deen in Aligarh. Later the second annual session was held

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid,12

<sup>28</sup> Talbot, "The Growth of the Muslims League in the Punjab, 1937-1946," *India's Partition: Process, Strategy and Mobilization*, Oxford University Press, 1993, 23.



in December 1908 presided by Ali Imam in Amritsar. The third annual session was held on December 30th, 1909, presided by Sir Agha Khan at Delhi. In this session, Sir Agha Khan said, "We are happy that the government accepted our demands on the partition of Bengal". Early five years of Party, Muslim League worked as per schedule. After the creation of the Muslim League, Congress started to create propaganda against Muslim League by saying this party came into being at the suggestion of the Governor-General and British Parliament. It was the first time Muslims came into the politics with united and started to protect Muslim rights and explore the unfair behavior of Congress towards Muslims.<sup>29</sup>

### **Early achievements:**

From the early years, Muslim League got success in many fields. The period from 1906 to 1919 Muslim League was the only political party for Muslims and its membership was limited. It remained under the influence of Landlords and Nawabs for a long time, meetings were held in Luxurious rooms but still, Muslim League remained dear to the common Muslims. After getting a soft response from Lord Minto on Shimla Deputation, Lord Minto said the government would present new reform, but Muslim League wasn't sure about the government would give any protection to the Muslims. In the second session, Muslim League passed many resolutions about a separate electorate. On the other hand, Congress and its London branch were working to keep Muslims away from the rights of a separate electorate. On this issue, Syed Ameer Ali met with Viceroy Hind on January 27th, 1909, and told its need. Congress leaders who were the member of British Imperial Legislative Council tried to remove the clause of the separate electorate, but they failed. A separate electorate was the result of Hindu-Muslim conflict not the cause of it.

Muslims were not facilitated with the government jobs at that time even there was no single Judge of the High Court. Muslim League acted on it and as a result, the government helped out to solve this issue by appointing Mian Shah Deen of Punjab High Court Judge, Karamat Hussain Allahabad High Court Judge, Shareef ud Deen Calcutta High Court Judge, and Abdul Raheem Madras High Court Judge. Indian council of Viceroy Hind appointed two local members one from Muslims and one from Hindus and Syed Hassan Balgarami was a

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid,26

Muslim representative on it but in the administrative council of Viceroy Hind, they took only one Hindu named S.P. Sanah.<sup>30</sup>

Wakf Validity Bill was also a big issue, Muslims were quite unhappy with British policies. Muslim League appointed Muhammad Ali Jinnah as their Lawyer to fight for their rights. Jinnah was a member of the Imperial Legislative Council at that time. Jinnah presented a bill to Central Legislative Council on July 17th, 1912 and defended it very bravely. It was the first non-government bill later which became part of a government document on August 17th, 1913. It was a big achievement for Muslims. Lucknow pact 1916 was another main political success for Muslim League. It was the first and last political agreement between both communities. A combined scheme was formed on political reforms in it. On this occasion, Congress first time accept the concept of a separate electorate and admitted that Muslim League was the only representative political party of Muslims.

### **Muslim league London Branch:**

After the short time of the formation of the Muslim League, Muslim leaders realized that they should establish their branch in London for their survival. Congress London branch was already working in London for many years. On May 8th, 1908, some Muslim Leaders organized a session for the establishment of the Muslim League London Branch. Syed Ameer presided over this session and said that Muslim League Branch wanted to maintain good relationships with the government and be aware of the real problem of Muslims. Syed Ameer Ali was selected as the first president of the Muslim League London Branch. Doctor Allamah Iqbal and Doctor Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari were members of the working committee. The aims of this branch were:<sup>31</sup>

- To produce unity and harmony among different nations to work for country welfare and development with the collaboration of other nations and sub-continent.
- Protect Muslim rights of India through proper channels.
- To keep aware of the British leaders about the Muslim issues of the Sub-continent.

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<sup>30</sup> Rafique Afzal, A history of the All India Muslim League 1906-1947 (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013

<sup>31</sup>Ahmad, Riaz, ed., All India Muslim League and the Creation of Pakistan, 44-45.

Syed Hassan Balgarami further elaborated the aims of Muslims on the creation of the London branch the issue of a separate electorate was a hectic issue for Muslims, but this branch took action and explained to the viceroy about the exact condition of the Sub-continent. On 27 January 1909, Syed Ameer Ali meet to viceroy with his delegation. Muslim League London played a vital role in a separate electorate.

### **Jinnah Joined AIML:**

After getting huge fame and success in the separate legislative council, as its member in March and April 1912, Jinnah as a leading man for police administration issue and Gokhale Educational Bill respectively. Main leaders of AIML started to know him and they realized the talent Jinnah had. Muslim waqf validity Bill, 1913 which was in favor of Muslims, Jinnah also showed his efforts in this act.<sup>32</sup> The issue of this bill was started in March 1911, Jinnah handled all situations wisely.

Jinnah was appointed as a second-time member of the Imperial Council. Over time, some other people: like Raja of Mahmudabad also admitted his hard work and made a soft corner for Muslims in his heart. Jinnah ended Gokhale and went to London for holidays. There he met M. Ali Johar and Syed Wazir Hasan. The two great leaders finally convinced Jinnah to join the All-Indian Muslim League. At that time no proper way to join the Muslim league so, finally, he enrolled himself as a member of AIML. Now M.A Jinnah's position became weighty as he was a member of the Imperial council, secondly, he was also part of Congress, later he joined Muslim League. Due to his sensible political effort, he got the title of "Ambassador of Peace"<sup>33</sup>

Now from 1920 to 1924, Jinnah was the only one who was talking about Hindu Muslim Unity. In 1924 he rejoined the third-time imperial council. From 1922 to 1931 time period was known as Hindu-Muslim Riots. The conflict started on October 20, 1921, from Malabar. Muslims faced great damage of lives. In 1922, in the month of Moharram sparked between both parties were on fire in every main street, like Lahore, Multan, Bombay, and many more. That was 1924 in Kohat when Hindus published poem against the Holy Prophet ﷺ, Muslims

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid,52

<sup>33</sup> Ahmad, Riaz, ed., All India Muslim League and the Creation of Pakistan,53

took vigorous action against them. Hindus left Kohat and Gandhi blamed Muslims. While everyone knew that Hindu got scared after the massacre of Swami Sharnanandji. According to Government record 1926, there were 26 registered disputes.<sup>34</sup> Finally, the worst dispute arose in 1931 in Kanpur, as usual, faced more loss.

### **Unionist Party:**

Many popular politics can be explained regarding the structure and ideology of British control. The system of imperial authority cleared that the interference of the British Raj in politics was more dominant in the 20th century. Ruler leaders of Punjab always played an important role on district boards and provincial legislation, but the politics were designed by the ideology of integration on which the imperial system had been built. For the ruler areas, the British structure gave grantee that the power of the provincial gave them in the hand of local politics. The Tribal identity emerged most clearly in the case of the district board.<sup>35</sup> The district board was the first step of ruler self-government in Punjab in 1880. Zail was a normal district board constituency and its representation on the tribal base.

With the tribal representation, religious solidarity was also the idiom of political significance in Punjab politics. The first time separate common electorate was introduced in municipal bodies in 1880 and later, elections have held in the provincial legislative council and its assembly. Separate common elections were introduced in the united provinces and Bengal in 1909. After 1919 it became the norm of Punjab. The ruler political association pattern derived from the control of the integrative ideology of local solidarity.<sup>36</sup> After the rejecting of the common election for the district board in British raj, presented it Punjab Alliance Act 1900. More than any other piece of legislation of the British government it acts was criticized by the popular politics of Punjab.

### **Land Alienation Act 1900:**

Late 19 century the condition of Punjabi landholders became worst they became finically weak and most of their land went under the hold of another big capitalist of Punjab. The passage of the Punjab alienation act 1900 by the bad condition of Punjabi land-holders due to the bad

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid,61

<sup>35</sup> Qalb-i-Abid, "Unionist- Muslim Leagus Relations" History, Politics and Society of Punjab, 178.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid,181

relationship between the landlords and peasants. Many feudal feared led to the ruler's revolt. British gave the solution in the shape of this act. They introduced a stable agrarian society on the one hand and free working of natural economic law on the other hand. Some British official corresponds also highlight the loop points of this issue

The main provision of this act did not transfer land together, but they were restricted land transferred from peasants to many landers. After that, the Moneylenders started to remain in front of British-made “tribal”. But tribal were not the landholder unit. And the British government knew this very well, so they restrict the landholders to transfer or sell any piece of land outside the tribe. This act was the significance of the tribal structure of society for the stability of imperial authority.<sup>37</sup>

The nature of the act was set up by the adoption of the “agricultural tribe” as its critical unit. The government stopped sales of agricultural land from a member of “Agricultural tribes” to members who were not members of those groups. The transfer of lands was allowed for the “agricultural tribe” but restrict the sales. The lieutenant governor Sir Mickworth round arranged the old class about the agricultural field end, compare to the moneylenders even they were the member of an agricultural tribe. The act also limited the rights of Banias by the financial commissioner in 1904. There was nothing in the structure of ruler society in Punjab to separate the Banias who had held the land since the first regular settlements from others. After some time, all restrictions were abolished from Banias. In 1907 the elimination of the “Statutory Agriculturalist” the overriding “tribal”<sup>38</sup>

The principle of the act was firmly established, the practical adaptation of the act for the structure of the ruler Punjabi society was proved it is not to be an easy undertaking for administrative propose. The confusion of the tribal structure had been clarified by the demarcation of Zails. But for other purposes, the division remained artificial.

Land alienation act initially provided for the tribal society but after giving the names and identities to the tribal it became common for all classes. Some deputy commissioners of different areas of Punjab suggested separating the market gardening. Tribes Arians, Mallis, and Combohs from the dominion Juts and Rajpoot. Later the two groups converted into agricultural and capitalist. In the initial stage, the British government remained religious out

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<sup>37</sup> S Qalb-i-Abid, *Muslim Politics in the Punjab 1921-47*.

<sup>38</sup>J.S. Garewal, “Business Communities in the Punjab,” *The Journal of Regional History*, 33.(1982): 6

due to some communal fears, especially after the statement of Rawalpindi Commissioner “our agricultural tribe are all Zamindars, whether Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs all religions of Punjab lying in the same category”. So, after that the other commissioners also started to admit this statement, some other deputy commissioners tried to justify by saying “where the tribal identified are strong religious”.<sup>39</sup> The deputy commissioner of Ambala wrote, “Religion in the rural area of Punjab not to divide and separate their hearts”. Deputy Commissioner of the Gurdaspur, the Jut peasants here firstly and later they might be Hindus or Muslims or Sikhs. It didn’t mean that religion could not hold an important place during the construction of rural identity, but this religious issue remained under observation for a long time. Some British officials suggested that religion is a convenient guide to divide the agricultural and non-agricultural in majority areas of Southern Western Punjab. In central Punjab, some deputy commissioner suggested that religion plays an important role to separate Muslims from Sikhs but, in response to the settlement, officer Fazil Haqq wrote: No doubt Sikhs and Muslims are both from different religions, but they are together against any other landlord because they had similar interest. In the land alienation act, the British government legitimized only a few hands to hold the lands, and the non-agriculturalist did not allow to own the land by any other landowner.

This act strengthens the control of land by one category to individuals and restricted its control by others. In short, the people who belong to the category of moneylenders or the religious category were not able to own any land, if they wanted to get any land then they must get the membership of the agricultural tribe. It was really good in favor of all peasants and small landholders through this the percentage of the profit reduced.

The major criticism of this act came from those who had been excluded from the category of the agricultural tribe and got secondary status within the controlled political community. The act was a political cell for some people, but some were not ready to accept. This act the exercising of the power and through religious identity officially recognized the structure of Punjabi municipal electorate through this exercise the provincial powers and in which religions identity played a secondary role.<sup>40</sup> The Hindu Mahasabha non-agricultural party and urban

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<sup>39</sup> Shamsul Hasan Khalid, “The Punjab Muslim League and the Unionists” (Karachi: Ushba Publishing 8 International, 2005), 1.

<sup>40</sup> Shamsul Hasan Khalid, The Punjab Muslim League and the Unionists (Karachi: Ushba Publishing 8 International, 2005),21

body delayed the act and talked about the weak points. 1909 declared that Muslims are agriculturalists and Hindus are moneylenders. Before this Syeds and Mujavars refused to accept the Brahmins, as Pathans and Mughals denied the Khattris, as the same, this act is not ready to accept the urban Hindu money lenders.

The objection to act also came from those who criticized the manipulation of the indigenous “tribal terminology”. Congress leader tried to show that this act is giving just artificial identity to the tribal and according to this act the peasants come under the hands of the rich and powerful agriculturalist. Sir HarmanSingh also warned about this act “there will be monster fish in the agricultural society who will be supported by law to swallow smaller fish”. Non-agriculturalist started continuously demanding official individuals into the act to show that the dominant status was given to the agricultural tribe. Even give some protection to the peasantry rights. The Lahore representative stated in 1915 that, government yet done like that the big fish among the state made agricultural tribe which is now swallowing the smaller and they are playing the role of Banias against whom the legislative safeguard was devised. This directly attacked the concept of artificial creation of the British colonial system

### **Formation of Unionist Party:**

In the results of all arguments and criticism on the Punjab Land Alienation act 1900, the political reforms started introduction on the provincial level after 1920. Agricultural tribes remained dominant on the provincial politics constituencies for the council, were demarcated based on the communal status territory with the separate constituencies for the Muslim, Sikhs, and Hindus even for the rural and urban. But, the terms of the land alienation act were laid down in front of Muslims. The typical members of the Legislative council were H.J Mognard explained about those people who are enjoying both powers, first the Zaildar on the local level and second position in rural administrative. The Muslims: most of them responded to common issues and supported Fazal e Hussain. He tried to increase the Muslim representation in the council and local bodies but on the large scale, the urban Muslims of Punjab were not ready to accept that Land Alienation Act. For many times, the communal issues were raised in the council but most of the council Hindu, Muslim, and Sikh’s members had a common interest. As a result, they organized the Punjab national unionist party in 1923, combining the Muslim

agricultural followers of Sir Fazal e Hussain with the Ambala division and the Hindu agriculturalist group of Sir Chaudri Chottu Ram.<sup>41</sup>

Land Alienation Act after the 1920s become the first symbolic political issue of Punjab politics. The issue of the membership to the Zamindar in agricultural tribe even Unionist support the policy to zamindar recruiting for the government services. The communal category was used for the recruitment of government services but after the first world war recruitment began to stop on communal and was replaced with a policy of land alienation by forcing Unionists the Unionist preoccupation indicated that how close these categories had come to defaming the Unionist parties identify.

The dominant majority in the provincial council by the association with the “agricultural tribe” after the formation of the unionist party, agricultural tribe become the central feature of the provincial council such type of assaults from the different sides on the Unionist. Sikhs had active in the gurdwara movement, Hindu Sabha leaders, Urban Muslims, Congress followers, Ahrar Urban Muslim members of the Khilafat Committee started to be meaning about the dominant status of the agricultural tribe. They even all had different identities and concepts, but they were altogether against the British administrative framework by which agricultural tribes became dominant.<sup>42</sup>

After continuing, criticism of this act British government took a strong step towards opponents. Government officials were already aware from the very beginning of the acts inquires, which the main issue of criticism remained. As a governor Sir Malcolm Hawley wrote about in 1928: This act was formed according to the needs of all tribes and changing in its quite impossible. In short, this act was formed for the betterment of the agriculturalist class by protects their rights (farmers, peasants, and zamindar). It seems in the favor of agricultural tribes but at the end of the 19th century the urban moneylenders were getting strong, and they were even controlling all the fertile land. Urban moneylenders tried to convince the zamindar to sell their lands or on lease. For business purposes, in the end, all zamindar were ready to give their land for getting more money but never thought about their peasants.

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<sup>41</sup> Azra Asghar Ali & Sajid Mahmood Awan, “Political Development and the Political Parties in Punjab:1849-1947”, *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences* Vol. 29, No 1 (June 2009) 69

<sup>42</sup>Qalb-i-Abid & Massarat Abid, “Unionist-Mulim League Relations and the Punjab Administration, 185.



All these buy and sell was legal but not good for the British. British government formed strict rules on the buy and sell. Reducing low revenue through lands day by day so the government had to take such steps. Indian National Congress opposed this act in the Lucknow session in the early 19th century, so this way Indian Congress never get any favor from the peasants from Punjab. It became a communal issue as well because the majority population of traders was Hindu and agricultural tribe majority based on the Muslims and Sikhs. After 1907, another act was passed related to the land alienation act named Punjab unrest to stop and transferring of land process strictly.<sup>43</sup>

### **Construction of Unionist party:**

The unionist party was the first and proper non-communal and secular political party of rural Punjab. The members of the unionist party belong to the agricultural tribe of Punjab. Leaders of this party formed this party to protect the basic rights of the “agricultural tribes” (farmers, peasants, and Zamindar). The memberships of the party were open for every sect; the members of the party were much impressed by the British Government's strictness on the process of land transferred by the Land Alienation Act. This party was the representative of the agricultural tribe, and the base of the party is an agriculturalist. In the legislative council of Punjab, this party gained a high position and had influence. Party also faced criticism from Punjab urban moneylender. This party was formed in 1923 by Sir Fazal e Husain, Sir Chutto Ram, Sir Sikandar Hayat, and Ch. Sir Shahabuddin. This party was a mixture of all sects and representative of Punjabi Rural Zamindar Interest. The unionist party was secular and believe in the strong and united the Punjabi by bringing together all Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims of this province.

Mian Fazal e Husain and Sir Chutto Ram lead a base of the Punjabi National Unionist party in 1923. It was based on a group of rural members of the Punjab legislative council. Their members were elected based on their high status and influence even they were big land-lord and dominant figures in the politics of Punjab.<sup>44</sup> The fundamental purpose of their politics was to secure the provincial interest as well as the interest of the British Raj. The group consisted

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<sup>43</sup> Qalb-i-Abid & Massarat Abid, “Unionist-Mulim League Relations and the Punjab Administration, 185.

<sup>44</sup>Ahmed Yar Daultana, “Leaves from Unionist’s Diary,” The Civil and Military Gazette, 96-97.

of 24 Muslims and 6 Indus Indus Juts under the leadership of Rao Bahadur Laal. The prominent Muslim elite was Nawab Muzaffar Ali, Malik Khizar Hayat Tiwana, and Muhammad Khan Nawab of Kala Bagh, Nawab Shah Nawaz Mamdot, Mian Ahmed Yar Khan Doltana, and Muhamad Zafar Ul Khan who were considered as a righthand of Sir Fazal e Husain. Membership opens for all sects, colors, and creeds.

### **Main Leaders of Unionist Party:**

The main founder of the unionist party of Sir Fazal e Husain who belonged to the rural area of British Punjab. He was son of Bahadur Husain Bakasn, who was the Retired District judge. His family belonged to the influential family of Batala District of Gurdaspur. His family had a privileged position since the Sikh's time in Punjab. After completing his matric from Gurdaspur high school went to the GC Lahore to meet Sir Abdul Qadar and Sir Muhammad Iqbal, both remained his classmates. After gaining his bachelor's degree from GC Lahore turned to the London for Higher Education, after came back from London in 1901 he started his practice as a barrister in Sialkot and after a short time, moved to Lahore in 1905

Later, he started his political life in Lahore and remained an active member of Anjuman e Hamayat e Islam. And became the first Muslim member of the Punjab provincial legislative council. His political career started from the platform of the Muslim League and took part in the first annual session of the All-India Muslim League in 1907 at Karachi. He was an an active and prominent member of the Muslim League but after some time he had to leave the Punjab Muslim League<sup>45</sup>.

According to the act of 1919, he got success on the Punjab legislative council and became the educational minister of Punjab. He knew the educational situation of Muslims of Punjab after realizing he did remarkable work for the education of Muslims of Punjab. He reserved the 40% seats for the Muslims in GC Lahore and Govt. Medical College Lahore. He also introduced a separate quota for the government jobs, this way they got the administrative seats for the Muslims. He served as an education minister from 1920 to 1926. It was the golden time for the Muslims of Punjab. [6]After this, he became the main figure in the Punjab revenue department and formed some useful politics from 1927 to 1930.To get a prominent position in the legislative Punjab council, the rural Punjabi agriculturist group to secure their rights formed

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<sup>45</sup>Qalb-i-Abid & Massarat Abid, "Unionist-Mulim League Relations and the Punjab Administration, 188.

the Punjab National Unionist party, under the leadership of Sir Fazal e Husain. Sir Fazal e Husain invited all members of different sects like Sikhs, Muslims, and Hindus.

### **Reorganization of Punjab National Unionist Party:**

Sir Fazal e Husain left the Unionist party and Punjab to become a member of the Viceroy executive council due to this act his followers got very angry and after leaving his party Unionist became weak in early 1930. In late 1935 he got realize about his mistakes so, he came back and rejoined the party and started the rework on the Unionist establishment. He reunited the Punjab rural and faced many difficulties.<sup>46</sup> The party was reunited and reorganized in February 1936 and relaunched on April 1, 1936. He visited many rural influential leaders' places. During this Jinnah also tried to convince to corroborate with Muslim League and support Muslim League Leaders in Punjab but the proposal was refused by Sir Fazal e Husain due to some party restrictions.

### **Successor of Fazal e Hussain:**

This party was remained working as an opposition party in Punjab. According to the Indian Act 1935, elections were announced, Sir Fazal e Hussain gave his best for the upbringing of the party but unfortunately, he couldn't participate in elections and died July 9, 1936. After the death of Sir Fazal e Hussain, the party newly elected Sir Sikandar Hayat. Now, the party leads under the new supervision which became a quite beneficiary of the leader of the Muslim League.

### **Sir Sikander Hayat (June 5, 1892, to 26 December 1942):**

Khan Bahadur Capt. Sardar Sir Sikander Hayat Khan born in Khattar family in Wah (Multan), son of Nawab Muhammad Hayat Khan. After got his early education from MAO school (later University), he went to London for his higher education. .In the first world war when British Indian Army was hyperactive, he was appointed as Assistant Recruiting Officer and received

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<sup>46</sup> Akhtar Hussain Sandhu, "Elections of 1936-37 in the Punjab and Political Position of the Muslim League," *Pakistan Vision* (December 2009): 21

the title of King's Commission as a Capt. Of 67th Punjabis. After the end of the 1st world war, he separated himself from the army and started his own business.<sup>47</sup>

In the 1920s he worked with Fazal e Hussain and Chuto Ram in the Unionist party. Due to his hard work, the British government granted him a knighthood, to Sir Sikandar. He was also only the one who worked as acting working Governor of Punjab in British raj from 1932 to 1934. For a brief, he also worked as Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank of India. In 1936, on request of Sir Fazal e Hussain, he joined the Unionist party and fought elections, and achieved a great victory.<sup>48</sup> He also took leadership of the Unionist party. He made annex of Unionist party with Indian Congress party and Sikh Akali Dal. He was chosen as the Leader of the House and Chief Minister of Punjab.

### **Jinnah-Sikandar Pact:**

After winning the elections of 1937, Sikandar trying to maintain relations with the All-Indian Muslim League under the leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah. To safeguard the interest and rights of their community he and Jinnah signed the Jinnah-Sikandar pact in October 1937 and making this element strong for Muslims. Later he became the chief supporter of the Lahore Resolution.

### **Successor of Sir Sikandar Hayat:**

Sikandar Hayat was one of the peaceful leaders but for sorrow, 1942 with a sudden heart attack he passed away. For his countless great work, the people of Punjab especially Lahore buried him in the side of Allama Iqbal for honor. Many of his work was undone. But still, he did a lot of things in his short lifetime. Sir Khizar Hayat Tiwana was the successor of Sir Sikandar Hayat of Unionist party.

### **Sir Malik Khizar Hayat Tiwana (7 August 1900 to 20 January 1975):**

Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Khizar Hayat was born in Chak Muzaffarabad, district Sargodha Punjab in 1900 in the house of Sir Umar Hayat Khan from the Tiwana family of Shahpur who a wealthy landowner was and soldier who was also elected member of Secretary Council of India. At the

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid,26

<sup>48</sup> Dr. Sikandar Hayat, "Charisma, Crisis and the Emergence of Quaid-i-Azam," Journal of Pakistan Historical Society, vol. L, no. 1&2, 31-46.

small age of 16, he volunteers himself for war help and was also appointed as the second lieutenant in Indian Land Army Forces in April 1918. After World War 1 he also worked as a Lieutenant in Anglo-Afghan War and honorary shifted his rank from the second lieutenant to captain on April 17, 1923. With time, his rank was promoted from Captain to Major and lastly to Lieutenant-colonel on 12 January 1943.<sup>49</sup>

He did remarkable work in political work but unfortunately not well for Muslim League. In 1937, he was elected to Punjab Legislative Assembly soon he joined Sir Sikandar Hayat's cabinet and work as Minister of Public Works and Local Self Government. Khizar was lack of experience and speaking skills still had this post due to their family reputation and his father's support. He was such a trustworthy person and responsible so with time he made his own space. Especially in World War 2, he performed his duties in the Manpower Committee of the Punjab War Board and the Civil Defense Departments. In 1940, after Sir Sikandar Hayat, he was responsible for handling all the main events of the Unionist party, especially he was supervising the security check Lahore resolution of the All-India Muslim League.<sup>50</sup>

As Khizar Hayat opposed the idea of Pakistan so, he never had a good relationship with Jinnah in his life span. After the death of Sir Sikandar, all responsibility was on the shoulder of Sir Khizar Hayat but he can't find any space in his heart for the Jinnah-Sikandar pact. In 1944, Jinnah was forcing him to change the name of the Unionist party to the All-India Muslim Coalition League. He rebuffed this demand of Jinnah by saying that the Unionist Party is with the Sikhs and Hindus side as there is no way of any other country like Pakistan. Now there was a clash between them which restricted the people to choose one of a political party from both. With time many Muslim leaders left the Unionist Party and joined the Muslim league.

A large number of leaders forced Khizar Hayat to skip the Unionist party and join Muslim League and using the words that Khizar you are separating the heart of Punjab Muslims by separating the Party, he refused and kept himself on the idea of One Nation One Land. He allied with Congress and Akali Dal and did efforts to stop partitions. From British India, he achieved Knight Commander of the Order of the Star of India 1946 New Year Honors and was a member of the Indian delegation to the Paris Peace Conference in the summer of 1946.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Dr. Sikandar Hayat, "Charisma, Crisis and the Emergence of Quaid-i-Azam," *Journal of Pakistan Historical Society*, vol. L, no. 1&2, 31-46.

<sup>50</sup> S. Qaim, *Quaid-i-Azam's Correspondence with Punjab Muslim Leaders*

<sup>51</sup> Qalb-i-Abid & Massarat Abid, "Unionist-Muslim League Relations and the Administration, 185.

After the partition of Pakistan, he still said that he considers that Punjab is a separate state and there is no religion or caste to affect the relation of Punjabis. He visited Pakistan and lived for a small time in Gujrat but later he shifted to California, United State. He also died in Butte City, California on 20 January 1975.

### **Sir Chutto Ram:**

Ram Richpal famous by name of Sir Chhutto Ram born November 24, 1881, in the house of the Jut family, Father Chaudhary Sukhram Singh Ohlian was a prominent figure in the Village of GarhiSampla, Rokhtar district, Punjab Province. When he passed middle school, he gets married at that time, he was only 11 years old. Living in a married state, he continued his studies. Done his matriculation from Christian Mission School, Delhi. he joined St. Stephen College for intermediate in 1903 and graduated in 1905. He gained his LLB degree in 1910 and started practice at Agra in 1912 as an advocate. Sir Chutto Ram was one of the first from the Jats family to join Law as a profession and became a successful Lawyer.<sup>52</sup>

His incredible work was when he started Anglo-Sanskrit School in March 1913 in Rohtak. Due to this, many schools and colleges were named after Sir Chutto Ram after he passed. He was also so touchy about poor students who were hardly bearing their expense of education so, Sir Chutto Ram awarded stipends to many students. In 1916 he joined Indian National Congress and from 1916-1920 he worked as President of the Rohtak District Congress Committee. But in 1920 Chutto Ram felt the need for a non-secular party, especially for the agriculturist. So, in 1923 with one of the great leaders of Muslims, Sir Fazal e Hussain he had a political party (Unionist/ Zamindar Party) for Punjab agriculturalists and allowed leaders of every sect to come and contribute to this party for the rights of Punjabis.

When Unionist Party won the election of 1935 from the provincial government in Lahore, he was head of revenue and put steps to stop usury. Sir Chutto Ram was the one who initially proved the Bhakra Dam Scheme. The Sahukar Registration Act was passed in the Assembly in September 1938. This curbed the exploitation of the farmers by the moneylenders. The Free Rent Mortgage Land Act, the Loan Forgiveness Acts were all passed during his seven years as Revenue Minister.<sup>53</sup> To honor, Sir Chutto Ram had awarded the title of Sir (knighted) by the

<sup>52</sup> Qalb-i-Abid & Massarat Abid, "Unionist-Muslim League Relations and the Administration, 187

<sup>53</sup> Akhtar Hussain Sandhu, The Elections of 1936-37 in the Punjab and Political Position of the Muslim League, 228.

British Government in 1937 as people used to address him Deen Bandhu. In Lahore on 9 January 1945, Sir Chutto Ram died a sudden death for praised his body was carried back to his hometown in Rohtak city.

## **CHAPTER 2:**

### **MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES IN PUNJAB:**

In the last phase of the 19th century and the early years of the 20th century, the people of the sub-continent establish their political organization, political parties, and the significance of the political awareness to convey their issues to the present British government. Many political leaders of the sub-continent started to move back to their motherland after completing their higher studies from overseas. After the war of independence in 1857, the largest political revolution came into their minds. They knew the real importance of the political establishment and its needs. They changed their thoughts and way of demands. During 1857, all major communities (Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs) of the sub-continent took part in it but the severe consequences were faced only by the Muslims, because of the bad political condition, undisciplined, instability, and unawareness of the Muslim Leaders. Later, they started working on it and organized different seminars, debates, and public meetings to aware themselves. Muslim poets, writers, and journalists also took part in it through writings.<sup>54</sup> In short, after the war of independence in 1857, a big paradigm shift and political change happened in the history of the sub-continent.

#### **All Indian National Congress 1885:**

This political party was the first and the well-organized political party of the sub-continent which was formed by Allan Octavian Hume: who was a British, CB ICS (June 1829-31<sup>st</sup> July 1912), was a member of imperial civil services. Later Indian Civil Services and with the blessings of Lord Ripon. A.O. Hume was very much inspired by the social worker named Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and his writings (causes of Hind revolt). Womesh Chander Bonnerjee was the first president of the Indian National Congress and A.O. Hume was the first General Secretary of the Indian National Congress.<sup>55</sup> 72 delegates took part in it of which only two were Muslim. This platform was for civil and political dialogues among educated and capable Indians. All activities

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<sup>54</sup> Azra Asghar Ali and Sajid Mahmood Awan, "Political Development and the Political Parties in Punjab, 1849-1947" *Journal of Social sciences (PJSS)* Vol.29, No. (June 2009): 66.

<sup>55</sup> Stanley Reed, Ed. *The Indian Yearbook*: 1914, 476.



for the creation of this party were held in Gokaldas Tejpal Sanskrit College in Bombay on 28th December 1885.<sup>56</sup> This political party was the need of time, and they considered this political party as a representative of all communities of the sub-continent.

### **Aims of Indian National Congress:**

- Western education
- Political awareness in Hindus
- Removal of Albert Bill
- Racism
- Unban of the Local Newspaper
- To get civil services
- Equal Law for all
- Administration Unit

These were root issues, and their instant solution was necessary. On these issues, Indian National Congress came into being. Indian intellectuals and Nationalists played a vital role in this process to get these aims, it was necessary to maintain good relations and communication with the British Government.<sup>57</sup>

### **Objectives of Indian National Congress:**

Every political organization and party had its own objectives through which they set their targets to achieve them, the Congress had some important objectives which are as below:

1. All people of sub-continent should be one nation.
2. Political, social, mental, and ethical awareness of the people
3. Maintain and establish good relationship between British Parliament and Sub-continent by removing unfair decisions for sub-continent.

These objectives remained changed and also amended over time. Many political leaders came with their thoughts and ideas for the betterment of this party but the ultimate goal was to achieve all these objectives. They started to convince the youth of India to take part in politics and

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<sup>56</sup> S. D. Gajrani, "Congress in the rural Punjab," *The Punjab past and Present*, vol. xii no.33 (April 1983): 91-104.

<sup>57</sup> Deol, Harnik. '*Religion and Nationalism in India: The Case of the Punjab.*' London: Routledge, 2000.

show their importance. There were also three major phases of the All-Indian National Congress. All three phases had their type of political leaders and a new type of politics.

### **Phase 1: The early nationalist phase (1885-1905)**

In this period, the earlier nationalist of this party started to grow the political party with their common interests and with loyalty. They knew their goals and the main issues of the common people. In the first phase, all major and leading names of Indian Politics were part of it like Dada Bai Nauruji, Gopal Krishna Gokhaly, Feroz Shah Mehta, and many other nationalists remained the part of this. Even many Muslims Political leaders also played an important role in it, like, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Hakeem Ajmal, and their followers. A very renowned personality named Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jannah, during his student life in London he remained part of the political campaign of Dada Bai Nauruji, Later, and Jinnah served as Personal Secretary of Dada Bai Nauru Ji and in 1906 Quaid-e-Azam joined All Indian National Congress.

In the early phase of nationalists, many anti-Muslim political leaders remained part of this party named Berhaman Merhata BAL Ganga (1856-1920) after completing the studies he joined the Congress in 1889, in a very short period he became a very prominent leader of Congress. His actual concept about the Muslims of the sub-continent was that they were not a part of this land, so they had no right to live there.<sup>58</sup>In 1893, the Muslim-Hindu riots started in Bombay, in return Tilak, the anti-Muslim leader started to celebrate Ganpati Festival annually. In this festival, they raised their voices against Muslims and their religion. The reason behind all these celebrations and processes is to create the worst situation for the Muslims. These anti-Muslim leaders convinced their followers to attack Muslim Mosques during worship time to make fun and trouble for them in every way of life.

According to these people, they declared ShiwajiMerhata as a Hindu Hero. This Shivaji Hindu Hero killed a Muslim soldier named: Afzal Khan of Muslim state Bijapur. He organized many anti mosques and anti-Islam religions and started a campaign first time on a mass level “Saved Cow” moment and their followers started to make noise in front of mosques later this leader killed a friend of the British Commissioner. So, he was punished prisoner-ship for the next 18 months, for this act the Congress leaders started to raise their voices to release him and started

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<sup>58</sup>S. D. Gajrani, “Congress in the rural Punjab,” *The Punjab past and Present*, vol. xii no.33 (April 1983): 105-107

to give appreciation in every annual session of Congress. Due to these anti-Muslim efforts, he became very popular and effective in every decision of congress.

## **Phase 2: Rise of Nationalism in Congress (1905-1919)**

These years were marked as a phase of Indian struggle to bring in them a kind of patriotism and nationalistic construction of their identities. Therefore, new thoughts, ideas, and political development came on the front line of power. There were many anti-Muslim movements that started to emerge in the congress with a good relationship. The Partition of Bengal in 1905 was the key cause of the formation of another political party including the Muslim League. It was a big and massive change in the history of the sub-continent in every field. It was not the political demand of the Muslims of Bengal. British Government distributed the Bengal (eastern and western wings). It was damn hard to control combined administration by Single Governor-General and maintain peace.

The result of the decision appeared much beneficial for Bengali Muslims. Hindus show their unlikeness towards this decision. Many Muslim members left Congress because of the double-face policies of the party. New leadership came into power. The partition of Bengal was basically the British's tactics of "Divide and Rule". According to Lord Curzen, the partition of Bengal was not to divide the Hindu and Muslim community, it was for the betterment of the administrative setup and the western districts formed the other province with Orissa and Bihar.<sup>59</sup> This western wing reduced the Bengali language to the minority. Population distribution was like Eastern Bengal: Muslim majority and Western Bengal: Hindu majority

At the start of the 20th century, after the partition of Bengal, it was still a large patch of land to control its administration and to fulfill its people's requirements. It wasn't a new issue for Muslims. Even in 1853, Sir Charles gave a suggestion to the government about the distribution of Bengal a very next year Lord D H Alvis put this issue in front of the British parliament. In 1866, a food famine in Orissa on a big scale. The government made a committee and send it to the Bengal (Orisa) to highlight the reasons behind this famine. During this famine, the total area of Bengal was 89000 square miles and with a population of 80 million, their annual budget was around 7.5

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<sup>59</sup> S. D. Gajrani, "Congress in the rural Punjab," *The Punjab past and Present*, vol. xii no.33 (April 1983): 91-104.

million rupees. The import-export was not stabilized, there were no big regions like Bengal in the whole sub-continent.

The western Bengal: Hindu majority community, they had every basic facility and were enjoying a lot of annual budgets. The government of Bengal used a huge amount of budget in its development. They had a proper educational system and hospitals. They were also educated and capable for all government jobs, civil services, and other administrative jobs. But after the partition of Bengal, their all facilities were distributed. Now they couldn't enjoy all facilities lonely and even they weren't ready to accept the Muslims progress and development.<sup>60</sup>

This province was the Muslim majority province which was being ignored for the last 150 years. The government couldn't fulfill its fundamental rights and developments due to less budget and the incompetent behavior of rulers. The government officers were transferred to this area as a punishment. No one was ready to accept their duties and adopt this province with an open heart. Because of their non-serious attitude and recklessness, this province always remained in dark. There was no concept of education, employment, and development for the Muslims of Dhaka. This province was known as an unlawful province, there was no concept of import and export, the seaport of Chita Gang always remained ignored.

They considered this partition as government foolishness. It was the crash of Bengal Unity of Hindus and Muslims which wasn't good for the government. Later, many anti-Muslim leaders of Congress started to give such statements that British Government is favoring Muslims by this partition. It was totally against the development of the sub-continent. The Britishers' behaved like a stepmother because they were dividing us and rule us. They also started to raise their voices and protest this partition by saying the government tried to weak their national demands. They declared their "Vande Mataram" as a national anthem which was totally against the Muslim's dignity.

All blame for partition wasn't acceptable. The major disagreement of this partition was based on religious and social issues. Partition of Bengal meant to reduce the land of Hindus Meadow. On the other hand, Calcutta lawyers and businessmen got famous in every court of

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<sup>60</sup> Shamsul Hasan Khalid, "*the Punjab Muslim League and the Unionists*", 183.

Bengal and business fields throughout Dhaka. But after the partition, Hindus got a reduction in every field of life even the sales of newspapers of Hindus also reduced. The congress considered 16th October 1905 as a “Black Day” and wore black dresses, businesses remained closed, raised slogans against the government. They even took oath in the same evening for the annulment of Bengal and the revival of their powers in the province. In all big cities of both provinces, Hindus organized public meetings, debates and passed resolutions against this partition, and fully supported the anti-partition movement.

Congress used religion as a weapon against this partition and suggested to the people to go for Kali Devi Temple and took promises to protect their religion and struggle for the annulment of Bengal as early as possible. The extremists of Congress started emotionally blackmailing Hindus on this partition. They considered that this partition was the common interest of Muslims and British and disrespect of our Kali Mata. They started to attack Muslims during their *Salah* time, created a disturbance, and made noise. W. C. Banerjee was leading these movements and requested the other Hindu leaders of the different regions to join them, the Punjabi extremist Hindus like Lala Laj Pat Rai from Lahore, Bal Ganga Dhar Tilak from Bombay became the Bengali leaders.<sup>61</sup> Shiva Ji became a Bengali Hero and “Gan Patti” was celebrated as a national festival. The claim of Congress representative of both committees proved wrong, after this anti-Muslim movement. They announced the only solution to this partition is to boycott the British. They formed a committee of 15 members under the leadership of Gopal Krishna Gokhaly who was sent to London for the annulment of Bengal with political pressure. During the Surat Split in 1907, Congress was divided into two groups (Moderates and Extremists). Moderates wanted “Ras Bihari Ghosh” as a president while Extremists wants “Lala Lajpat Rai” as president of the Indian National Congress.

Filler had a soft corner for the Muslims of East Bengal, and he was the first Governor of East Bengal. Hindus and Congress didn't like him, and they tried many times to replace him. November 1906, Governor-General Lord Minto met with W. C. Banerjee and Gopal Krishna Gokhaly, they both complained against Filler policies with him. In the same year, a Hindu student named Siraj Ganj killed a British manager and looted a British cloth container as well. Filler

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<sup>61</sup>Azra Asghar Ali & Sajid Mahmood Awan, “Political Development and the Political Parties in Punjab:1849-1947”, *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences* Vol. 29, No 1 (June 2009)

reported to Calcutta University for the cancellation of their registration, but Lord Minto stopped him, Filler felt guilty and gave resign. This resignation was accepted in less than no time, it wasn't a good result for the Muslims. Congress was thinking after the resignation of Filler, the movement might be closed, but all in vain, and the government took strict action against this School.<sup>62</sup>

British always said partition of Bengal was a preplanned reality and Muslims also wanted to maintain this partition. But in 1910, the period of all movements came to an end which was against partition. Bonarjee wrote in his newspaper named "Bengali" we are ready to accept this partition and we are not as much interested in its annulment, but on the other hand, British and Congress leaders had already planned for annulment. A new British king George V had enthroned in May 1910. He had already visited India as a representative of India. Moreover, the enthronement Ceremony was arranged in Delhi. During this ceremony, he gave the orders to Governor-General Lord Harding for the annulment of Bengal.<sup>63</sup> The announcement of annulment was very sudden, and Muslims became shocked. Moreover, the king said: capital would shift from Delhi to Calcutta. The status of Bengal must be increased with the designation of Governor.

This annulment was totally unexpected and sudden, Hindus started to dance and celebrate with all joys. It wasn't a good signal for the Muslim community of their political, social, and even religious freedom. They had already examined their thoughts about them. Writers, poets, and journalists said that it was a political end for Bengali Muslims and not a good indicator for the Muslims of other regions.

### **Efforts for Hindu Muslim Unity:**

From the early 20th century, Muslims came to know that the Congress was only working for the Hindus and their benefit, their plans and policies always represented Hindu rights rather than Muslims. They were getting a strong nation internally and externally. After the annulment of Bengal, the relationship between both Hindus and Muslims became worst, but they were still united in front of the British government. In 1913 Jinnah joined the All India Muslim League, he

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<sup>62</sup> S Qalb-i-Abid, *Muslim Politics in the Punjab* 1921-47.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid,23

started to work on the Hindu-Muslim Unity and he got success for a short interval. It was the very first and last time in 1916 both political parties held a combined session in Lucknow.

In history, the first time All India National Congress accepted the All-India Muslims League as a political and social organization of the Muslims. In this period, many famous Muslims, political workers, socialists started their own newspapers and wrote about Hindu-Muslim unity. After this, Jinnah achieved the title of “Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity” by Anni Besant. A committee of 19 members was formed and Jinnah was part of it. This platform was considered for both parties as a sign of Unity. Both parties were agreed on the provincial legislative councils’ seats distribution, and they were united on a regional level. In this pact, they acknowledged their separate electorate.<sup>64</sup>

This pact seemed a big achievement for the Muslims, but it couldn’t work for long. Very soon the Congress realized political awareness of Muslims is not a good sign for them, even they gave a proper path to Muslim League by themselves. The Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes of 1919 as named **the Rowlett Act** was a constitution passed by British India. According to this constitution, it was allowed to arrest the people and keep them in prisons without trial by Government. In Short, all power belongs to Government.<sup>65</sup> Many Hindu and Muslim leaders started to oppose this commission in Imperial Legislative Council but on 23rd March 1919 Government accepted this black act with an open heart. As the result, Congress and Muslim League Leaders started to give resigns. Jinnah and Mazah ul Haqq left Legislative Council on 28th March 1919

The Congress and Muslim league Leaders who were the members of the Imperial Legislative Council raise their voices against this law, but the government wasn’t ready to accept their demands, on this rude behavior of government they gave resign from the legislative council. Both showed their unity against this law, later the government observed this type of action couldn’t be worked on this land so very soon they announced the Government of Indian Act 1919. With the end of the First World War in 1918-19, a massive change took place in the political history of this region. From the very beginning of this world war, Muslims and Hindus gave full support to the

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<sup>64</sup> Samina Awan, *Reconciliation or Confrontation: Majlis-e-Ahrar and the Politics of Punjab in 1930s*. 24.

<sup>65</sup>ibid,27

government. Muslims requested to the British government that they would protect the Holy places of Muslims and they would forgive Turkey's involvement against the British but after the successful end of the war, the British forgot all their promises and celebrated their victory.<sup>66</sup>

To memorize the promises of the British government, Muslims of the Sub-continent launched the Khilafat movement in 1919. It was basically a religious movement. The main purpose of this movement was to protect the Holy Places from Non-Muslims and would remain under the Turkish Khilafat. This movement also got the revival of Khilafat. It was started by the Muslim leaders, but later Hindu leaders also took it apart on a big scale. After the prisoner ship of the Ali Brothers, Gandhi became the Leader of this movement. Many Muslim leaders were not happy with Gandhi's Leadership and his policies.

He advised Muslims to leave their educations, government jobs and give back the government titles which were given to the capable Muslims, Moreover, he convinced people for the open reward of government. This movement was totally in the favor of Gandhi and Hindu politics. Gandhi took big fame from it and visited on the regional level.<sup>67</sup> After announcing the civil disobedient movement in 1920 by Gandhi, Jinnah got angry and left congress forever. Now Gandhi became much popular on every platform by using his mind. It was only at that time who was leading the Muslims and was giving direction. There was a big change in Congress politics, many anti-Muslims became part of congress during this period and many leaders left Congress who were representative of Hindu-Muslim unity. It was the end of the second phase and the beginning of the third phase.

### **Phase III-Gandhian Period (1920 to 1945-46):**

After getting all the major decisions of the khilafat movement Gandhi turned its direction and this movement looked like a political movement. He convinced people to boycott imported products and started openly protest against the government. The image of Muslims was becoming worst

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<sup>66</sup> Uma Kaura, *Muslims and Indian Nationalism: The Emergence of the Demand for India's Partition, 1928-40* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1977), 109.

<sup>67</sup> Azra Asghar Ali & Sajid Mahmood Awan, "Political Development and the Political Parties in Punjab:1849-1947", *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences* Vol. 29, No 1 (June 2009)



day after day. After the incident of Chora Chori on 4th February 1922 at Gorakhpur District Gandhi announced suddenly the end of this movement without taking the suggestion of Muslim Leaders. In this incident, the protestors set their field around the police station and burnt the police station. Due to this act, 23 policemen were killed.

By using this platform, Gandhi visited and met many political figures of different regions. Now people came to know about Gandhi and his name. After the end of the Khilafat movement, Gandhi decided to start politics on a regional level and upcoming sessions of Congress were organized in different areas. He also held meetings with different Landlords, Feudal and renowned personalities of different provinces. Congress started from its branches from different areas of the sub-continent. Gandhi visited Punjab for the first time with Abdul Kalam Azad and convinced their leaders to join Congress. C. R. Das and Lala Raj Pat Rai were not ready to accept the Gandhi idea but later they openly started favoring Gandhi's thought. They got a very positive response from Punjabi Leaders.<sup>68</sup>

During 1920-30 many political parties were formed on the regional level. The motive of these parties was to protect their basic rights and fulfill their needs. Gandhi realized very soon the emergence of these political parties was very good for them. So, Congress approached those parties. After getting a positive response on a regional level, Gandhi and Congress made a u-turn. In 1928 Nehru Report showed the cunning policies of congress by neglecting all their promises. The points of the Nehru Report were totally against the Lucknow Pact. In the response, Jinnah gave his 14 points after the very next year. It was the end of Hindu-Muslim Unity and permanent conflict began to start. Congress wasn't ready to admit and accept any demand of the Muslim League so, both parties changed their ways of success.

The Gandhian period was full of adventures, protests, and anti-government movements which remained very useful for him. In 1934, Gandhi also left the Congress, but he had a great influence on every decision of the party. He remained part of annual sessions, public meetings, debates, and protests even the president of Congress was also elected with the involvement of Gandhi.<sup>69</sup> In Indian Act 1935, Government announced they would contest elections in all 11 provinces. Congress made its ministries in 8 provinces out of 11, it was a very big achievement of

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<sup>68</sup> Dr. Sikandar Hayat, "Charisma, Crisis and the Emergence of Quaid-i-Azam," *Journal of Pakistan Historical Society*, vol. L, no. 1&2, 31-46.

<sup>69</sup> Azra Asghar Ali & Sajid Mahmood Awan, Political Development and the Political Parties in Punjab:1849-1947, *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences* Vol. 29, No 1 (June 2009) 72.

Congress on the regional level. Although these ministries weren't in the favor of Muslims, they remained for almost 2 and a half years. Muslims of all provinces now realized Hindu and Congress would never accept the Muslims as the second largest population of the sub-continent. In 1945 Gandhi left politics too so, the Gandhian period came to an end.<sup>70</sup>

## **Relationship between Congress and Muslim league**

### **Delhi Muslim Proposals:**

From 1924 to 1927 Muslims shed light on the issue and solve the Hindu Muslims riots in every annual session. A separate electorate was totally against Congress politics. on the budget session of central assembly Pundit, Motilal Nehru said to Jinnah; "If Muslims give up from demand of separate electorate, then their remaining demands would be considered."

According to Jinnah, the protection of Muslims is not possible without the demand of a separate electorate. So, he called a session based on 30 big Muslim League leaders in Delhi, named: Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar, Nawab Ismail Khan, Mian Muhammad shah Nawaz, maulvi Muhammad Shafi Deobandi, Sir Abdul Raheem, AbdullahMammon sugar Nardi, and nawab Zulfiqar Ali khan participated.

20 March 1927, they gave their proposal.

Sindhi should be a separate province from Bombay.

Political reforms in Sarhad and Baluchistan.

1/3 representative in a central assembly.

The legislative council of Bengal and Punjab members according to population.

In Muslim, minority's provinces would be treated equally and there will be no religious discrimination. On these points, Jinnah got 28 members' sign them and sent them to Gandhi. It was a great shock for Hindus. Hindus started street propaganda against a separate electorate. After 3 days the members of central assembly presented Hindus' proposal

Combine election every place

Give representative according to population

Religious freedom in the constitution

At that time stop talking about provinces

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<sup>70</sup> ibid,77

There was not a basic difference between both communities' thoughts. On 15 September 1927, the Congress committee accepted that, but refused to accept Gandhi's suggestion and said: they would present at the All-India Conference. But Nehru Report totally ignored the Delhi Propos Punjabi Muslim Leaders were totally against this proposal under the leadership of Mian M. Shafi, Dr. Allama Iqbal, and Mian Fazal Hussain. They participated in the Delhi proposal, but they remained quiet during the session. After back to Punjab, they started to oppose it.<sup>71</sup>

According to M. Shafi separate electorate were the issue of Muslim's life and death. M. Ali individually accepted the concept of a combined electorate. Even the big Muslim population was totally against this concept. Punjabi provincial assembly also refused to accept it and announced they would never compromise on separate electorate issues. Lahore province was totally opposed to this idea. On the issue, Muslim League was divided into two factions: Calcutta league (Jinnah) and Lahore League (Shafi) and Dec 1927, separate sessions in Calcutta and Lahore.<sup>72</sup>

#### **Simon Commission:**

According to the 1919 act clause, after 10 years government sent a commission to observe the situation, but suddenly gave an announcement and sent on 8 November 1927 a Simon commission under the leadership of Sir Jon Simon, based on 6 members that commission to visit to observe political reforms of the subcontinent and make politics for further reports to meet with political leaders. Local leaders could not participate due to biasness, on this issue all parties boycott Simon. Firstly, Jinnah announced on 19 November 1927 in a local session.<sup>73</sup>

But Lahore league support and making, according to them they could gain and protect Muslim right to support. then Nawab M. Ismailkhan also gave strict statements against them and said the welcome for Simon was good for them. So, the Bengali Muslims also welcomed it.

#### **Nehru Report:**

It is an important document to understand the Hindu nationalist thoughts and after the rejection of Simon, the commission gave challenged them if they are capable so they had to make a constitution, Hindu started to raise this challenge and convinced the Muslims that they should ignore their personal rights and support Hindus to make constitution on that issue the Congress

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<sup>71</sup> M. Rafique Afzal, *A History of the All India Muslim League 1906-1947*, 382.

<sup>72</sup> Qalb-i-Abid, S. "*Muslim Politics in the Punjab, 1921-1947*". Lahore: Vanguard, 1992.

<sup>73</sup> M. Rafique Afzal, *A History of the All India Muslim League 1906-1947*, 382.

Hindu made Nehru report for this constitution they organized all parties conference in Delhi. In the first session on February 28, 1928, 70 organization members took participated. Lahore league was not invited to this session. The motive of this session was to establish a responsible government and avoid communal riots.

It was very difficult for 70 organizations to stay on one decision. On April 18, 1928, Hindus Mahasabha refused to accept the Muslim's demands. Dr. Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari was president of the All-Parties Conference. Jinnah, M. Ali Johar Shoaib, Qureshi, Nawab Ismail Khan, Moti Lal Nehru, Madan Mohan Molia, and MS Naidn were prominent leaders who took part in it

To establish the constitution, made committee on 8 members, Secretary Johar Lal Nehru. Sir Ali Imam and M. Shoaib Qureshi both were Muslims. Only 6 members participated properly in it. Shoaib Qureshi could not agree with Nehru Report. Moti Lal Nehru presented their reports at an all-party conference presented by Dr. Ansari on August 10, 1928. 28 August 1928 All Party Session held in Lucknow, presented by Nehru, Maulana Shoaib Ali and Maulana Hasrat Mohani were leading Muslims in All-party conference and took serious action against All Muslims because angry on Nehru Report<sup>74</sup>

On May 15, 1908, M. Ali Jinnah and Johar left India for London. Nehru's report was published in their absence, and they come back on October 23, 1928. Moti Lal Nehru called all Parties convention to accept the Nehru Report, but they could not get any results. Jinnah tried to produce another way to sort out their issues but failed. Due to Hindus, they passed the report successfully. But Lahore league support and making, according to them they could gain and protect Muslim right to support. Then Nawab M. Ismailkhan also gave strict statements against them and said the welcome for Simon was good for them. So, the Bengali Muslims also welcomed it.

### **Jinnah 14 points:**

Jinnah became downhearted after the Calcutta convention. He was very fed-up with the present condition of politics and due to this, he did not participate in the All-Parties Muslim Conference. Muslim league was divided into two parts in the Delhi proposal. There were many ups and downs in Muslim politics from 1927. At the end of March 1929, the Muslim League held a session in

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<sup>74</sup> Uma Kaura, "Muslims and Indian Nationalism: The Emergence of the Demand for India's Partition, 1928-40" (*New Delhi: Manohar, 1977*), 109.

Delhi, Mian Muhammad Shafi who was a competitor of Jinnah, participated in this session. Jinnah presented his points very clearly which were related to the Muslim demands. These points for Muslims, considered as Jinnah 14 points. To elaborate these points Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar helped Jinnah. These points are a brief way of Muslim's demands which they were demanding for a long time. It was another effort of Quaid for Muslim Hindu unity, and this was also considered as the least effort. Congress did not give any suitable response to Jinnah's point of view. Dr. Monjay, a Hindu Mashaba leader also gave an aggressive statement to Jinnah.<sup>75</sup>

Jinnah's 14 points convinced Muslim leaders to realize the real importance of Muslim unity. To protect the rights of minorities moreover, Congress got in that they are now answering their foolish politics. After these points British government got that they could not maintain discipline in this region, so they started working on the new type of acts after the 14 points on 28 May 1929 the dream of Hindu Muslim unity came to an end.

### **Reorganization of All India Muslim league:**

It was not an easy task for the government to settle down about the present situation of the subcontinent. The government announced 3 round table conferences which were held in London from 1930 to 1932. It was another effort from the government to settle down issues of India. All the leaders of the subcontinent were invited to London for the 1st RTC. A Muslim leader Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar also took participation even in his bad health and were died in London. All 3 RTC were failed in his mission. But Congress took a lot of favor during these RTC. The leader of the last class of Hindus (pressed class) named Dr. Ambedkar to annex with Congress after doing a small agreement. This step made Congress a strong political party. So, the Muslim leaders also started to think about the reorganization of the All-India Muslim League.<sup>76</sup> On the insistence of Laique Ali khan and his wife, Jinnah came back to the subcontinent and reorganized the Muslim league.

### **Government of Indian Act 1935:**

After the communal award in 1932, the government issued a white paper from 1933 to 1934 for the new Indian act. Montagu-Chelmsford reformed 1990s was the last proper Indian act,

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<sup>75</sup> Uma Kaura, "Muslims and Indian Nationalism: The Emergence of the Demand for India's Partition, 1928-40" (*New Delhi: Manohar, 1977*), 111

<sup>76</sup> *ibid*, 116

now it was the need of time for an anew complete act of India. All political parties gave an opposite state of white paper which was published in March 1933. The white paper gave under the member of both houses of Parliament of the joint selected committee, 16 members taken from each House of Commons and the house of the lord. There were also some Hindus and Muslim leaders, named of Muslim members were: Sir Agah Khan, Sir Shafqat Ahmed Khan, Sir Abdul Raheem, A.K. Gaznavi, and Sir Zafar ul khan. Lord Lithlingow resided on this committee continuously for 8 months and in these 8 months, 59 meetings were held. On 19 February 1935, the bill was presented in the House of Commons, 43 days under discussion this report was sent to the house of the lord. And there in 13 days, this report was again under discussion, and finally, it became an act of 1935. People with old thoughts were against this act but this opposition was all in vain because the king signed this act on 4th august, 1935<sup>77</sup>. London time's news called this act a Complete Indian Act. Implementation of this act took a long time and was imposed on 1st April 1937. So that is why it is also known as the April fool act.

### **Reunion of Muslims Leaders:**

After the biased report of Nehru, Muslim leaders started to emerge again. Mian Muhammad Shafi called the All-Party Muslim Conference on December 31, 1928, at Delhi presented by Sir Agha. All Muslim leaders of different sects took participation only Jinnah could not. It was successful on January 1, 1929, Mian M. Shafi presented a resolution that was in the favor of Muslim Constitution demands. Syed Noor Ahmed said: in feared India, Muslims are demanding their own Islamic State This Conference totally rejected Nehru Report and All parties Muslim Conference was a need of time but, later, it became a political party with the efforts of Mian M. Shafi and Maulana M. Shafi Deoband named: Muslim Conference, it was representing Muslims 1927 to 1934.

### **Elections of 1937:**

April 1936 Muslim league started preparation to participate in this election and they gave all rights to the Jinnah to make a parliamentary board for the upcoming elections. Muslims were divided into different parties but, Jinnah decided to visit all the countryside to strengthen of Muslim league.

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<sup>77</sup> Abid, Qalb-i- and Mussarrat Abid "Unionist-Muslim League Relations," History, Politics and Society: The Punjab, 180-181.

He explained the importance of Muslim unity and got success to agree to join Muslim league named: Jamit ulema e hind, Ahrar party, and Nationalist Muslims, but a collaboration of All Muslim parties did not remain for a long time, and it came to an end after some time due to some issues.<sup>78</sup>

Muslim league resented their party manifesto in the Lahore session on 10 June 1935. The main feature of the manifesto was, Rejection of oppressive law, control economic looting, control government expenses, nationalization of the army, promote technology, customization of the administrative machine, free education, and rural development, and reduce tax. Congress manifesto was also quite like Muslim League. There were two big changes: language issue and the separate electorate.

According to act 1935, all provinces contest provincial elections. All province parties took participate, total votes 3 crores. And almost 70 lac votes of Muslim and only 90 lac votes of congress. Congress was the oldest and 95% represented party but could not prove itself in elections. Congress got only 704/1585seats. Muslim League also had bad results even in Muslim majority provinces. In NWFP and Sindh province no one Muslim League leader got success. Punjab M.L gave 7 tickets and only 2 got success. Bengal got 40 M.L seats. Hindu majority province UP in this M.L got 66% seats. M.L got 108/484 on Muslims seats M.L was still a middle-class party, and they could not get a public representative<sup>79</sup>

Congress made ministries 8/11 provinces and Congress refused to collaborate with others in U.P, Orris, C.P, Bihar, and Madaras by saying it is against the British parliament law but accept the other provinces like Asam, Bombay, and NWFP. Congress demanded in UP to the Muslim League, if they want to get a membership in ministry and they had to lose the Muslim league power in UP. Congress ministry remained in power from April 1937 to November 1939.

### **Lahore Resolution 1940:**

After the end of Congress ministries in November 1939, the Muslim League and its leaders got realized that they were very weak politically and economically. they had no public support and even not proper links and communication with the other regional party who were representing the

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<sup>78</sup> Akhtar Hussain Sandhu," *The Elections of 1936-37 in the Punjab and Political Position of the Muslim League*", 228.

<sup>79</sup> ibis,230

Muslims' issues in their capacity. Even they could not believe in Muslim majority provinces and lost the 1937 election badly. After this Jinnah started root politics and visited all areas of the subcontinent and convinced them to a reunion with Muslims. Allama Abul Rehan al Baroni (973-1048) said in his book named: al-hind "Hindus and Muslims both were different in their languages, dresses, and way of living, faith and even they can't live together". The ideology of Pakistan is basically the ideology of Islam and the theory of two-nation started from the Hazrat Adam. The concept of life together for both nations was not possible.<sup>80</sup>

Muslim league annual session in Patna in 1938, in which they declared 1935 act is the nonserious attitude of the government towards the Muslim and people of the subcontinent. They thought Muslims had to such a scheme through which they got rid of the act. They also decided in the Patna session that they should have separate land, but they not declared it openly.

During the preparation of the Muslim League Annual Lahore session in 1940, the Government started firing on Khaksar in this incident 32 Khaksar were killed officially but more than 50 were killed after that impose curfew and applied arm forces in the Lahore region. It was the replanned policy of the government to break Muslim League power. Jinnah reached Lahore on 21 March 1940. People attended them with great zeal, but Jinnah refused to receive this protocol and directly went to injured Khaksar for their nursing. On 22 March 1940, the 27-annual session of the Muslim League started after Jumma Prayer. It was the most successful full session in the history of the Subcontinent. Jinnah was the president of this session. after discussing the present condition of the subcontinent and the issue of a separate nation. He said 'Muslims are not minorities; they are a nation. Hindu Muslim unity is not possible. They are living together for thousands and thousands of years but they couldn't be ready to accept each other. Even the British government was not able to force both nations to live together as one nation. The issue of the subcontinent is not a communal issue not it became an international issue. <sup>81</sup>If the British government want peace in the subcontinent, then they had to form a big state for a big nation. Lala Lajpat Rai from Punjab, also denning the policy of Hindu-Muslim unity. Jinnah also elaborated that Muslims will not accept that policy and laws those against the Muslims' values and rights.

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<sup>80</sup> R. Coupland, Indian Politics 1936-1942 (India, 1944), 33

<sup>81</sup>ibid,35



The resolution was accepted by the Ch. Khilaf ul Zaman, Maulana Zafar Ul Khan (Punjab), Sardar Aurangzeb (NWFP), Abdul Haroon (Sindh), Qazi Muhammad Essa (Baluchistan) Even the Muslims of UP, CP, and Bihar also welcome this resolution with an open heart.<sup>82</sup> Even the Begum M. Ali Johar called it Pakistan Resolution instead of Lahore Resolution.

Jinnah suggested to every committee of the Muslim League to organize such sessions which enhance the basic points of Lahore resolution. 15 April 1941 Muslim league annual session was held in Madarass and they changed the aims and objectives of the party to get a separate state. Now the demand of the separate state became a part of the constitution of the Muslim League and very first time announced it Pakistan resolution instead of Lahore resolution. The first time the day of the Lahore Resolution was celebrated was on 23 March 1941 and the Sindh assembly passed this resolution on 23 March 1943. In assemblies, Sindh Assembly was the one who accepted this resolution. at last, on 3rd June Hindu and British accept this resolution and admit Two Nation Theory.

### **Struggle for the Separate Land:**

After the successful Lahore Resolution, Congress leaders blame the government for the success of the Muslim League. On the other hand, Gandhi was trying to start another Civil Disobedient Movement, in October 1940, many Congress leaders were arrested. In August 1942, Gandhi again started another movement named: Quit India Movement. The movement of Quit India was unjust and unlawful because they are demanding to give all rights to Congress, and the British government should leave this state. In this movement, Gandhi and many other major leaders of Congress were arrested, and it was the golden opportunity for Muslim League to make good relations with the British Government and because Muslims had no concern with Quit India Move<sup>83</sup>nt. This scenario gave a flash to Jinnah's mind as he arranged many public meetings, strengthen street politics, and guide students to active student federation. Women's wing of the Muslim League also participated. And all they had only one motto to achieve a separate state. Now, the Muslim League and its leaders were mentally and physically ready for the upcoming election it was do or die for Muslim league leaders, now they had good relations with other regional

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<sup>82</sup>Details, Riaz Ahmad, ed." The Punjab Muslim League 1906-1947: Secret Police Abstract's (*Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and cultural Research, Quaid-i-Azam University*, 2008), 51.

<sup>83</sup> Ahmad, Riaz, ed., All India Muslim League and the Creation of Pakistan, 44-45.

politicians and their party as the Muslim Leaders convinced them to know the real agenda of Muslim League. The position of the Muslim League became stronger. Just because of them they performed very well in the 1945-1946 elections.

### **1945-1946 Elections:**

In 1945 liberal party came into power in England and Congress became very happy even they sent a greeting to PM Clement Richard Attlee. It was not a good sign for the Muslim league so Jinnah passed a resolution about the early election in the Muslim League committee and Jinnah also demanded to the government for elections on the question of the Pakistan and Jinnah requested to the Muslims to cast their votes for Muslim League for getting the separate state.

Viceroy Wavell went to London on 25 August 1945 and get back on 8 September 1945 main purpose of this tour was to decide the actual date of the elections. And when he came, he announced that the British Government decided to free India. And they ignored the demand for a separate state for Muslims. According to Wavell, the planned government is ready to give freedom to India, further elaborate that government will be ready to conduct elections of provincial and center. The party which is a majority in votes made their legislative council and new administrative form in the center.<sup>84</sup>

December 1945, central elections held, Muslim's league got the victory on all 30 seats. It was a great achievement for Muslim League because they had 100% victory. Before this achievement of the Muslim League, no party had such achievement in History. Counting of votes proved that Muslim League now became the representative party of all Muslim Parties in the subcontinent. Congress got only 57 seats out of 62. The victory of the Muslim League was not acceptable. Sardar Dilbar Bai said: "Muslim League is thinking they got Pakistan even they are wrong, separate country (Pakistan) not in the hand of British, if they want to get Pakistan so they have to fight with Hindus like a Civil war".<sup>85</sup> After the achievement of central elections, Muslim League celebrated the day of Achievement on 11 January 1946.

After this success, the government organized the provincial elections in February 1946. Muslim League got another splendid victory throughout all provinces except NWFP. no one was ready to hear such victory in provincial elections because the Muslim league lost the 1937 election very

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<sup>84</sup> Becker, Mary Louise. *The all India Muslim League, 1906-1947: A Study of Leadership in the Evolution of a Nation*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013, 202.

<sup>85</sup> *ibid*,207

badly. In that period Muslim league got 108/484 only. It was only 22% of total seats but now in the 1946 elections Muslim League changed the whole game and Muslim League got 434/496 seats it was 87% of total seats but later Muslim League converted into 90% due to the re-elections in Sindh province in December 1946 and Muslim League got all the seats.

In All Muslim minorities provinces like Madras, CP, Orissa, and Bombay Muslim league also performed very well. Muslim league got more than 90% in Assam on Muslim seats, 85% in Bihar, 83% in UP. The Sindh Congress branch even could not get a single seat on Muslim Seats. The remaining 10% of Congress seats got only 4% seats.<sup>86</sup> 1946-1946 elections Muslim league fought on the name of Pakistan and Islam and after this tremendous victory, they were nearer to their aims and ultimate goals.

### **Interim Government:**

In beginning, Congress refused to participate in the interim government but after the rejection of the Muslim League, Congress was again ready to accept the proposal of the interim government. Congress committee permitted their president to participate and established their government on 8th August. Viceroy Wavell offered to the Congress for the interim government on 12th August and Nehru accepted. On 24th August, all interim government ministries were announced Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patil, Raj Mathai, C.H. Bhabha, Baldev Singh, R K Shanmukham Chetty, Asif Ali, Shafaat Ahmed Khan, C. Rajagopalaachari, Rajendra Parshad, Jagjivan Ram, Syed Ali Zaheer, Sarat Chandra Bose, Viscount Wavell, Sir Claude Auchinleck. On the day of direct-action day on 16 August 1946 again conflicts of Hindus and Muslims begin.<sup>87</sup> The riots between Hindus and Muslims took the life of more than 15 a thousand and then the Viceroy realized that to give full control to one party was bad for the other. On the order of the British Parliament, the Congress took oath on 2nd September and Nehru became Vice president.

It was not good for Muslims because Congress was only the party that was enjoying all the Interim government. Congress was not ready to accept the Muslim League in Government, but Jinnah and Viceroy realized the consequences of this behavior of Congress. Nawab Hamid Ul Khan presented the formula to Gandhi on 4th October. Gandhi shows a positive response but Nehru was denying it. On 26 October Muslim League also participated in the interim government, Liaquat Ali Khan,

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<sup>86</sup> Dr. Riaz Ahmed, ed. "The Punjab Muslim League, 1906-1947" *Secret Police Abstracts*, 83.

<sup>87</sup> Becker, Mary Louise. *The all India Muslim League, 1906-1947: A Study of Leadership in the Evolution of a Nation* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013), 202.

Ibrahim Ismail Chandīgarh, Sardar Abdul Rub Nishtar, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, and Joginder Nath Mandal later to more Muslims got ministries in the interim government. Viceroy wanted to give at least one main ministry to the Muslims, but Congress leaders were not ready to compromise, foreign ministry and the interior ministry both were under the supervision of Nehru and Sardar Patail respectively.<sup>88</sup>

After a long discussion, Congress admitted to giving only finance ministry to Muslim League. At the suggestion of Syed Amir Ali, leaders of the Muslim League accepted this ministry. And Liaqat Ali Khan was the first and last finance minister of the interim government. He gave the budget on 28 February 1947 with the help of Ch. Mohammad Ali. It was an annual budget of the central assembly, and it was according to the Gandhi and Congress principal. After the 3rd of June plan, Muslim League announced in his annual session on 19th June, Karachi became the capital of Pakistan. On 20th June Muslim League and Congress both established their temporary government and created their Pakistan block and India block in Delhi central secretariat. The temporary government of Pakistan arranged to send all their employees, furniture, and records to Karachi. On August 7, 1947, Jinnah came to Karachi on 11 August 1947 first session of the Pakistan constitution assembly was held. On 13 August Lord Mountbatten and at the midnight of 13th and 14th August Lord Mountbatten gave all the official rights to Jinnah about Pakistan and on 15 August 1947, Jinnah took an oath of first governing general of Pakistan.<sup>23</sup>

### **Background of Shiromani Akali Dal:**

Punjab got different names at different times. From this land, Sheeri Guruk Nanak gave his preaching, messages, and other social works to all over the world. The Guru of Sikhs gave an open challenge to the British, Mughals, and even every ruler of Punjab. The movement of the Sikhs raised the voice for the pressed class of Punjab and gathered they're under the one flag.[1]

At the end of the 19th century, the picture of Punjabi Culture and the faces of its people faded day after day due to the strict policy of the British Raj towards them. In the Mughals, period fix faced so many ignorant and in the British rule they also ignored by British Government. At this time, the Sikhs movement raised named "Singh Sabah" this movement was established for the awareness

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<sup>88</sup> S. Qalb-i-Abid "Lahore Resolution and Punjab, in K. F. Yousaf, ed. Pakistan Resolution Revisited" *Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research*, 1990, 136-137.

of the Punjabi People. It was the wave to save religion and rights, but this movement was for the depressed people of Punjab. Sardar Thakur Singh Sandhawalia, Kumar Vikram Singh, Giani Sant Singh, and Professor Gromaik Singh got realized their fight against the most powerful opponent. They knew very well if they want to get victory in this war so, they must be faith in each other instead of weapons so that's the way they started to focus on the Sikh's religion and cultural unity.<sup>89</sup>

In 1892, Khalistan College Amritsar was established, and they were a massive sudden incident took place way the Sikhs took place first step of Sikhs' upbringing, and after this Sikhs came back to the ground of power. In 1902, Chief Khalsa Dewan was established, and it was also a part of this movement. Though the Singh Save Movement's main purpose was to save themselves first then stand for others like nation and country. They got realized that their Holy Places were not even under their control. The Gurdwara of Sikhs remained under the custody of the British Raj since, the Mughals Period. It happened when the first time Banda Bahadur Singh started to revolt against Mughals from the platform of Gurdwara. After the Gurdwara was sent under liberal Sikhs (Mahants) and started to use Gurdwara for their personal use and started to be organized overnight parties, dance, and many more unethical things. Their Sikhs Leaders got realized that they should be strong themselves and resolve their inner issues first and then fought for their country.<sup>90</sup> They took the decision that they had to release Gurdwara of Mahants and gave control to the pious category of Sikhs. Sikhs already fought against the Mughals and, now they are ready to take a stand against the British Raj from the platform of Religious and this way the main reason for the creation of Shiromani Akali Dal. After the incident of Jalan Walabehaj on April 14, 1919, in Punjab the Sardar Tara Singh, professor baba HardeejSingh, kirafarSingh gather the theKhalisaBarabadrityo raise their voice against this inhuman act. They also got some success in their mission,

The word Akali is too old in the history of the Punjabi language Sikh gurus use this word for positive things Sikhs also use this word during the Mughal Sikh war for the positive vibes Sikh forces raised the slogan of "Akal" and pretended themselves as anAkali forces. Now this word became trouble for the British government.

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<sup>89</sup> Qalbi-Abid, Muslim Politics in the Punjab: 1921-1947, 235.

<sup>90</sup> Civil and Military Gazette, (C.M.G) 24th October 1939.

15, 16 November 1920, a big public conference was held on the base of the Gurdwara Committee. The name of this Committee was Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandak Committee. It was an open announcement of war against inhuman acts. They forced the Delhi government to rebuild the Gurdwara's walls which were demolished by the Government to build the viceroy house. After this, the committee got a victory against the puppets of the British to leave Gurdwaras. The British knew very well about the dignity of the Punjabi People and their sacrifices for their lands against the outer effects, so, they tried to fear them because they had no idea about Gandhi's Non-cooperative movement might be going in the wrong way. Now, the Gurdwaras Committee got realized that they should strengthen their movement from all prospective.

They started to think according to the British though end on December 14, 1926. A big Singh meeting was held on Shiri Akal's end and rise the sun of Shiromani Akali Dal. Sardar Surmak Singh Chebal was the first elected president of the system of democracy of Punjab. Firstly, introduced in Gurdwara Parbandak, this was the big step. And in history, it was the very first-time women got the right to vote. The uprising of Akali Dal was the big fat problem for British Government in Punjab and this was a peaceful party. Tarn TaranGudwara, MashiGudwara, Sheikhupura, and Khadar Sahib, and many other places sent invitations to Akali Dal to restore the Gurdwara and they did peacefully. Instead, of the Akali Dal party, other common people also started to join their protest by using black cloth and ribbons. This black color was the sign of sacrifice.<sup>91</sup>

Mahant Narain Das uses the Gurdwara Nankana Sahib for the sake of their night shows. The cunning person crossed all the limits by doing an immoral act with Sikhs' women. On February 20, 1921, 150 soldiers of Sikhs reached Guru Nankana to restore the Gurdwara by Mahant Narain Das bodyguards killed them this Shiromani Akali Dal remained quiet and only took hunger-strike. When the new break then Akalis send another group of soldiers sent towards Nankana Sahib, but this time British were conscious and interrupted to control this injustice present situation by arresting the Mahant Narain Das and gave full charge under the Gurdwara committee, which was the big trend for the uprising of Gurdwaras Scheme after this Nankana Sahib incident. It is nature's law, the things which pressed more, that thing develop itself more.

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<sup>91</sup> Khalid Shamsul Hasan, "The Punjab Muslim League and the Unionists." 125

After the return of Nankana Sahib, the motivation of Akalis raised and the British became more considerate about them. Following 1922, the Akalis became more changeling for the government, government forbid keeping big swords and stated to arrest the Akali leaders with the blame of illegal Gurdwaras' capture. Bai Rekha Singh, Sardar Tara Singh, Sardar Taija Singh, and such type of other revolutionary leaders of Akalis imprisoned for a long time. Now, the Gurdwara movement came Infront of British Raj. November 7, 1921, the British Officials took the keys of Gurdwaras from their caretakers by saying this: these Gurdwaras are using for political purposes and propaganda against the government.

But, in return Akalis started to boycott British Government. It was a good move by the Akalis and later, the British lean in front of Akalis and realized all prisoners. and Tehsil Judge giving back keys in the hand of Sardar Kharak Singh after getting the keys Congress leaders, Gandhi sent first time a telegram to the Akali Leaders name Sir Kharak Singh that: you won the first battle of freedom. This act causes new ways toward freedom. The purpose of Akalis was just to realize the Guru Hoses and war against the British rule. The government tries to take revenge on their defeat of the issue of the key. Accused on the 5 Sikhs who cut the woods from Guru da Bagh Gurdwara. All the world started to criticize the British Raj in the sub-continent. It was also a big incident in the history of Punjab now British had only two ways to secure themselves from critics of the world. The first to release the arrested Akalis and second to send them far-way prisons.<sup>92</sup>

The news came in Panjo Sahib that hungry Sikhs prisoner would cross the area, Sikhs from that area decided to hostile that Sikh's prisons and stopped that train those had Sikhs. But train controller with his conscious side not stopped train for villager Sikhs to hostile prisoner Sikhs. As result, those who were on the track of the train were crushed under the train with shattered bodies. The train ended his track on destination. In the decade 1920 to 1930, the Shiromani Akali Dal was the only political party that was openly challenging British raj. [4]The Maharaja of RiboDewaan Singh Nabha was dismissed the British to realize the Alkalis of their mistakes.

29 September 1923, Akali started another session to send their 25 soldiers on the daily basis for the next 9 months to war against the British government. October 12, 1923 government declared that Shiromani Akali Dal and Gurdwara Parbandhank Committee both are illegal.[5] In reply, Akali send 500 soldiers to Jai aut o wall people started to join them, on Feb 21, 1924 thousands of

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<sup>92</sup>Sarfraz Hussain Mirza, "The Punjab Muslim Students Federation" *Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research*, 1991, 140.

Akalis reached Jaiat o wall but the police were behaving unhumanly with them by crossing all ways. Hundreds of Sikhs included men, women, and children killed in this big massacre. But the passion and fire of Sikhs for rights never lessen. Akalis decided to send another troop of 500 soldiers to war against the British. It was another big challenge for the government. Started critics on SAD. British fired Akalis, but they killed themselves with their gun. After 2 and half months, the British gave the custody of Jai to Gurdwara and remove all restrictions and ban from Gurdwaras. British gave all control of Gurdwaras.<sup>93</sup>

### **Sikh Gurdwara Act 1925:**

July 7, 1925, gurdwara bill was passed now the Mahanta's and government official had now no concern with gurdwaras and under the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee a new system was introduced by the Akali Committee to elect their members, their present member of the house, rights for vote cast and decide to how to elect the member of the executive, even all the responsibly was decided in 1925. For the first time in history, this act gave the right to women to cast their vote.<sup>94</sup>

In 1927, Akali people became popular not only in Punjab but also in the whole sub-continent. So, Akali became a powerful political party and they had won all the wars against them through Hook and crook. The democratic control wing of Akalis first raised the voice of freedom, because they thought only to conquer the keys of gurdwaras gave such identity to SAD if we do something for freedom of country there must be more beneficial. 1927 the Simon Commission came to the sub-continent almost all political parties boycott this Simon Commission and started protest with the slogan of 'Go Simon Go' but the Akalis organized a big gathering at Lahore with 30,000 people and more than 20,000 people were only Akalis. According to some pages of history, 80% were Sikhs who were die in this freedom fight of the sub-continent.<sup>95</sup>

### **Shiromani Akali Dal:**

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<sup>93</sup> Romesh Chandra, "Under Glancy Raj in Punjab: Rule of Terror to Bolster Unionists", *People's Age*, 10th February, 1946.

<sup>94</sup> Ian Talbot, "*Freedom's Cry: The Popular Dimension in the Pakistan Movement and Partition Experience in North-West India*" (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996), 86.

<sup>95</sup> Tanwar, Raghuvendra. *Politics of Sharing Power, the Punjab Unionist Party 1923- 1947*. New Delhi: Mandohar Publishers, 1999.



Shiromani Akali Dal (Supreme Akali Party) is a Sikh rights political party in Punjab state North-Western India. After Congress, this party is the oldest in India. It is founded on 14 December 1920. This party controls many Sikh religious parties and influential Sikh political parties worldwide. Sardar Sarmukh Singh Chubbal was the first president of a unified proper Akali Dal, but it became popular under Master Tara Singh.

From the mid-1920s the Shiromani Akali Dal was part of the Indian independence movement and its members participated in protests and civil disobedience programs. Due to Shiromani Akali Dal, 30 new newspapers launched only in the small-time range of 1920 to 1925.

Shiromani Akali Dal leadership of community had three main organizations:

Shiromani Akali Dal provide the devoting men as volunteer

Shiromani Gurdwara Parbaddhak Committee to manage the Gurdwaras (Holy place of Sikhs) The central Sikh League to provide leadership in provincial politics<sup>96</sup>

### **Aims of Shiromani Akali Dal:**

Their Primary mission remained the promotion and protection of the rights of the Sikhs minority. Shiromani Akali Dal demanded to utilize the product of Cash crops like Cotton, Sugarcane, oilseeds, etc. at the hand of traders should be stopped immediately. Because traders are not giving them a proper profit in fact; they took these Cash Crops from framers at very low prices and sold them at higher prices in the market. So, they demanded to decide by the government to sell these crops at remarkable prices.

Another purpose of this party was to save Punjabiya, Punjabi Regionalism, and Strong Federation Conservatism.<sup>97</sup> As Punjab was a land with high fertility and hardworking farmers due to high-rank politicians and leaders, they did not pay attention to this, and other provinces keep their bad eye on the water of Punjab. Shiromani Akali Dal also took steps to protect Punjab's water and show their opposition towards Sutlej Yamuna Link Canal.

### **Struggle of Shiromani Akali Dal:**

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<sup>96</sup> Sikandar Hayat, "*Aspects of Pakistan Movement*", Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad, 199, 242-245.

<sup>97</sup>Ibid,254

It was hard for any new emerging political party to stand where the other major parties are already in their power. But with the hardship and their impulse work led the party with the fame of separate and big party of Punjab. They used the term unbiased, but they showed many times their affection more for Sikhs that's why they faced hated from Muslim Framers as well. The population of Sikhs at that time in Punjab was 46, 51,205 which was quite large but still less than Muslims and Hindus.

### **Elections and Shiromani Akali Dal:**

Shiromani Akali Dal showed openly their support to Congress, but in elections, they always hold their separate place. First time in provincial elections in 1937, Shiromani Akali Dal took part and won 10 seats which was not a great victory but considered countable for the new party especially in such a main province, Punjab. While Shiromani Akali Dal tried to maintain relations but not fruition. In November 1945, Central Legislative Assembly held elections, these elections had their significance as all the parties in Punjab had different slogans and different points to support. The Central Legislative Assembly elections were surcharged the political parties for Provincial Legislative Assembly Elections 1946.<sup>98</sup> In provincial elections of 1946, Shiromani Akali Dal won 22 seats and annex the Unionist Party of Sir Khizar Hayat Tiwana and the Indian National Congress to make a secure side.

But, in 1947 Sikhs made a great turn on demands of the Muslim League (hand-over the area who was majority population of Muslims) and Indian National Congress (hand-over the area who was majority population of Hindus). Sikhs said that: if the partition of Punjab decided on this term, the government would face more crisis in the partition. Sikhs were demanding the partition of Punjab based on language, religion, and culture. By ignoring all prose and corms Punjab divided. During the migration, most of the people were killed around 2 and a half percent of the total population of Sikhs were murdered. All proposals were rejecting like Sikh Homeland. Akalis decided to live with India, Indian leaders promised to Akalis that they would be secure with Hindus and their fundamental rights would be protected.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Jan Talbot. "The Growth of the Muslim League in the Punjab, 1937-46 (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1993), 246.

<sup>99</sup> Romesh Chandhra, "Punjab Leaguers going to the People's War", 13th August, 1944.

Akalis leader: Master Tara Singh made new works after this and played all-important work for the Indian-Punjab. Those areas that were under Pakistan-Punjab, Master Tara Singh made argues and many of the areas allotted to Pakistan, against rejoined with Indian-Punjab.

### **Main Leader of Shiromani Akali Dal Master Tara Singh:**

Under the leadership of Master Tara Singh, Shiromani Akali Dal got main popularity. On 24 November 1885 he was born to a kithara family in Rawalpindi, district Punjab, British India. He was a religious leader and powerful politician. After completing his education, he was appointed as a schoolteacher and that's why people used the term Master with him. His strong desire to protect the rights of Sikhs led him to many odd circumstances even he was jailed. In Civil Disobedience time, he participated with great zeal and the government took many actions against him.

After seeing the motivation and concern of Master Tara Singh, leaders and founders of Shiromani Akali Dal decided to give him the leadership of Shiromani Akali Dal. He not only worked for Shiromani Akali Dal but also for Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (Supreme Committee of Gurdwara Management). In his leadership Sikhs in Punjab felt secure and especially the farmers who were down to earth and had no proper rights and had no proper facilities with all almost zero profit, Master Tara Singh came forward and saved their rights.

The concept of Pakistan was not good for Master Tara Singh he opposed the Lahore Resolution 1940. Till 1947, he was against the partition of the Sub-continent and thought that all nations can live happily and independently under the tag of one country.<sup>100</sup> He died on 22 November 1967 in Chandigarh.

### **Giana Kartar Singh as Primary Leader of SAD:**

In Chakk No. 40 Jharig Branch (Lyallpur District) at the house of Bhagat Singh, on February 22, 1902, Giana Kartar Singh was born. Ancestors of Giana Kartar Singh were from Juts of Khaitra basically from Amritsar and shifted to Lyallpur. From an early age, he was so sharp and talented. Giana Kartar Singh received his early education from the school of Gurudwara Village, in 1921

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<sup>100</sup> Romesh Chandra, "Under Glancy Raj in Punjab: Rule of Terror to Bolster Unionists", *People's Age*, 10th February, 1946.

for matriculation he joined Khalsa School. And got admission to Khalsa College, Amritsar for further studies but unfortunately, he was not able to receive a degree due to a smallpox attack.<sup>101</sup> As a single child of his parents, he got married at an early age. he had a keen interest in politics and religion, started his journey towards dreams. Giana Kartar Singh participated in politics from his school life even Giana Kartar Singh and his fellows showed their presence in a campaign arranged by the All-Indian National Congress. Even in 1920, with 20 other mates, Giana Kartar Singh went to the Sikhs Conference as a student. This was the conference that paved the way for Shiromani Akali Dal. In 1924, Giana Kartar Singh was appointed as General Sectary of Shiromani Akali Dal of Lyallpur District. Due to his overworking, he was imprisoned and got a punishment of 6 months. In 1926, he was elected member of the Shiromani Gurdwara Committee. On 30 October 1928, Giana Kartar Singh became part of the Black Flag rally against Simon with Slogan of “Simon, Go Back”. In Civil Disobedience Law, Giana Kartar Singh was imprisoned again for 1 year due to Antigovernment Speeches. In 1933 Giana Kartar Singh was elected member of the executive committees both Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee and the Shiromani Akali Dal. In 1942, he was the one who tried their hard to bring closeness and built relation of Shiromani Akali Dal and Muslim dominated Unionist party. Due to his diligent and supportive work all the time, Giana Kartar Singh was appointed as President of Shiromani Akali Dal.

### **Shiromani Akali Dal and Congress:**

In the Akali party, Congress has had the opportunity to continue its non-aligned program and strengthen its position in Punjab. To win sympathy for the Sikhs, Congress sent Jawaharlal Nehru, AT Gidwani, and K Santhanam to Jaito (Punjab), where the Akali were in a strong struggle against the authorities. Upon arrival in Jaito, Congress leaders were arrested. It was here that Nehru for the first time saw for himself what it meant to be in prison in the form of a monarchy. In a long-handwritten statement, Nehru attacked the authorities and the judiciary for their 'dishonest and crooked ways' and wrote his Akalis awareness in a statement written at the Nabha prison: I was in prison when the Gugu-ka-Bagh struggle fought bravely and was defeated by the Sikhs. I was amazed at the Akalis' courage and self-sacrifice and wished that I could be given a chance to express my deep appreciation for some form of service. This opportunity has been given to me

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<sup>101</sup> Balraj Sethi, “Congress, League, Communist Itihad ka Nateeja, Qaumi Jang”, 4th November, 1945.

now and I sincerely hope that I will prove myself worthy of their superior culture and their noble courage. [5]He remained Sri Akal.

While the common cause kept the Akalis and Congress united, but cracks emerged from their relationship by sharing political power in Independent India.

## CHAPTER 3:

### PUNJAB MUSLIM LEAGUE

The Punjabi Muslim conditions were miserable in comparison to other nations living in Punjab, the sub-continent. Religious progress remained slow in the early 20th century. But the Muslim Leaders had realized that now the time came when they had to develop themselves in the front of their opponents in Punjab. If we tried to be identified that our Muslim population was less than other neighbors in Punjab, then the answer was clearly 'No'. If we thought that personalization and nationalization importance less than other nations then the answer was still the same. Why were Muslims of Punjab not developing themselves? All Muslim majority areas of Punjab like Attock, Rawalpindi, Jhang, Multan, Mianwali, Sheikhupura, Muzaffargarh, and Deraa Ghazi Khan remained always in Muslim majority area and for Muslim's fortune in these areas, Muslims were stronger in population, wealth, and religiously. But the urban areas of Punjab, Muslims were quite weak.

In Arabic, History, Persian, Urdu Literature, and Philosophy Muslims had a great command on them. But for sorrow, Muslims were not knowing scientific education which bough space and even Muslims were not capable to face the British. The weakness of Muslims always gave the edge to Hindus because, Hindus being clever, they got the education of science with time and made progress in this way. With the time, the Punjab Muslims realized that they need such leaders who knew about Western Education, who know how to handle and lead the nations, had decision-making power, and such type of other abilities. If we observed the different areas of Punjab, then we realize that we had such leaders, but we had no such nation who took his actual status again and bring harmony for themselves.<sup>102</sup>

In some districts, in the early 20th century Muslims started to think about political association for Punjabi Muslims. They started to corroborate with each other for the welfare of Muslims. Now they noticed that their personal interest would harm the Muslim Nation. So, they started to resolute their personal issues and inner conflicts, to strengthen their relations and made their focus on only Punjab and organization of Punjab Muslim league.

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<sup>102</sup>Khalid, Shamsul Hasan. *The Punjab Muslim League and the Unionists*. Karachi: Ushba Publishing International, 2005.pg,13-18

## **Establishment of Punjab Muslim League:**

After the successful creation of the All-India Muslim League at Dhaka in December 1906, some eminent Punjabi Muslims like Justice Shah Deen who was a very famed Muslim Leader in Punjab had been thinking in terms of creation under the creation of Central Political Organization for the Punjabi Muslims. In early 1906, Mian Fazal e Hussain formed a Muslim Association by the name of Muslim League. Fazal e Hussain and Sheikh Umar Baksh were its secretary and president, respectively. Another popular Punjabi Muslim Sir Muhammad Shafi who was also active in the same direction got in touch with Nawab Waqar Ul Mulk and succeeded in the creation of the Regional Muslim league. The Punjab Muslim League created by Sir Muhammad Shafi was recognized by the Central Muslim League as the branch of the All-Indian Muslim League.<sup>103</sup>

After that they awarded members of the committee with different positions like the president of the League was: Shah din Khan Bahadur, the general secretary was Barrister Mian Muhammad Shafi, joint-secretary Sheikh Abdul Azeez (editor of Abzaror), and Maulvi Mehboob Allam (The Paisa Akhbar), Financial secretary was Sheikh Gulab Deen, assistant secretary Sheikh Jalal ud din and they also decided that they should be the vacant seat of vice president and assistant secretary. After completing this process Punjab Muslim league addressed Lord Mount Batten that we all want permission to give these honorable seats to our loved ones.[1] Punjab Muslim League started their work with more zeal and opened many new branches on the Local level of Punjab, different areas with different branches appreciate them and placed their presence in their every circle.

## **First Annual Session of Punjab Muslim League:**

From its initial time, the Punjab Muslim League (PML) declared that it would do its best to safeguard and protect the rights of Punjabi Muslims even the agenda of the first annual session of Punjab Muslim League to briefly discuss the main issues of Punjabi Muslims like: To resolve the issue of Urdu and Punjabi Language

- To discuss the conditions of Kashmiri Muslims
- To aware Muslims about education and trade.

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<sup>103</sup> Khalid, Shamsul Hasan. *The Punjab Muslim League and the Unionists*. Karachi: Ushba Publishing International, 2005.pg,21

- To separate the judicial and executive services.
- Government jobs for Muslims
- The Punjabi Muslims and reforms scheme.
- Separate seats for Muslims in Municipal and district boards.
- Appointment of Muslims in universities.

The session was presided by the Nawab Haji Fateh Ali Khan. From different areas, common people, branch leaders, presidents of different committees participated and made many new discussions for Punjabi Muslims. Different people from different areas came and passed new resolutions for the betterment of Punjabi Muslims.

It might be mentioned that Punjab Muslim League at that time was divided into two groups: The Mian Fazal e Hussain group was described as “progressive” and the Shafi group was known as “conservative”. The newspaper named: Zamindar favored the Mian Fazal e Hussain faction whereas the newspaper named: Paisa Akhbar supported the Sir Muhammad Shafi group. However, both groups (Progressive group and Conservative group) of Punjab Muslim league represented the school of thought of Punjabi Muslims. In 1907, the government of India tried to take the suggestion of various parties about additional reform. Punjab Muslim League already gave their suggestion on separate electorate or if joint electorate, what will be the proper ratio.<sup>104</sup>

The Punjab Muslim League also demanded 50% seats in Punjab legislative for their people. With the time their demands raised from various Muslim Associations and Organizations. Mian Muhammad Shafi, the PML leader also used his personal contacts with private secretary of Viceroy named: Col. Dunlop Smith to have a sympathetic hearing from the government on the issue of separate elections and it was due to these heavy efforts that government had to concede the Muslims rights to separate electorate in the Upcoming act of 1909 (Minto-Morley Act). However, the first thing, separate electorate were not named the part of the reforms in Punjab and secondly, elective system was introduced but its part was lower than another major Indian province.<sup>105</sup>

Punjab Muslim League continued its political campaign for the acceptance of their demands. At the same time, at All India Level demanded that the Muslim should try to settlement with Indian National Congress Party, differences with the Hindus had to be resolved so as get considered able

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<sup>104</sup> Khalid, Shamsul Hasan. *The Punjab Muslim League and the Unionists*. Karachi: Ushba Publishing International, 2005.pg,

<sup>105</sup> Ibidpg,52



importance? It was noticed that government was in no mood to cooperate and support the Muslim claims unless it came under massive great political pressure, the government had in fact hurt the Muslims sentiments by annulment of partition of Bengal in 1911, by refusing to establish a Muslim university, and by getting in conflict in the Wars of Balkans against Turkey (Ottoman Empire) in 1912.

The leaders of a progressive group of Punjab Muslim League named: Sir Fazal e Hussain, Peer Paj-ud-den, Khalifa Shahabuddin and Maulana Zafar Ali Khan had a good mutual relationship with the Congress party. In the movement of the Anti-British government, the Punjab Muslim League (Progressive Group) and Congress work together under the leadership of League-Congress to lead of independence of the Sub-continent. Even the Elite class of Punjab also supported this League-Congress movement for independence. Lucknow pact in history was a pact which brought many changes, as League and Congress both put aside their conflicts and made bound for sub-continent meanwhile nobody showed no concern for the likeness of Mian Muhammad Shafi.

Congress was ready to accept the system of the separate electorate not just only where they already existed but also their extensions into Punjab and C.P. In the Punjab and Bengal Muslims had to surrender their certain number of seats which were allotted 50% and 40% respectively to give the special position in their minority provinces of UP, Madras, Bihar, and Bombay. Mian Muhammad Shafi was totally against this kind of arrangement “give and take”. But generally, Punjab Muslim League was supporting the Lucknow Pact as a friendly settlement between Hindus-Muslim conflicts. Soon, the opponents of this pact were down to the background by the Punjab Muslim League, this was done for the Growth of the Muslims Movement in Punjab and its National interest. Later, Sir Shafi continued his opposition using the request that the Punjab Muslim League is no longer represented the Muslim opponent in Punjab since the Muslims were not even 56% representation in the Punjab legislature, even the Lucknow pact was only pointing out the intention to launch an Anti-British Movement. The daughter of Mian Muhammad Shafi named: Begum Jahanara Shah Nawaz, had also mentioned this point on different occasions in detail.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Sikandar Hayat, “*Aspects of Pakistan Movement*”, Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad, 199, 242-245.

On the other side, the Punjab Muslim league under Sir Fazal e Hussain had got complete faith in Lucknow Pact as the best possible arrangement for the Muslims of Punjab under the present circumstances. At the time Sir Shafi was willing to accept 50% representation in Punjab Assembly for Muslims but at the same time Sir Shafi was removed from the Vice-presidency of the Muslim League and his group was also disaffiliated and his place was given to the Sir Fazal e Hussain. The group of Sir Fazal e Hussain also got a prominent position without any difficulty creating the Punjab Provincial League. After a short term, Sir Muhammad Shafi has formed another organization named: Punjab Muslim Association, he was appointed as a member of the council of Viceroy, a prestigious office. The government knew too that Sir Shafi was not treated in the Muslim league cycle well so for making dispute in Muslim League, Government put him in Limelight and making him the public eye, this gave the pretty opportunity to Sir Shafi to make good relationship with the government officials. And for Sir Shafi, this was the turning point of his life.

This Lucknow Pact had historic importance as it was one of the pacts which made huge understanding between Congress and the Muslim League. Sir Fazal e Hussain was selected as Minister-in-charge of Punjab and continued this position for the next five years. The achievements of Sir Fazal e Hussain during this period were admirable. Punjab Muslim League, who was down in many fields, was able to gain confidence in Education and self-government by maintaining their standards with the progressive reforms of Sir Fazal e Hussain. The cooperation between of Punjab Muslim League and Sir Fazal e Hussain, gave dominating role to Punjabi Muslims in Punjab politics.

This cooperation was alarming for Hindus of Punjab because this created a whole mess for Hindus as Muslims became stronger with this reform. As a result politics in Punjab had been divided into purely communal lines, the Hindus members of the Punjab Legislature organized their alliance against Sir Fazal e Hussain to kick him out from the Punjabi legislature by proving to be more supporter of the Muslim community. At the same time, the Hindu press, and organizations begin demands of cancellation of all policies designed by Sir Fazal e Hussain to uplift his community.

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The revival of communalists in Punjab was so high that the nationalist leaders had to make some compromises. In March 1923 many Punjabi politicians named: Hakeem Ajmal, Moti Laal Nehru,

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<sup>107</sup> Deol, Harnik. “*Religion and Nationalism in India: The Case of the Punjab.*” London: Routledge, 2000.pg 34-36

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Sarojini Naidu, C.R. Dass visited Punjab and, in an effort, to find a suitable solution to existing communal problems in the province. On their arrival, the committee was formed, some paper works were done, and deputies were arranged on the point of communal issues, but all their efforts were failed to produce any desirable results. On the issue of a separate electorate in the Punjab legislature, Punjab Muslim League and Muslim Leaders argued against this suggestion that if the separate electorate was abolished, even their renounced leaders like Fazal e Hussain did not chance to win in the election of Punjab council.

Punjab Muslim league and Anju man e Himayat e Islam passed a resolution to retake trust and confidence in the policies of Sir Fazal e Hussain in Punjab. Khawaja Din Mohammad, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Malik Barkat Ali, Ch. Shahabuddin, Sir Abdul Qadir, and Peer Tajuddin were among those who have supported the line taken by Sir Fazal e Hussain. Especially Muslim press named: The Zamindar (Zafar Ali Khan), The Muslim Outlook, and the Paisa Akhbar (Maulvi Mahboob Allam) continuously defended the Muslim's point of view. Malik Barkat Ali, who was the prominent leader of the Punjab Muslim League also defending the policy of Sir Fazal e Hussain and answering Hindu-Sikh criticism against the Muslim minister by writing the articles in the civil and military gazette. Even the great opposition of Hindus and Sikhs, Sir Fazal e Hussain was reappointed by the Governor of Punjab with support of the Punjab Muslim League and other Muslim leaders of Punjab and their press. <sup>108</sup>

The dominated Hindu press published different articles and editorials against the reappointment of Sir Fazal e Hussain. On the other side, Muslims were enjoying their support for Sir Fazal e Hussain. As the result, the communal riots started for a long time in Punjab. Both communities of Punjab like Muslims and Hindu were so unkind and unfriendly to each other that Punjabi Hindus ignored the death of Muslims' great nationalist leaders named: Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar and in reply Muslims took no notice of the death of Pundit Moti Laal Nehru another great political leader of Hindus.[1] The communal conflicts were also noticed when the discussion started for further constitutional advances for India. With the efforts of Quaid e Azam and some other Congress party leaders, the government of India introduced more reforms, and their efforts paved the way for the appointment of a new reform inquiry community.

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<sup>108</sup> Hussain, Azam." *Fazli Hussain: A Political Biography*". Bombay: Longman, Green and Company Limited, 1946

## **Role of Punjab in First World War:**

After declaring the First World War, the Punjabi Legislative Council decided to fully support the empire of the United Kingdom, during the war against enemies, by showing their loyalty even the committee of all sects passed their resolution in the favor of war. The Ruler of Punjab, peasants and other classes had to participate in the war. The Punjabi Men-power always remained in the front during the war activities to protect the British and even they got success in gaining Bravery Tittles. Muhammadans of the North-west, the Juts of south-eastern refused to fight in the favor of the British Empire but continuously convincing by Lord Robert and Lord Kitchener they got convinced on the name of protection of Punjab and Sub-continent. After the outbreak of war, a big number of troops were raised from Punjab over one half of the Indian army were from Punjab <sup>109</sup> It was whenever the British army needs any manpower during the war on urgent bases Punjabi authorities turned their faces towards Punjab to ask for a quick positive response. The legislative council of Punjab always pleased them by sending a quick backup. In the initial days of the war, Punjab had about one hundred men of all ranks in the army but at the end of the war, no less than a million had served with their blood. According to the rough estimate, men raised from Punjab during the 4 years of war 3,000 to 60,000. Mostly the Punjabi Muhammadans gave their lives to protect the British Empire. On February 16, 1921, at the Rawalpindi H.R.H, the duke of Connaught said: the achievement of Punjabi People was indeed remarkable even before the war, Punjab had a name familiar in the military of the Empire. But during the war, she became the household world. Not on account of many men from Punjab who joined the colors but also on account of the splendid writing skills and remarkable bravery.

In 1914, the home government had asked for around 20,000 combats required in the last 4 months of the year. More than 28,000 ready and selected 14,000 came from the Punjab and 3,000 from Iran-frontier 3,000 from NWFP and rest of 8,000 came from remaining India, so it proved the actual bravery skills of Punjabi people and loyalty towards the government.

In 1915, 93,000 soldiers were enrolled from the sub-continent of whom 46,000 worked from the Punjab 14,000 from Nepal, and the remaining rest of the soldiers were recured from all around India. In 1916, 1, 04,000 competent enrolled of whom 50,000 were from Punjab 15,000 from Nepal

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<sup>109</sup> Nijjar, B. S. "*Punjab under the British Rule 1849 to 1947*". Lahore: Book Trader January 1, 1974, p, 17

5,000 from the tribal area of Pakhtuns, and the remaining 32,000 from the rest of India. At the end of 1918, Punjab which had started the war around 11lac soldiers in the army had supplied 1lac 10,000 out of the 1lac 92,000 men raised in India. All the rest of India sent only 68,000. The area of Pakhtun had only supplied around 15,000 meanwhile state of Nepal had supplied 83,000 only to making a great total of 2,25,000

During the war period, all the authorities of the province and whole machinery were concentrated on providing men for the army. A war league or recruiting board was established in every district of Punjab, with the deputy commissioner as a president. A few leaders, officials, and many non-officials or influencers as members of such board to help in distribution and raising the quota proposed for the district. In this way after a long investigation by the loyal expertise each district, each sub-division, each zeal, or circle of the village had regards to its male population of military age, and such numbers of ages already in the military and the condition of the committee totally about the recruiting amount of people.<sup>110</sup>

In the different tribes, cast, and committee of Punjab, the strongest way of appeal to get their favor to save their honors in the public durbars which way the traditional and oldest feature of oriental administration from the beginning of the war. They used to hold the system of durbars in every district for the war propaganda from July 1917, the government officials started to meet with prominent men of each distribution to maintain more relation with them. On the other hand, the government also rewarded the “raj and nawab” with numerous titles like; rai Sahib, Khan Sahib, robes of honor, swords of honor, guns, revolvers, complimentary sends (parchment rolls), inscribed with the name and services of the Rajpoot's cash rewards, revue free land to individuals and community and grants of government land.

In 1917, 1, 86,000 recruits were sent to the war for whom 85,000 from Punjab, 12,000 from Nepal, and the rest of 91,000 were appointed of the whole India, moreover in 1918 3, 17,000 men were raised to India for whom 10,000 from Nepal 1, 34,000 from Punjab, rest of 1, 83,000 from India. Some districts of Punjab were showing ultimate men power during the war. In April 1918 when the king of the UK sent about the rangers, he turned his face to Punjab again the proposal was formed according to the Punjabi recruitment boards but the central board to carry on by the voluntary method as long as possible The problem was solved by the armistice.[1] In the early 3 years, more than 60% were raised from Punjab instead of every other area of the sub-continent. In

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<sup>110</sup> Nijjar, B. S. “*Punjab under the British Rule 1849 to 1947*”. Lahore: Book Trader January 1, 1974, p, 24-27

this way, the war casualties of Punjab were more than any other province some different famous tribe leaders set an amazing loyal service for the British Empire like Sir Umar Hayat Khan, Nawab KhudaBaskh Khan of the famous Tiwana tribe, Nawab Gulam Muhammad Khan Ghaba, Ghulam Jilani Awan and His Niece, Malik Muhammad Amir Khan Awan Ghokkar and many others. From all the sects of Punjab gave their best and showed their loyalty towards government the Hindus notable the Ch. Laal Chand and Ch. Chotu Ram of Rohtak remained the minister of the Punjab legislative council during the war for the work for them. Among the Sikhs how gave remarkable help to the British Government like sardars, Ghapan Singh of Lodahana, Rajbir Singh and Aroua Singh of Amritsar, captain Gopal Singh of Gurdaspur, and Java Singh Ambala participated throughout the war. The princes of Punjab as a body render to give valuable help to Punjab Government to maintain inner peace and order. The King also appreciated the cooperation of the Raj of Punjab.<sup>111</sup>

At the end of the war, they did the most effective thing with the help of the prince to start a weekly newspaper named: the Khakk (right) edited by the mister Kitchener of I.C.S and Khan Sahib Abdul Azeez of the press department. This paper was published in English, Urdu, and Gurksmk languages more than 70,000 copies distribute on a weekly basis and the newspaper had such positive outcomes especially awareness among people of Punjab.

### **Hindu-Muslim relation 1909 to 1919:**

On the arrival of Lord Minto and his wife, the general secretary of Punjab Hindu Sabha passed a resolution in the favor and pleasing of Minto and Lady Minto. After the long pleasing of Lord Minto, they came on the real issue of Punjab, they told the authorities in their resolution that the damaging expected about the upcoming reforms in 1909 (Minto-Marly reform) the separate electorate is harmful to Hindu's survival in Punjab. They also appeal to the Lord to convey their demand to the British parliament to resolve their issues. They also narrate the story about the deduction of the dignity of other parties by accepting the demand of Muslims of a separate electorate in Punjab.

Moreover, they also said about the history of the last 50 years and recalled to the British the loyalty of Hindus towards the British Government and the goals, aims, and focus of both

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<sup>111</sup> Reinhardt, W. *"The Legislative Council of the Punjab, 1897-1912."* Duke University, 1968.pg,76

Hindus and Muslims remained almost the same. They also explained the services of Hindus Rajpoot, Juts, Sikhs, and Gurrakh in the British Army. In the under-light of all their relations, they can have a friendly discussion about the loop points of the 1900 Punjab act. They also shed light on the issues of Government jobs for Hindus.

On the other hand, Congress provincial league committee gave an application to the government of India by showing his opponent's argument on the issue of a separate electorate in the Punjab Legislative Council. They gave the idea and sketch about the distribution of seats, like 24 seats should be divided with 12 officials, 5 elected, 2 Muslims, 1 Hindus, 1 Sikhs 1 should be Punjab chairman Commerce, 1 should be European member, 1 should be selected from universities and 3 for the different municipality of provinces. According to the committee statement this act is handling for the Hindus and Sikhs to enter in viceroy and provincial council.

Arya Semaj also conveyed their messages and demands very silently even the activity of this party remained a mystery. It was a religious party of Hindus which was stable party than others, in August 31, 1908, this party had more than 3 lac of budget and their annual income was around 1.7 lac their only expenditure was 33 thousand the initial headquarter of this party was in Lahore this was very much active in Punjab and its activities. This organization also had a weekly newspaper name "Arya Patarka" and also a monthly magazine in Urdu named: "Arya Musafir". in this magazine they discuss not only the social issues of Punjab even also discussed the religious, literary, and ethical issues. <sup>112</sup>The leader of Arya Semaj named: Swami Dianand Sarsuti used all the platforms to convince the British about the cancellation of a separate electorate to Pandit Dianand claimed the government of India of anxiety of Arya's people. Arya's Semaj People started quitting the India movement in Punjab against the Muslims and Britishers, by criticizing them on the basis of religious classism.

Later, Hindus organized public meetings and different officials' sessions to promote their language and their ancient lectures based on religion. All Punjabi Hindus Party contributed to these sessions. The main purpose of this session of all Hindus of Punjab was to stand on one platform and raised their voices for them. <sup>113</sup>

The Hindus Sabah leaders discussed and recorded protests. They told the Viceroy in their address about the demands of them.

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<sup>112</sup>Reinhardt, W. "The Legislative Council of the Punjab, 1897-1912." Duke University,

<sup>113</sup>Ibid, 102

- The separation of seats in government jobs is not suitable for them.
- That effects of “Wakaf validity bill” in the Punjab.
- Weak points of reform scheme.

Viceroy also gave the reply to Hindus Sabah in some good and positive way by discussing the department of police, judicial, revenue, education, and bill of Wakaf validity and assured them that government of British made a look on this.

In 1911, the leader of Arya Semaj named Lala Lajpat rai wrote an essay in a magazine about the relation of Hindus and Muslims on 21 pages, and these pages showed his about the relation of Hindus and Muslims, and Lala Jee gave blame of this situation to both Hindus and Muslims and also gave the example of Muslims and Christianity good relation and suggested Hindus adopt such brotherly environment for Muslims to set an example. But on the other hand, the newspaper, which is belonging to Arya Semaj, used the term for Muslims as Robber Muhammadan and Murder Muhammadans. According to the generalist Lala Jee gave statement against the Urdu language in the educational session of Gokhalay and used trick words to aware the Hindus of Lahore their language the diplomatic strategy of Araya Semaj and their leader always creating a mess between Hindus and Muslims throughout the period of Punjab.

In Sheikhpura district Hindus were more than 1/3 population but the Sikhs community restricted Muslims on the Azaan even one day they came to the mosque with dirty shoes during prayer time and started to beat Muslims. Muslims were not able to do anything due to being in the minority, so they took help from the judiciary and got the permission of Azaan. <sup>114</sup>

Conflict of Batala district also gave a new direction of Hindus-Muslims conflicts of the Punjab province. The issue of the slaughter of cows in the main city was moved by tehsildar of officers under the pressure of Hindus. This was the main cause of Hindu-Muslim disputes, later, Muslims won this direction as Hindus Media used every bad word for Muslims.

Hindus of Punjab called a Hindus Conference to discuss same old Hindus demands and barrister Shadi Laal gave his presided address he said that the statement of Lala Lajpat Rai and his thoughts about the Hindus Muslims Conflicts. Moreover, he said about the serious issues of Multan city and even Hindus and Muslims that relation. They behaved so against it that they would not even buy anything from each other’s shop. In Hazara District riots also began on the Misbehave of Hindus with the religious’ Islam these riots were freaking damaging. Muslims looted 13 Hindu shops, 1

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<sup>114</sup> Reinhardt, W “*The Legislative Council of the Punjab, 1897-1912*”. Duke University, 1968,pg108-12



Dharam Shala, and this rush condition caused 12 Hindus and 2 policemen to be injured and control this situation authorities involved. Lieutenant governor Sir Gul Deen Bahadur also shed light on the unjustified conflicts of Hindus-Muslims in different areas of Punjab. And at a certain time, he suggested controlling the unpleasant condition of Punjab.

In 1916, Muslims applied to build a mosque in Lahore (MoochiDrawaza). Ch. Shahabuddin also took the side of this application, but Hindus Leaders raised their voices against this by saying we also want permission to build Temple in different areas of Punjab. In hostel of different Punjab universities, Hindus started to cook *Jhatka* Meat and in response, Muslim students started to cook meat of a cow. It was not acceptable for Hindus and conflicts started into another phase. The mosque built in Khalsa College was another rising issue between both nations. The authorities of Khalsa College took quick action and even Hindu media and newspapers reacted against this aggressively. The Punjabi Hindu leader Lala Jee was known as A Patriotic person, but his attention always remained on the betterment of Hindus. Even he ignored the misbehave of a mosque in Gurdaspur and after this incident, the riots began in different areas of Lahore but the statement which was given was totally against the Muslims. In that period Hindus and Muslims of the Lahore district started to fight on filling pots from wells. The issue became more severe day after day and the condition became worse in this period, they turned their faces to the court again and got justice on that issue. The Sikhs of Gawal-mandi also created big trouble on the issue of Azaan because Muslims were the minority in that area and did things that hurt the religious sentiment of Muslims. These all issues never did anything to solve conflicts of Muslims with other nations of Punjab.<sup>115</sup>

Mister Akbar Umar Sahib who always remained the ambassador of Hindus-Muslim's unity, came to Lahore and started to work to reunite the Hindus-Muslims. Even both opponent newspapers named "Hindustan" also welcomed him on the arrival at Lahore also mentioned his services in good words. He advised both Hindus and Muslims, that the people of Kohat were an example, how they were living together peacefully. In March 1918, an open session was held at Punjab presided by the Akbar Umar Sahib and put his efforts to bring Hindus-Muslims at one platform and united different faiths.

Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Khan also took part in this movement. Due to his effort after May 11, 1918 session of Punjab association club and relations of both communities came in positive way.

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<sup>115</sup> Salamat, Zarina. "*The Punjab in 1920s: A Case Study of Muslims*". Karachi: Royal Company, 1997

President of Punjab Muslim Club named: Mian Muhammad Shafi showed gratitude to all coming leaders because of the friendly environment a contract was signed. The Punjab Association Club was also presided Krishan Laal replied in a better way, later, Bahadur Pandit Saho Narain, Lala Jee, and Akbar Umar also gave their statement in their unity beneficial.

Under the supervision of Nawab Faith Ali Khan Sahib, Hindu-Muslim Association was formed with the underlying aims of solving the issues of Punjab especially common issues; water wells, religious conflict, classism, and bridging the gap between the different communities of Punjab. Mister Akbar Umar became a secretary of that association who gave his services on any platform to resolve the issues of Punjab.<sup>116</sup>

### **Jallianwala Bagh Massacre:**

Jallianwala Bagh has everlasting importance in Indian history because it holds a memorable incident in Amritsar, India. On 13 April 1919, Jallianwala Bagh Massacre happened, in which deliberately and brutally slaughter of many unarmed Indians by the British troops and left a permanent scar.

**“When a Great Power strikes defenseless people, it shows its brutality and its own weakness.”**

### **Background:**

Harmandir Sahib (Golden temple) meaning “residence of God” is only the chief spiritual place of Sikhs. In 1577, an artificial pool was completed by the fourth Sikh Guru, Guru Ram Das, and on his request, the inauguration ceremony was held by Mir Mian Mohammad who was the Muslim Pir of Lahore. This Gurdwara had always been targeted by Mughal and invading Afghan armies and rebuilt repeatedly. After that, Maharaja Ranjit Singh laminates it with gold foil and rebuilt it with Marble and copper, which led to the name of the golden temple.

### **Jallianwala Bagh Attack:**

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<sup>116</sup> Singh, Amarjit. *“Punjab Divided, Politics of the Muslim League and Partition 1935-1947.”* New Delhi: Kanishka Publishers, 2001.

On the afternoon of 13 April 1919, a huge gathering of people, at least 10,000, at Jallianwala Bagh. Some of them had come for the Baisakhi, a spring festival of Sikhs, and some were there to stand up against British policy. A person in charge was Brigadier-General Reginald Dyer; a military commander of Amritsar arrived at Jallianwala Bagh along with its British army and sealed its exit point. They opened fire on the crowd without any warning and killed many innocent souls. Reportedly, their shooting lasted about 10 minutes until they ran out of bullets. According to official British Raj sources, 379 people were killed, 1000 deaths and more than 2000 were wounded by the other sources. Civil Surgeon Dr. Smith said, there were 1526 casualties. After that, troops withdrew from the place, leaving behind the dead and wounded<sup>117</sup>. Dyer was highly praised by the British but criticized by the Government of India (Punjab). The only punishment was given to Dyer for his actions, to be removed from his current position and returned to England.

### **Effects of Jallianwala Bagh Massacre:**

This incident was followed by the proclamation of Martial Law in Punjab, because of public floggings and other humiliation. Gandhi decided to organize his first large-scale and sustained non-violent protest campaign, the non-cooperation movements (1920-22).

### **The communities of Punjab 1920-1930:**

From 1920 to 1930 the leaders of the All-India Muslim League, Congress tried to communicate with the Unionists party (dominating party of Punjab) to resettle the communal issue of Punjab land and put their suggestions in front of the government. On the other hand, the government of India had been doing its business and getting in touch with the provincial (regional) level government about further reforms in India. The Muddiman committee met in Shimla on August 4, 1924, to resolve the issue between the Muslim League and the Unionist party, which was proved to be a good omen for the revival of the PML. Malik Barkat Ali played an important role in the Muddiman committee, so the committee published its report in December 1924. The conclusion of the committee was based on some points like the Muslims of Punjab controlled the Punjab Affairs not affected. After this report and resolution of Punjab Muslims in 1924 directly counted

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<sup>117</sup> Tanwar, Raghuvendra. *Politics of Sharing Power, the Punjab Unionist Party 1923- 1947*. New Delhi: Mandohar Publishers, 1999.

all propaganda of Hindus-Sikhs. Lala Lajpat Rai and other extremist leaders of Hindus were frustrated after this.

All these critical situations did not weaken the aims of the Punjab Muslim League. The 17th annual session of the All-India Muslim League in 1925 freely endorsed the major demands of the Unionist party like the Muslim majority in the Punjab assembly and the retention of the separate electorate. The leaders of PML also demanded that government should also appoint the royal commission to suggest the introduction of local self-government in Punjab.

In 1926, Punjab governor Sir Malcolm Hailey had a good relationship with the Punjabis Hindus and on the behalf of their suggestions, he excluded the Muslims from his cabinet. The Punjabi Muslims recorded them passionately protest this decision. On the emphasis of Abdul Qadir Azeez, Sir Fazal e Hussain was appointed as revenue minister in the Punjab government. Similarly, the delegates of other provinces also started to support the Muslims' cause. Other Muslim leaders like Sir Raheem from Bengal and Sir Shifat Ahmed Khan from the united provinces recorded their protest and due to their involvement, the government acted and appointed other members to the cabinet.<sup>118</sup>

At that time, the All-India Muslim League and unionist relations were getting stronger day after day. The leaders of both communities Hindus and Muslims had to resolve the conflicts. Congress called the session on March 17, 1927, and Muslims also met at the house of Dr. Mukhtar Ahmed on the same day. As a result, they thought about the soft decision on the separate electorate and gave the proposal named: Delhi Proposal. On March 20, 1927

In the session, the All-India Muslim league surrendered their demands about the separate electorate, and it was a great obstacle towards Hindu-Muslim Unity. Mian Muhammad Shafi was agreed with the decision of Jinnah on March 20, 1927, but after the meeting with the governor of Punjab named: Sir Malcolm Hailey. He changed his mind and started to convert PML against Jinnah's point of view.

The Mashaba's Leaders also opposed and rejected the Delhi proposal, which indirectly gave confidence to Sir Shafi to work against the Jinnah's legal and constitutional authorities. From mid-May 1927, Sir Shafi and his followers (named: Allama Iqbal, Sir Abdul Qadir, and Sir Feroz Khan) were now able to completely hijack the PML. The Unionist party sent Sir Zafar ul Khan and Sir

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<sup>118</sup> Tanwar, Raghuvendra. *Politics of Sharing Power, the Punjab Unionist Party 1923- 1947*. New Delhi: Mandohar Publishers, 1999

Shifat Ahmed Khan to London as gave an impression to the government that the Muslims were opposing the Delhi proposal and they are now no longer a follower of Jinnah. Thus, the All-India Muslim League was broken mainly into two fractions: Calcutta league (Jinnah Group) and Lahore League (Shafi Group), before the royal Statutory commission was appointed.

At the same time, the Simon Commission was announced. It was a huge shock for all Indian Nationalists, and they also started to raise their voices against the commission because no one from India was included their companion. The governor of the Punjab Sir Hailey due to his high administrative abilities convinced some Punjabis to welcome the commission but some Punjabi leaders like Malik Barkat Ali, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Dr. Safi ud dean Kitchlew, and Dr. Muhammad Alum have opposed the commission and Anti-league moved by Sir Shafi and his associates. The government did not pay any attention to the opposition and continued their focus on the Shafi group by accepting it as only and truly representative of Muslims. Sir Shafi gave another effort to give the leaders of AIML in Lahore session to support the Simon commission but Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Dr. Kitchlew and Raja Sahib Mehmood Abad, who were not ready to trust the policies and saying of Sir Shafi.

To discuss and solve the present issue Jinnah called a separate official meeting of the league council on December 11, 1927. The government was not ready to collaborate with Muslim leaders and such leaders who were opposing the Simon Commission. As a result, Muslim League was divided into two pieces. Both groups held their sessions on the same date.

In the Calcutta session on December 30, 1927- January 1928 passed a resolution denouncing the Simon commission and the Punjabi group was also criticized for rebellious attitude against the league leaders and creating the split in the Muslim community. As a result, the Punjab Muslim league disaffiliate, and the people of Punjab asked to constitute the ML which was representative of the Muslims appoint. On the other hand, the Shafi group did not organize a successful session on 30 December 1927- January 1928 even the leaders of the Khilats leaders group named: Ch. Afzal Haqq and Dr. Muhammad Allam gave some rude and unkind remarks on the policies and leaders of Shafi. As a result, the Punjab legislature made a committee to cooperate with the Simon commission, but they faced many interferences due to the involvement of the government of Punjab. It was solved amicably.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Singh, Amarjit. *Punjab Divided, Politics of the Muslim League and Partition 1935-1947.* New Delhi: Kanishka Publishers, 2001

## **Nehru Report 1928:**

At the time, when Punjab group was in the processing of electing its committee to help the Simon Commission and on the other side, the royal Statutory committee was making its preliminary investigation, the All-India Leaders who had decided to boycott the policies of Simon Commission were making efforts to present a draft of a new constitution by themselves for India, as they had once done in Lucknow pact 1916 by evolving an agreeable solution. But unfortunately, the communal issue became more complex to satisfy the three major communities (Hindu, Muslims, and Sikhs). Finally, all parties' conference met, the Nehru committee assembled and resembled and eventually published its report. It was a surprising decision for all when some Punjabi leaders were ready to get their blessing to the Anti-Muslim Nehru report. However, the unionist leaders strictly rejected the report and quickly prepared the document on the demand of Muslims, and even they also presented their views before Simon's commission.

Anti-Muslim Nehru report was completely failed to get the Muslim report. At that time AIML spacing threaten because of some Muslims Leaders but trying to revolve the All-India Muslim League and they got the success to establish their own party in parallel with AIML named All India Muslim Conference because of the close relation with the government.[1] This conference got high success to weak the AIML. A previous analysis showed that the Nehru committee tried to show that Jinnah is not representative of Muslims, and his views/demands did not deserve the attention of the government of authorities. The situation was unpleasant and damaged the credibility of ML as the political party. The Punjabi group and their supporters had switched their loyalties to the newly established Muslim conference which was quite a natural and common phenomenon of the politics of Muslim History after all this drama Muslim League took a lot of time to regain its position and respect.<sup>120</sup>

## **Allama Iqbal:**

On 9 November 1877 in Sialkot born at the house of a pious and generous human being: Nur Muhammad. He got his religious education first, from Madrassa where he met Sir Mir Hassan. On request of Sir Mir Hassan, Iqbal's father send him to college to gain faculty of arts diploma in 1895. That year, Iqbal married Karim Bibi and had one daughter and one son. Due to unhappy

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<sup>120</sup> Salamat, Zarina. *"The Punjab in 1920s: A Case Study of Muslims"*. Karachi: Royal Company, 1997

marriage status, they divorced in 1913. In 1914, Iqbal remarried but after 10 years her wife with a newborn baby boy died after birth. In 1924, Iqbal finally tied the knot with Sardar Begum who became her last wife and they had 2 kids. In 1895, Allama Muhammad Iqbal got admission to Government College Lahore where he studied English literature, Urdu, and Philosophy and obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree. After winning the gold medal in Philosophy, Iqbal came under the influence of Sir Thomas Arnold. With help of Sir Thomas Arnold, Allama Iqbal traveled to Europe and spend many years there studying, gained a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1907 from Cambridge, and completed a Law degree from Lincoln's Inn in 1908. In Europe, Iqbal started to write in Persian as he used to say he felt more comfortable in the Persian language. In the last months of 1908, Iqbal was elected as the executive committee of the British chapter of the All-Indian Muslim League. With Syed Ahmed Bargharmi and Syed Ameer Ali, Iqbal worked together for the All-Indian Muslim League.

When the All-India Muslim League extended to the provincial level, for structural organization of the Punjab Muslim league Shafi played the main role. There Iqbal was one of the first three joint secretaries along with Mehboob Allam and Sheikh Abdul Aziz. With law and poetry, he was an active member of the Punjab Muslim League. He has not supported India in World War 1 and stayed close in touch with Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Muhammad Ali Johar. When Muslim League separated into two parts this separation disappointed Iqbal deeply. In Khilafat Movement 1919, Iqbal was one of the main activists to hold this movement. In 1920, Iqbal founded Jamia Millia Islamia at Aligarh.

In 1926, with the support of friends and family Iqbal, presented himself in elections of Punjab Legislative Council from Muslim district Lahore and defeated opposition members by a great victory. [2]With time, Iqbal felt that Jinnah was far better for Muslims' rights than Fazal e Hussain and Mian Muhammad Shafi. Iqbal worked for a long for Punjab Muslim League as he criticized every negative step of Jinnah does not show privileged support to anyone as well, he was against the act of the Jinnah-Sikandar pact 1937, as he thought that Sikandar Hayat was not supporting Muslims or Islamic values. As president of Punjab Muslim League on 29 December 1930, an afternoon of Monday at 25th annual session of All India Muslim league delivered an address known as Allahabad Address leading best-known in Pakistan history.

### **Allahabad Address, 1930:**

After Sir Syed Ahmed Ali Khan, Iqbal was the one who spoke openly about the Two-Nation theory. In Allahabad Address, Iqbal mainly mentioned the importance of a separate state for that nation who is different in races, culture, customs, traditions, languages, and especially in religious values. As a separate state, he said that Punjab, NWFP, Sindh, and Baluchistan had Muslims majority areas and these areas would be created as a country under separate leadership of Muslims. Muslims were not enjoying their religious Identity and rights even they were suppressed by Hindu's cunningness and British Raj. Islam values were not protected in the Joint-India and there must be separate ideas that hit the minds of both nations. As Iqbal always emphasized to take decisions and to live according to Islamic values and rule, he wasn't satisfied with the ruling British and laws of the ruling nation.

As Iqbal also was afraid of the origin of Islam as Christianity and Islam had similarities and if both these nations would live together this may cause them to forget about the real origin, as it was known to everyone that Muslims were a suppressed nation in the Sub-continent so there were more chances of suffering for Islam. And in Allahabad's Address, Iqbal shed light on this alarming issue too. He also added, if the sub-continent was blessed with good leadership then we could see peace otherwise, this effective large area of Asia not only would affect itself but also would disturb the continent of Asia, politically and regionally.

Iqbal made a clear view of Muslims non-commissioners in the army, he stated that to make a count you could see that from Punjab majority were Muslims who gave their lives for this area and this also made a clear line that Muslims are the majority in these areas from where they were selected in the army, so it is right of Muslim to be at a safe place without fear of their losing their lives, property, and religion. As the demand for a separate state wasn't only about getting a piece of land for Muslims but it was an essential need of Indian Muslims as well. More than 70 million Muslims were living without having basic rights.<sup>121</sup> He mentioned that faith, culture, and historical traditions are more important than patriotism. Allahabad Address by Allama Iqbal was known as a logical representation of a Muslim separate homeland and their case. His Address raised awareness among the Muslims of the subcontinent.

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<sup>121</sup> M. Rafique Afzal, *"A History of the All India Muslim League: 1906-1947"* (Karachi:Oxford University Press, 2013),



## Round Table Conferences

The Muslim League was suffering more setbacks since Government gave free hand to the Punjab group to nominate the representative of the upcoming round table conference, which was supposed to be held in London. First RTC started its session from November 12, 1930, to 19 January 1931. The main purpose of the first RTC was to settle down the issues of Punjab and Bengal communal and political issues like the separate electorate in the legislature etc. The first effort was failed due to the major three political parties were not convinced.

The second RTC which was held in September 1931 was also failed, even the Government tried its best to resolve the issue between all three political parties to gather them on the same platform. A light of hope came when the British PM, Ramsey MacDonald planned to Government itself to settle down the major issues. So, the PM announced a communal award on August 4, 1932. The Hindu extremities took that decision with a hard hand and recorded their protest the MacDonald award.

In September 1932, the viceroy announced the final conclusive session of the third RTC from November 17 to December 24, 1932. To prepare the blueprint of the upcoming Indian Constitution but the irrelevant demands of Hindus and Sikhs also caused the cancelation of the RTC. As the result of these parties' conflicts, all the RTCs were not fruitful for the Indian upcoming constitutional framework. In response, a white paper was published in March 1933, and later, the matter was taken up by the joint selected committee which was headed by Lord Linlithgow. At the same time, some efforts were made in Punjab to resolve the present conflict through negotiation, but the results remained the same.<sup>122</sup> Due to the weak position of the party, the Punjab Muslim League leaders couldn't play an important role.

### **Provincial autonomy and Punjab Muslim League (1935):**

In that phase, AIML was not in that position and even the PML leaders also lost their hopes, on the other hand, Unionist leaders were dominating in Punjabi Muslims, so this was the reason that the Unionist party had no complaints, either the Government was ignoring their party interest. Now, the Government itself observed that the communal award had become a permanent feature of the Indian act 1935. After that, AIML also started reestablishing and reorganizing under the

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<sup>122</sup> M. Rafique Afzal, "A History of the All India Muslim League: 1906-1947" (Karachi:Oxford University Press, 2013),

supervision of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah.<sup>123</sup> On the other side, the Punjabi leaders also began to breathe and looking for fresh air and started putting efforts for their revival. The Shahid Gang Mosque issue gave a chance to Jinnah and Punjab league to improve their position. The Mosque was an old dispute between Muslims and Sikhs for its ownership, since the days of their rule in Punjab. In the year 1935, for the first time, they took a decision to demolish Mosque which led to a serious condition and civil war was imminent. Jinnah was requested by the Muslim leaders to intervene in the situation. So, as to overlook any possible civil war. Finally, Jinnah successfully generated a better atmosphere between the Muslims and Sikhs.

Now, the league leaders had realized that some solid step must be taken to revive the Punjab Muslim League and reorganized the league in Punjab. It was quite a difficult task for the league leaders to organize the PML without the help of Unionist leaders. So, slowly Jinnah tried to establish connections with the Unionist leaders but, it had no worth. The League leader invited Sir Fazal-e-Hussain to preside the upcoming league session but, he refused on the behalf of Unionist party. Jinnah availed another chance in April to form an alliance with Unionist leaders but, their attitude remained the same.

The league leaders were freaking disappointed in the refusal of Unionists. But they got some positive favor from the small political groups of Punjab like Ahrars and the Majlis-e-itehad-e-Milat due to the Urban Muslim Leaders (Allama Muhammad Iqbal, Malik Barkat Ali Sahib, Mian Shah Nawaz Mumdot, Shujaudin, Mian Abdul Aziz, Malik Deen Muhammad, and Pir Tajuddin) who took the charge of the political activities. In Mid May 1936, the league has announced the membership of the Central Parliamentary Board. The total number of members was 56 from all the provinces, 11 from Punjab (Allama Muhammad Iqbal, Mian Abdul Aziz, Ch Afzal Haq, Raja Ghazanfar Ali, Syed Zain ul abdi n, Ch Aziz, Ghulam Hussnain, etc.). After their joining, the financial condition of the Muslim League was getting better, and they started to conduct the public awareness seminar. The central parliamentary Board held a session to discuss the elections.<sup>124</sup> Now, the Muslim Leagues just started focusing on the reorganization of the PML in the competition of Punjab Congress and Unionists which were already popular and strong enough in the Punjab politics.

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<sup>123</sup> Ibid,23

<sup>124</sup> Shamsul Hasan Khalid, *“The Punjab Muslim League and the Unionists”* (Karachi: Ushba Publishing 8 International, 2005),

On the other hand, Unionists already started their political campaign with a full focus on Punjab areas. But sadly its leader Sir Fazal-e-Hussain died in July 1936. Before his sad dismissal, there was a race for a premiership of Punjab between Sir Sikander Hayat Tiwana and Sir Fazal-e-Hussain. After the lead of Sir Sikander in this race but unfortunately, on the dominant policy of the Unionist leader allowed Sir Fazal-e-Hussain to elect as the Party leader of the Unionist party and after his death, Sikander Hayat got a chance to become his successor and party leadership. As per the expectation, Muslim League lost badly in the provincial Punjab election. Unionists got 90% success on the Muslim seats and got success on the rural Hindu seats. Muslim parties like the Punjab Muslim League, Ahrars, and Majlis-e-itehad-e-Milat failed poorly each won only 2 seats in the Punjab Assembly.

### **Punjab Politics 1937-1940:**

There were only 63 political parties in the Sub-continent during the British Raj. The non-communal party, the Unionist party was formed in 1933 and it was the most dominant in the Punjab province till 1946. After the addition of communal award 1935, the unionist became most strong. However, apart from this party, 13 more political parties were contributing to the political stage of Punjab from 1923-1947. PML was not much stronger in the 1937 elections as Jinnah put all his effort to strengthen the PML in 1936 but all in vain. The PML downfall started in 1930 and Jinnah also left the AIML and started to live in England. On the other hand, Sir Agha Khan gave his hand to Unionist leadership and started to support on a financial basis. In 1935, things suddenly changed, and Jinnah came back and reorganized the AIML. Jinnah invited Sir Fazal-e-Hussain to preside in the session but, due to his political party pressure, he had to refuse to Jinnah. 1937 elections started with the submission of nomination papers in November 1936 and polling was planned from December 1936 to January 1937.<sup>125</sup>

The most dominating Unionist Political party had great popularity in the rural areas of Punjab and the League couldn't succeed to gain popularity in Punjab. Seven members fought for PML and out of seven, only 2 got success i.e. Malik Barkat Ali and Raja Ghazanfar Ali. After the success of the Unionist 1937 elections, Raja Ghazanfar Ali turned his loyalty and left the PML.

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<sup>125</sup> Shamsul Hasan Khalid, *"The Punjab Muslim League and the Unionists"* (Karachi: Ushba Publishing International, 2005), 8

The results of the 1937 elections were not shocking for all because everyone knew the popularity of Unionists and the weak position of the League. Unionists won 73 out of 75 Muslim rural seats and after the Muslim League realized the significance of countryside politics for them.<sup>126</sup> And other interesting aspects came under the light after the election of 1937. The Indian National Congress got only 23 Muslim seats even they launched 57 candidates on the Muslim seats in this way their claim about the only representative party of the Muslims and all communities of India turned wrong. So, congress couldn't get 50% seats. Unionists said,

**“the only redeeming feature for the League was that the performance of the Congress in the Muslims majority areas was also not impressive.”**

### **Results of 1937 Elections:**

The immediate impact of the 1937 elections particularly referencing AIML's bold entry into the Arena of regional politics. After the bad defeat of the 1937 elections, Jinnah kept 3 factors and Muslim League came back into the politics.

- He was the only Muslim leader who faced the congress leadership on equal terms.
- Jinnah developed friendly relations with Muslim families which maintained the political position effectively.
- He started to trust the Punjabi Leadership like Ahmed Yar Daultana who performed a vital role in the Jinnah-Sikander pact.

A realistic cognizance of the political dynamic was the reason for the league on its feet in the Punjab province. That's why the Muslim League did not lose its confidence and started reorganization under the leadership of deft Muhammad Ali Jinnah.<sup>127</sup>

The Unionist Muslim Leader held a session and noted the complaints of the congress leaders specially Jawahar Lal Nehru. So, in response to the irrelevant attitude of the congress leaders, Sir Sikander Hayat signed the Jinnah-Sikander pact in October 1937. In this session, Muslim leaders delivered anti-Congress speeches, but the most concluded result of this session was the Jinnah-Sikander pact. The Unionist leader agreed to be led by the Muslim league on all

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<sup>126</sup> Ibid,44

<sup>127</sup> Singh, “Amarjit. *Punjab Divided, Politics of the Muslim League and Partition 1935-1947*”. New Delhi: Kanishka Publishers, 2001pg,

Indian matters and the league gave free hand to the Unionist party to decide on a provincial level. Sir Sikander also agreed to suggest all members join it and he also had a second thought of that pact declaring that this pact was not being to upset the status quo in Punjab. <sup>128</sup>

Sir Chottu Ram and the Governor of Punjab pointed that this pact is a political mistake done by the Punjab premier (Sir Sikander Hayat), their estimate proved correct because the Sikander came under the criticism of non-Muslims leaders of the Unionist party. The Muslim political Pandits who were jubilant also criticized Sir Sikander when he changed his political position. The Punjab Muslim League gave their statement against the Punjab premier and sent a letter to Jinnah about the attitude of non-Muslims of the party and it became difficult to reorganize PML. Sir Sikander also directly interacted with the Jinnah, and he gave justification about their efforts to upbringing the PML. So, the Jinnah did not respond to any statements and letters which were written by the PML leaders against Sir Sikander.

Allama Muhammad Iqbal died on April 21, 1938. Sir Shah Nawaz Momdat became the new president of the PML. He was also a landlord like Sir Sikander both had good family relations and links with the Governor and their lack of interest in the progress of PML was informed by Malik Barkat Ali to the Jinnah. Now the Jinnah was also waiting to take any action against all Punjabi leaders at the right time. Jinnah advised Malik Barkat Ali and its Associate to utilize the available resources to upbringing the PML by themselves and supported the Unionist point of view for some time and reasons. <sup>129</sup>

### **Shahid Ganj Mosque:**

The dispute of Shahid Ganj Mosque was an important issue for the survival of the Punjab Ministry and even the High Courts have already stated Muslims. The Ahrars and Itihad-e-Milat-e-Islam prepared to launch an agitation. All Muslim leaders used their power and links in the Punjab assembly to obtain the legislative measure to over right the court decision. All the circumstances making difficult for the Sikander, and the situation led to civil war. Sir Sikander tried to settle down the situation by asking the help from the PML. And once again, AIML gave full support to Sir Sikander Hayat on the dispute of Shahid Ganj Mosque. The favor of AIML was

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<sup>128</sup> Ibid,21

<sup>129</sup> Singh, "Amarjit. *Punjab Divided, Politics of the Muslim League and Partition 1935-1947*". New Delhi: Kanishka Publishers, 2001pg,

highly appreciated by the Punjab premier and after that, he declared that now the Muslim Unionists can join the Muslim League party in Punjab.

### **Agrarian Reforms:**

The dominating party of the Punjab Unionist introduced four agrarian reforms and the PML gave full support to these reforms. More surprisingly, Malik Barkat Ali also supported the Unionist point of view about the reforms in 1938. These 4 reforms benefit the bulk of the rural population in Punjab. Sir Sikander wanted these bills earlier but due to the Mosque issue, the matter was delayed. Sir Sikander and his party fellows like Sir Chottu Ram, Ahmed Yar Daultana, and Mian Abdul Haye tried their best to popularize the reform all over Punjab. It was not an easy task for Sir Sikander Hayat to put these bills in assembly because these bills represented the agrarian community of the rural people.

The Urban Non-Agrarian Hindus were not ready to accept, and Punjab Congress and Mahasabha Party also opposed these bills. But, after the social program benefited the Lower class, the Congress had to accept these bills. But on the other hand, Leaders of Hindu Mahasabha were not in favor of these bills, and even the one member of this party Raja Narendra Nath resigned from the assembly position by considering these bills as BLACK BILLS. His close friend Ahmed Yar used his power against Sir Sikander Hayat, but PML remained in favor of Sir Sikander Hayat in this situation.<sup>130</sup>

The opponent of Sir Sikander started to support the dissident group in the Punjab assembly. Some dissidents had deserted their party, and some joined the Congress rank. Congress started to make fun of Sikander and celebrated the joining session of 61 members. Malik Barkat Ali also wanted to join the opponent group of Sikander, but the League authority not allowed him, and even the league ordered Malik Barkat Ali to give services under the supervision of Sir Sikander. Muslim League was disliking every single step which was taken against Sir Sikander Hayat. After continuous support and encouragement, Sikander Hayat got his fame back. In October 1938, Muslim League conducted a session and launched a campaign against Congress. Now the premier of Punjab gave full and open support to the Muslim league campaign, even in his speech he

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<sup>130</sup> W. W. Reinhardt, "the Legislative Council of the Punjab, 1897- 1912" (Duke University, 1968), 236-37.

criticized the policies of Congress, and later in the Patna session, he only criticized. Similarly, during his Presidential speech at the Bombay Muslim League Conference (May 1939). Sir Sikander used harsh words against Congress.<sup>131</sup> He welcomed his associate and Parliamentary secretariats to attend these sessions.

## **Second World War:**

However, there had been different opinions on different issues between the Muslim League and Sir Sikander, for example, Sikander totally supported the British War efforts and tried hard to convince the Muslim league authority to commit itself without precondition to support the British. The PML leader criticized the Sikander statement, but the AIML gave his clear statement in the favor of Sikander. The war began on September 3, 1939, and on the same day, Lord Linlithgow declared Indian people would participate in the war and Sikander also supported this announcement. The Punjabi Congress was the only big hurdle for Sikander, and they demanded Government officials about their main objective of war. Lord Linlithgow stated, cool down the Congress, but it was rejected by the Congress by describing it as a reiteration of the old imperialistic policy. In protest, the Congress ministry gave resign but the Punjabi Congress opposed the decision by saying the resignation means a clear all ways for PML and Unionists.<sup>132</sup>

The political scenario changed dramatically after the resignation of Congress ministries eight out of eleven provinces. It was a golden opportunity for the league leaders and Jinnah avail this opportunity in the best way and got so much advantage from this. Now the AIML was raised as the sole representative party of Indian Muslims. AIML took a pretty advantage under such circumstances. After Congress realized its mistake, Congress started to support Jinnah's point of view which was anti Government. But Jinnah refused to take their help. Now, Jinnah had only the one major demand that Congress must accept him as a sole spokesman. Jinnah declared the "of Deliverance" on December 22, 1939, and thanksgiving of relief that the Congress rule came to an end.

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<sup>131</sup>Ibid,43

<sup>132</sup>David Gilmartin, "Religious leadership and the Pakistan Movemethn in the Punjab" in India, Partition: Process, Strategy and Mobilization, ed. Mushirul Hassan (Delhi: Oxford University Press 1993)

## 1940-1945:

The next biggest and splendid move by the league leaders was the passage of the Lahore resolution (March 1940) later known as the Pakistan Resolution. The entailed of historic resolution this membership of Punjab and division of India into Hindu and Muslim States. League tried hard to promote the Pakistan scheme in Punjab with limited resources and non-cooperative attitude of Unionist party. At the main time, Hindus, and Sikhs both tried to create hurdles in the league works even they gave a long statement against the league and appreciated the plan which was taken by the Congress against league “Pakistan scheme of partition of India”.

Sikh and Hindu’s Mashaba started to show their militant powers by purchasing more weapons against Viceroy Linlithgo and the British government to settle down the present condition. They were indulged in the war issues. The Muslim league's second-largest political party of the sub-continent representing the 90 million Indian Muslims they gave full support to the Punjab premier in the war issues. On the other hand, the Unionist party completely neglected the concept of the Pakistan scheme due to some political and party pressure.

Jinnah Sikandar Pact October 1937 had opened many doors of political activities in Punjab province for the Muslim League and Sir Sikandar was warned by the Governor of Punjab and his senior political leaders that the premier had done a big political mistake of Jinnah Sikandar Pact. On the other hand, Sir Sikandar announced before the Second World War in August 1939, while they would support the government as they had supported in First World War without taking PML in confidence, but Congress opposed the decision. <sup>133</sup>

The annual Lahore meeting was presided by the Mulana Zafar Ali Khan and 1800 people participated in this session. In 1942, Indian National Congress demanded the Independence of India and launch a campaign named: “Quit India Movement” against the British. In the province of Punjab Hindus were in minority it was generally thought that the resignation of Congress from the provincial ministry would harm the Hindu interest in Punjab. The Muslims were quite happy while Hindus were despondent, the governor raj was established in all 8 provinces where the congress had resigned. Muslims believed that their interest was safe in the hands of the British

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<sup>133</sup>David Gilmartin, “Religious leadership and the Pakistan Movemetrn in the Punjab” in India, Partition: Process, Strategy and Mobilization, ed. Mushirul Hassan (Delhi: Oxford University Press 1993



instead of Hindus. The Punjab premium tried many times to solve the League and Congress Issues but the acceptance of AIML as the sole representative party of Indian Muslims remained the main cause of failure of all discussions.

### **Khaksar Problems:**

It was a well-trained militant Muslim political organization. Its central office and headquarter was in Ichra, Lahore. Allama Anayat Ullah Muashraki was its organizer and former member of Indian Educational Services. Allama Maskhraki met with Hitler during the organization of the Nazi Party in Germany. It was some notion that the movement had a link with Nazism. They had their private armies and their training on daily basis. They also had their weekly newspaper named: Al-Islah In 1939, they wanted to start their radio station in Lahore. The non-Muslims of the Punjab province had great fear about the upbringing and popularity of Khaksar. After seeing the tendency of Khaksar Militants the Punjab government put their ban in their procession. The Khaksar became furious and protested the decision of the Punjab government. On 19 March 1940, they gathered “Uchi Mosque” to violate the government orders. They had a huge clash with police and as a result, 32 Khaksar were killed, police officers died, and many were injured. Punjab government took strict action against them by arresting Khaksar leaders, offices were closed, and ceased their all records.

The PML kept standing against the other lobbies of Sikhs and Hindus were working in opposition of Khaksar. Sikhs reacted badly they introduced Akali Sena (Akali Army) against them. The Punjab premier again needed the support of PML to settle these issues and it was also difficult for ML to organize an annual session in these circumstances. Sir Sikandar tried to convince ML to postpone the session through Sir Zafar Ullah khan and Momdot. But the league leaders refused because now they had the strong support of the Khaksar party in Punjab. [1]Allama Anayat Ullah also wanted to give support to the league to turn their attention with his wisdom, talent and promise them justice.<sup>134</sup>

### **Lahore resolution and PML:**

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<sup>134</sup> Azra Asghar Ali and Sajid Mahmood Awan, “Political Development and the Political Parties in Punjab, 1849-1947” *Pakistan Journal of Social sciences (PJSS)* Vol.29, No. (June 2009): 66.

After the issues of Khaksar, the major move in Punjab province by the Muslim League was the passage of the Lahore resolution in March 1940. In this, they demanded this membership of Punjab and the division of India into Hindu and Muslim majority states. This resolution created a huge problem for the Unionist government even Sir Sikandar tried their best to prevent the Pakistan scheme from establishing its roots in Punjab but failed.

On the demand of separate states and division of Punjab, Sikhs became much worried about their future. In the early years of the Second World War, Muslims had made up their minds about the separate state. Pakistan word was not used by the League in the Lahore resolution but, as Choudhary Rehmat Ali through his Pakistan National Movement had already coined the name Pakistan for the Muslims of North-west India. Later the Lahore resolution gained popularity with the name of Pakistan resolution through the Hindu Media.

The relation and cooperation between the PML and Unionists did not last long. Jinnah had already explained that to Sir Sikander and his party members that Punjab had joined the Muslim league without any reservation. In 1941, on the issue of Defense Council Sikander accepted the strong position of the Muslim League and resigned from the council. After the quick resignation, he stated that he would acknowledge Mister Jinnah as our Leader whether he is right or wrong. Sir Sikander Hayat developed some differences with Mister Jinnah but later before his death, he mended his fences with the Muslim League. The Punjab administrator was still in the favor of Unionist party.<sup>135</sup>

### **Issues of defense council:**

The viceroy formed a defense council in 1941, to maintain the loose link between central and province war efforts. With eight Muslim members, all of these from Punjab named Begam Shah Nawaz and Sikander Hayat Khan Tiwana. The formation of the council was informed to Muslim League very late so, the Muslim League acted against Government and nominated Muslim members in the council. Sikander tried to convince Mr. Jinnah by saying he joined the council just as premier of Punjab not as a Muslim. If the ML would not agree with them so them and Unionist members resign from Muslim League. <sup>136</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> Azra Asghar Ali and Sajid Mahmood Awan, "Political Development and the Political Parties in Punjab, 1849-1947" *Pakistan Journal of Social sciences (PJSS)* Vol.29, No. (June 2009): 69

<sup>136</sup> Ibid,73

Begam Shah Nawaz's point of view was quite like Sir Sikander. She was appointed as representative of an Indian woman, not as a Muslim member. Both Sir Sikander and Begam Shah Nawaz agreed to submit their resignation to the council and all the Muslims accepted their resign. Later, the league banned Begam Shah Nawaz and Sir Sultan from contesting the upcoming elections in October. After that, the Sikhs became more active to secure their future and started to demand their representation in the viceroy council. The deputy leader of the Unionist named Sir Chottu Ram also criticized the decision of Sir Sikander to resign from the council.

### **Punjab Muslim Student Federation (PMSF):**

The Punjab Muslim Student Federation opposed the decision of Sir Sikandar and supported the stand for the Muslim League. Abdul Sitar Niazi of PMSF was among those students who acted against Sir Sikandar and Begum Shah Nawaz on getting membership of the defense counsel. PMSF held the session of Islamia College Lahore to discuss the matter of Pakistan scheme on 2nd March 1941. This session was presided over by the M. Ali Jinnah with 5,000 gatherings of local students received the Jinnah at Lahore railway station. Jinnah performed the ML flag-hoisting ceremony at Islamia College ground. Jinnah talked about the Pakistan Scheme in detail in their speech and tried to resolve the fears of Sikhs.

In 1942, the British government sent a mission to India to realize the political issue under the supervision of Sir Stamford Crips that commission was important for Punjab. Punjab held a key position during the Second World War. Provinces had an option to refuse or accept the proposal. Hindus and Sikhs rejected when they saw the Pakistan scheme in it. In all this political scenario the Sikhs were the most conserved party about Pakistan. They were anti-unionist and denied the congress policies according to the war issues because they did not want to lose their position in the British army. The Akali leader Tara Singh gave resign to the congress a nominee of the Tara Singh named: Baldeve Singh started negotiation with sir Sikandar and Final result in the shape of the Sikandar-Baldeve pact. And this pact, they are demanding like Jhatka Meat, representative of Sikhs of 20%, Gur Mukhi as a second language at schools and Sikhs representation in viceroy were positive consideration in the pact. <sup>137</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> Mohammad Aslam Malik, "*Allama Inayatullah Mashraqi: A political Biography*" (Karachi: Oxford University Press), 2000.

Sikandar died on December 26, 1942, and Khizar Hayat became a successor of Sir Sikandar Hayat and became a new CM on 31 December 1942. The eldest son of Sir Sikandar Hayat named Shukat Hayat also joined this cabinet after the resignation from the British army. Sir Khizar also wanted the revival of the Jinnah-Sikandar pact because Punjab governor (Galancy) and viceroy Hind (Lord Wavell) opposed any move that might increase Jinnah's power. Shaukat Hayat was much more talented than Khizar Hayat and on the confliction of some political view they quit the unionist party and on the other hand, Jinnah had a complete focus on the Punjab politics Muslim League started to make them powerful against the Khizar cabinet and Galancy administration. After the end of Second World War in 1945 the Punjab politics and political party entered the new phase.

### **Punjab Political Scenario 1945-1947:**

In that period, we will discuss the background of the 1945-1946 elections manifesto of PML, a role played by the many sections of the society during launching the campaign of Muslim league in Punjab, the results of these elections leading political party in Punjab, the impact of elections. After the end of the Second World War, the British tried to behave with a normal attitude in India but the traditional communal issues became serious during the war period and the British tried to settle down the communal issue by giving more representation in different legislations.

This communal issue was raised very much in Punjab province. In July 1945 the government organized the Shimla conference but met with failure because Congress officials were not ready to accept AIML as the sole spokes party of Indian Muslims on the other side, the Government was busy on the preparation of the Wavell Plan which was the idea to settle the constitutional rights and bring in the office in the interim government, which decided about the general elections the PML calculated that the Wavell Plan was, in fact, a design to postpone the general election and dilute the idea of Pakistan scheme. So, the league requested the viceroy for fresh elections for showing their strength and Muslim's support of the Pakistan scheme, so the government announced the elections on 21 August 1945. Elections would be held in coming season end of 1945 central elections scheduled from November through December 1945 and provincial elections divided in 4 months.[1] Starting from province Assam in January 1946 and ended with province Orissa in April 1946. Punjab legislative council elections were scheduled from 1 February to 20 February 1946 so now the Muslim league started its preparation for the central and provincial elections

The Punjab province parliamentary board didn't face any serious problems during the distribution of seats. On the eve of elections, some prominent Muslim leaders quit their status and jobs for joining the PML like Sir Feroz Khan Noon who left the membership of defense council of viceroy executive on 15 September 1945, Mian Akhtikar ud din who left the presidentship of congress in Punjab and joined ML. Moreover, the league lifted the ban on Begum Shah Nawaz in October and gave permission to contest elections they all were prominent figures of Punjab Province even they had their own constituencies.

In this election, ML had only a one-point agenda i.e., Pakistan. It gave an impressive and comprehensive manifesto that reflected the concern of the Muslim League for the uplifting of the common man which the other political parties lacked.

### **PML 1945-1946 elections:**

The PML manifesto was published in Eastern Time (Lahore) under the title (Punjab Provincial league manifesto). It was adopted by the working committee of the PML on 31<sup>st</sup> December 1944.

Main points as below

- Fully ensured about independent Muslim state India
- Promote the cultural, spiritual, and religious traditional and rights of the Punjabi Muslims.
- Democratic system
- Ensure about economic development.
- Demanded rule of law.
- Stop the Jirga system and frontier crime.
- Ensured about the recruitment on merit bases.
- Ensure the basic rights of common people.
- Party will do almost all efforts to solve the communal issues and bring unity among all sections.
- Criticized the power of civil services officers/ bureaucracy.
- Control on corruption.
- To increase the importance of education they demanded ensure the creation of "chair of Islamic history and culture in Punjab University."
- Any possible effort to increase the literacy rate.
- Fully free the primary level education

- Redevelopment the backward areas of Punjab.
- Reduced the unemployment and gave promise about to solve these issues.
- Ensured national development.
- Granted the industrial development
- The PML manifesto also gave the suggestion to establish on “agricultural credit bank with branches in all rural areas of the Punjab.”
- Introduction of town planning
- Land reforms.
- Ensured the discipline in financial system.
- Support universal adult franchises
- Ensured to control influential.<sup>138</sup>

Demand efficient labor department. All these points cover all the sections, old or young, men or women, former or landlord demands this is why the PML got the actual support of the message.

### **PML faced difficulty by election campaign:**

It was not an easy task for ML to gather people under one ideology and unite under the same roof. To make a successful elections campaign, it was important, it must have had the support of the common people. For all this, it recovered vast resources like money, media support, enthusiasm, and commitment. In that political scenario, ML faced many hurdles. The Punjab administration and bureaucracy also took a major part in creating hurdles. They were violent at times and their discriminatory attitude towards PML was hard to bear. Even the bureaucracy of some specific areas of Punjab like; Sheikhpura and Nankana Sahib openly opposed the PML and their tehsildar. Moreover, the sub-inspector arrested the working committee members of PML and harass them.

The Unionist party also played a vital role unsuccessfully against the PML. In Ferozepur, Muslim League and Congress submitted the 4,000 voters' forms but it was rejected by government officials with the allegation in those forms the word “I’m a native of British India” was not

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<sup>138</sup> Khuwajima, Sho. *1946 Provincial Elections Muslims, Nationalism and the Partition: in India*. Manohar Publications, 1998.

mentioned. Even these words were not mentioned in the election gazette and also in the sample form. Later, Bartar Saith shed light on the main reason for the rejection of the forms, he explained that the government wanted to narrow down the opposition of Unionists, so they rejected the anti-unionist forms on the special request and favor of Unionist leaders. [1]

Some leading political parties were part in 1945-46 elections like Indian National Congress, Ahrar, communist, Akali Dal, The Khaksar movement, the Jimiyat e Ullam e Hind, the Unionist Party, the Jimiyat e Ahmediya, the Sikhs political conference and MolanaMadudi's Islam all these political parties didn't pose any serious threat in the PML in Punjab.

### **Role of PMSF:**

The PMSF remained a very helping hand for the support and awaking the messages to under shed the activity. The PML was founded in September 1937 and even in December 1935 during the Christmas vacations they came out and started working for the PML. The PMSF and its leaders worked on the advice of ML authorities and M. Ali Jinnah. And this was also the reason to change the history of India. The PMSF worked over the target of the rural area of Punjab, and they closely worked with the local leadership of those areas. Mian Bashir Ahmed, Zahoor Hamid Shaheed, and Hamid Nizami played a vital role on the local level for PML from the platform of PMSF. They even challenged the traditional political leaders in their capacity.

The chairman of the Pakistan committee Abdul Mirza encouraged the efforts of PMSF in his address. Further, he explained the actual demand of ML and promote the idea of Pakistan even he said Pakistan only wanted to keep itself alive. The PMSF was an active body with several selfless and zealous workers. They did construct work and formed rural propaganda and committee with their basecamp at Shangla hills. They invited the villages and tried to explain to the villagers about the ML scheme of Pakistan their work report was sent to Liaquat Ali Khan, and they also encouraged them in the annual session of PMSF on 18-19 march, 1944 at Islamia College Lahore was presided by Jinnah and during his speech, he predicted about the bright future of PMSF and asked them to focus on their studies. The Muslim girls' students of Punjab also remained behind them. They also struggled to convince the Muslim women of Punjab in the favor of PML.

The PMSF was an active organization, and they guided their workers to organize the small and local public meetings and distribute the pamphlet and convince the people to support the

demands of PML for Pakistan. The PMSF was always ready to counter the propaganda against the PML opposition. They spread their work throughout the different towns and villages for launching the campaign against the anti-league and anti-Pakistan elements like the Unionist party. When the Hindus and Sikhs organized the anti-Pakistan conference at Lyallpur, so the PMSF immediate counter action was taken by organizing Pakistan in different areas of Punjab. These conferences were propagated not only for youth but also among all Muslims in general. The Jalandhar session of AIMS F was remarkable all over the subcontinent presided by the Jinnah. Hamid Nizami welcome Jinnah on behalf of PMSF, Jinnah advised its members to be faithful and students stuck to this advice of Jinnah in mind and never took a moment of rest until Pakistan came into being?

The president of PML named: Nawab Iftakhar ul Hassan Mamdoot offered 12 seats in the council of AIML. These nominees are based on prominent Punjabi leaders like; Hamid Nazami, President MSF Yahya bakhatayar, Sheikh Hamid Mehmood, Qassim Rizvi, to join Pakistan civil services, Zia Ul Islam, raja Iftakhar Ullah, Ammen Taren, and Ghulam Ahmed. In 1946, under the supervision of Professor Richard the British parliamentary delegation with India on his welcoming ceremony Naseem Ahmed addressed the Muslims of India are standing with the ML and demand of Pakistan is now the common voice of All Indian Muslims. In the annual old history of the subcontinent, the role of PMSF is unfadable.

The landlords and the peasants were those social groups who played an important role in strengthening the election campaign of ML in Punjab. After the failure of Jinnah-Khizar talk the political game of Punjab province had the ball in ML court and the Muslim leaders turned their loyalty towards Muslim League. After leaving the unionist landlord leaders Like Feroz Khan Noon and Raja Ghazanfar Ali the Unionist became weak and their ship for Unionist to league it was a blessing change for the upbringing of PML. Now before the 1946 elections the PML became rich in resources it was the main reason behind the Unionists didn't get even their traditional field in the 1946 elections. A leader like Mumtaz Khan Dultana after completing his bar-at-law in 1940 came back to Lahore and took an active role in the traditional politics of Punjab and offered involvement of which also opened the new chapter of activity for the league.

After the involvement of active members in PML the league became not only rich in resources but also in intelligence. They conducted public meetings in rural areas of Punjab and caught their popularity in favor of ML and the creation of Pakistan. They gave speeches in the



favor of ML and gained special support from the masses. During that period, the concept of nationalism was only spoken during the public meeting and speeches Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan and Feroz Khan Noon told the voters about the importance of their votes and said if they would not give a vote then they must face the Hindu Raj restrictions and Hindu would make them slaves like the depressed man untouchable classes and even they could not get the permission to offer the prayers. These public meetings were chiefly organized in Jhelum and Multan districts.

Jinnah also faced criticism by saying Jinnah was spending too much money on the 1946 elections campaign, but it was the fact that without spending the money it was not easy to run an election campaign, they invested very much money in the June tour in 5 divisions for the 1946 elections campaign under the supervision of Ghulam Mustafa Shah Gillani. They held a massive public meeting in Lyallpur (Faisalabad), Montgomery (Sahiwal), Sargodha, Sheikhupura, Jung, Rawalpindi, and Sialkot, and from all these areas they got the massive public attraction to the upcoming elections.

The PML got another benefit from the conversion of unionists was that they spread a message of the league throughout the Punjab province without any fear of bureaucracy. [3]The unionist leaders motivated the people by saying brother of the countryside remember that the government officials cannot compel you gave your votes to however your wish now it's up-to-you.

### **Role of Peace:**

They gathered the masses under same shed to strong the ML. in their speeches they emphasizes the important of Islam and caused a stir among the masses. A lot of people attract towards the PML through their efforts even they compelled their Murids and followers to cast their votes for ML. their Murids spread all over the rural area of Punjab and tell masses about consequences of Islamic State. The statement of Hazrat Shah Noor Nawaz also big contribution for the ML election campaign because he was a big spiritual popular figure, and strictly order to their followers to vote for ML if they wanted to stand in his Silsilha.

### **Role of Muslim Media:**

After 1940, Lahore Resolution, the Muslim press adopted a different policy. Their services to strengthen the Muslim League in Punjab highly appreciate able. They convey the league message through their writings and on the large-scale masses attracted to the league. They created masses away about the result of Pakistan many generalists face a lot of hurdles during the election campaign but they didn't lose the hope and get finally success in their objectives. Their commitment towards their goals became a main reason of their success. they were some important newspapers those contributed highly to make Pakistan scheme successful like

- Zamindar: this newspaper supports the cause of league and played an important role to change the politics of the Khaksar movement that oppose the league.
- Essan: it is also known as the freedom fighter of Pakistan movement; they openly supported the cause of Muslim league after the Lahore resolution in 1940.
- Nawa-e-wakat: this newspaper was really a big danger for the opponent of the ML its services remarkable and Malik Hayat also tried its best to crush this newspaper, but he was failed badly in his objective. It was not easy for the league to get success without help of Nawa-e-wakat in 1946 election, especially in Punjab province.
- Pakistan Times: this paper also gave its best to help the league being as successful party in regional politics. <sup>139</sup>
- In short, all the newspapers, journalists, editors, publishers, and reporters put their efforts and gave their honest services in 1946 elections.

### **Impact of Election campaign:**

The consequences of election campaign very influential. ML became a very strong political party with totally new outlook. Now the PML opened different branches in different rural areas of Punjab to facilities the masses. Branches were established in Mianwali, Sargodha, and Gujranwala. The meetings had such huge faces that it broke all previous records of history, especially in west Punjab rough estimate taken by the radio announcement was 4,500 members were enrolled in Sargodha only. In Mianwali enrolled 1,000 members and Gujranwala enrolled almost 2,000. The PML had 59 primary committees too. The contribution of Syed Ghulam Mustafa Jhalani (general

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<sup>139</sup> Khuwajima, Sho. "1946 Provincial Elections Muslims, Nationalism and the Partition:" *india*. Manohar Publications, 1998.

secretary of ML) was also remarkable. New branches and enrollment of new members gave a boost up the ML.

## **Results of elections:**

### **Central elections:**

The central constitution assembly elections were held in November 1945. There were 30 Muslim seats located for the Indian Muslims. the AIML announced their candidates for all the seats. Only 6 seats were fixed for the Punjabi Muslims in the Central Assembly. The PML won all the seats no one Congress Muslim candidates were secure even single seat in the Punjab Muslim constituency. More than 90% votes were given to the PML by the Punjabi Muslim the unionist and Ahrar party both didn't nominate any member for and PML got a splendid victory in central assembly. In celebration of such tremendous victory, in the case of Jinnah Muslims celebrated a blessed Friday on 11 January 1946, as "victory day throughout India. This victory was celebrated in different rural areas of Punjab."<sup>140</sup>

### **Provincial Election**

The Provincial elections were also considered a critical stage for the Muslim League. Jinnah visited Punjab in mid-January 1946, to encourage the election campaign of PML and he also delivered the speech in Lahore during the Punjab election campaign a huge gathering in which he emphasized the unity of Muslims of Punjab under the banner of PML. He also highlighted the misdeeds of other Punjab political parties like Unionists, Khaksar, Akrars, and Congress Punjab branch that claimed to be the representative of the Muslims of India. There were 175 constituencies for the Punjab province which were divided in different classes and communities of the Punjab as given below.

- Common constituencies 34, 26 for the rural area and 8 for urban
- 8 seats were scheduled for cast classes; all were for rural areas.
- Muhammdan constituencies 84, 75 for rural areas and 9 seats for urban
- Sikh constituencies 31, 29 rural and 2 urbans

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<sup>140</sup> Khuwajima, Sho. "1946 Provincial Elections Muslims, Nationalism and the Partition:"India. Manohar Publications, 1998.

- Women constituencies 4 (Muslims seats also included)
- one seat scheduled for the Anglo-Indian constituencies
- One seats for European constituencies.
- Indian Christians had 2 constituencies,
- 1 for industrial and commerce
- Landlord constituencies 3
- Labor constituencies 5
- 1 scheduled for the university.

The polling was started on the morning of Feb. 1, 1946, and continued till February 15, 1946, around more than 500 candidates submitted their nomination papers. Most of the candidates were from the unionist party they had submitted their forms for almost all seats. In some insistent even they had made an adjustment with other parties.

The Congress and ML both were major political parties contesting the election. They got the majority of the seats in all provincial assemblies. The PML got a 91.86% vote in the Punjab Assembly, the leaders of PML secured 79 seats out of 86. It was a massive change in Punjab politics because in the 1937 elections the PML was considered the weakest party and Unionist as the strongest but in small time the PML changed the whole game. <sup>141</sup>

Before highlighting the factors that contributed to the victory of ML in Punjab let us examine the leading political party that had an indirect effect on the splendid victory of PML.

Unionist Party: it was the most dominating political party in the Punjab province. The performance of this party was excellent in the last 1937 election, but they failed to achieve the desired result in the 1946 elections. The factors behind their weak system broke after the failure of the Jinnah-Khizar talk the popularity of Unionists decreased fastly and even the Unionist leaders turned their loyalty towards PML included many landlords' other rich families like Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Mamdoot, Mian Mumtazam khan Dultana, Feroz Khan Noon, Raja Ghazanfar Ali, Malik Barkat Ali, Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan (son of late Sir Sikandar Hayat). After getting these rich and prominent political leaders of Punjab the PML became strong financially as well. They all were loyal to the unionist but after their loyalty shifted towards PML

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<sup>141</sup> Khuwajima, Sho. *“1946 Provincial Elections Muslims, Nationalism and the Partition:”*India. Manohar Publications, 1998.

which gave a serious setback to the unionist party in the majority rural area of Punjab. Nawab Iftikhar was a very active member of Unionists but after leaving the Unionist he started to work for PML.

Mian Mumtaz Khan Dultana organized active propaganda against the Unionists due to his efforts the rich and poor people of Punjab come closer he also gave his services for the economic betterment of PML. He played a dominating role in PML politics. Sir Shaukat Hayat also proved himself as a very helpful support for the PML. He was elected for the southeast town Muslim constituencies. Raja Ghazanfar Ali was a most prominent figure in the politics of Punjab district: Pin Dadar Khan joined ML in 1944 and devoted his efforts to make ML victories.<sup>142</sup>

When all loyal Punjabi leaders were leaving the Unionist party at that time it was very difficult to survive in the Punjab area more to face a serious problem of resources to run effective campaign elections. According to the statement of Ayesha Jalal. The major factor behind the success of PML was the sudden downfall of the Unionist, and the support of peasants to the PML in the 1946 elections

Furthermore, there were some factors that increase the agitation against the Unionist leadership that they didn't bother to provide civil liberties to people. They were in the favor of the rule of power violence i.e., dictatorship. They didn't give as much importance to education and the people's welfare in their manifesto. The agricultural sector of Punjab was also disturbed and suffered because of the dirty and corrupt politics of the Unionist.

The Communist party: it was the party of Sikhs extremists in Punjab but, it mainly remains under the ban of the British government. There was another Sikhs Punjabi extremist party named: Akali Dal which was founded in 1920. This party had a great hold in the politics of Punjab, but in the 1945-46 elections it couldn't perform well, and its weak point became the strength of PML. Muslims were in majority in Punjab and Sikhs were the sub-nation of Punjab. So, claim of a separate homeland was not justifiable on legal grounds.<sup>143</sup> Their executive attitude was always under the highlight, but they couldn't get as much attention as they expected. The party strength sapped after the party was divided into two factions and contradictions in their views. After 1925 the party splitted into Shiromani Akali Dal and Central Akali Dal

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<sup>142</sup> Khuwajima, Sho. "1946 Provincial Elections Muslims, Nationalism and the Partition:"India. Manohar Publications, 1998.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid,69

The Punjab Congress: Was the urban-based party and due to the Muslims excess in population in Punjab Congress was less active in the Punjab areas. After the 2nd world war, the Muslims had lost their faith in the Congress, they started to convert their loyalty towards the PML. In the past, there were many events that happened that were eye-opening for them. Khaksar Movement: which was established for the welfare of the Muslims, also opposed the ML, but its threats couldn't affect ML much.

There were also factors that became the reason behind the upliftment of the PML for the upcoming 1945-46 elections like; strong leadership, manifesto, and slogans, world war 2 was also a reason behind strengthening the position of ML especially Jinnah involvement of rich families in the ML and raised their financial position, resources, the ideology of Pakistan, commitment, media coverage, nationalism, during the food shortage ML provided the grains to the masses and people attracted towards them, PML gave support to those families that lost their family members in the second world war and last but not least, popular support of the masses. A result of these factors, ML took steps and made a result in form of division of India.

## CHAPTER 4: UNIONIST LEADERSHIP AND PUNJAB POLITICS

### **Punjab during British Raj**

British government annexed the Sikh Kingdom on March 27, 1849, and its boundaries extended beyond Peshawar in the North and Delhi, on the bank of river Jammu, in the south. In 1901, the British government separated the northern areas comprised of hilly and dry terrain as another province called NWFP. The remaining areas of that land Punjab were divided into 5 divisions like Delhi, Jalandhar, Rawalpindi, Multan, and Lahore. In 1912, they announced another division named, Ambala and Delhi district directly went under the administration.

In 1911, the total population of Punjab province was estimated at 19,974,956, the number of Muslims were, 10,955, 721, scheduled casts Hindus were 6,722,455 and the Sikhs were in minority with a population of 2,093,804. But, after 30 years (3 decades) in 1941, the number of populations went up to 28,418,820. The population of Muslims was 16,217,242, the Hindus and scheduled casts were 7,550,372, Sikhs were 3,757,401 and others were 893,805. In Multan, Lahore, and Rawalpindi division Muslim population had a dominating position, but in the Amritsar district of Lahore division, Muslims were living as a minority.<sup>144</sup>

After the British annexed Punjab in 1849, a large Muslim population got freedom from the cruelty and oppression of the Sikh's rule. During the war of independence in 1857, when Muslims started a revolt against the East India Company from different parts of the subcontinent the Punjabi Muslims couldn't take part in it because they considered the British their liberators and benefactors. Punjabi Muslims tried to strengthen the British hegemony. In return, they got many benefits from the British government. Punjabi Muslims population generally lagged other communities in all walks of life.<sup>145</sup> In the ruler areas of Punjab, the trend of landlord's system was common, people were not much literate, and the upper class had a great hold on the masses. In 1901, the total literate populations were around 857,000 and only 35% were Muslims, around

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<sup>144</sup>Azra Asghar Ali and Sajid Mahmood Awan, "Political Development and the Political Parties in Punjab, 1849-1947", 71.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid, 74

19300 most of them only recite the holy Quran rest of others were living in Hindu majority Areas like Amritsar, Jalandhar, and Ambala.

The Muslims' representation was nominal in trade, services, and industries. In the early days of the British Raj, the numbers of Muslims were quite small in the armed forces. After the 1857 war, the British government dismissed the Muslims of the UP (united province) and Bihar based on unreliability and disloyalty. But first world war changed the whole scenario and Muslims of Punjab gave their lives freely and Muslims were in 1915 almost 40% with 33,777 almost 3,60,000 Punjabi were recruited from Punjab in the Armed forces, during the 4 years of the first world war. The Muslims were roughly 1, 70,000, and 90,000 Hindus and Sikhs and Christians around 4,000. Most Muslims belonged to the Rawalpindi division due to rough and difficult terrain and it was not amendable for agriculture. In the other divisions, Punjab agriculture was quite easier. The lives of Punjabi people were mostly dominated by the landlords who were half-educated. Our illiterate was all proud of the services they and their forefathers had rented to the British. Sir Feroz Khan Noon also discussed those who represented Punjab in his autobiography (from memory).<sup>146</sup>

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan also known as a social worker (1817-1898), had a great contribution to the people of Punjab. He and his followers worked in every field of Punjabi people, even he devoted his entire life to creating new ideas and techniques for the betterment of his co-religion. He had a particular interest in the Muslims of Punjab to create a sense of awakening among them. He always encouraged the information of association for further education and to stop social evils. In 1869, Anjuman e Himayat e Islam was established to disseminate western learning as much important as religious education among the Muslims. These associations opened many institutes even organized the public awareness session for the Punjab Muslims and presided by Sir Syed, Maulana Nazir Ahmed (1835-1912), Maulana Altaf Hussain Khali, Mian Muhammad Shafi Deen (1867-1918), Nawab Mohsin Ul Mulk (1837-1907). Nawab Waqar Ul Mulk (1841-1917), Maulana Shibli Nnamani (1857-1914), Sheikh Abdul Qadir (1874-1950), and Allama Iqbal (1876-1938). All their day-by-day plan the Muslim people lead to success in their lives.

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<sup>146</sup> Abid, Qalb-i- and Mussarrat Abid "Unionist-Muslim League Relations," *History, Politics and Society: The Punjab, Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research*, 180-181.



Punjab was permitted to form a legislative council in 1897 under the 1861 Indian Act, comprising 9 members all were nominated by the Lieutenant Governor. In 1909 Minto Marly Reform the authority increases the members 24 with council member 5 elected. In 1912, 5 turned into 8 members, and in 1916 more an increase of elected member and reached on 16. In 1909, 3 Muslims won the seats with 1 vote margin named Khawaja Ahad Shah, Khawaja Yusuf Shah, and Seath Adam Jee Mamoon Jee. Sir Fazal e Hussain and Mian Muhammad Shafi both contested the election on the university seat but were defeated by Shadi Laal, who later, became the judge and chief Judge of Lahore High Court. On December 16, 1912, council elections were held for 8 seats. 5 seats were won by Hindus, 1 by Sikhs and 1 by European, and only 1 seat was won by a Muslim named Malik Muhammad Ameen Khan. In 1919 Montague-Chelmsford Reforms brought some big changes in council seats by raising to 94 with 23 nominated and 71 elected. 32 reserved for Muslims, 20 for Non-Muslims, 12 for Sikhs, and 7 for special constituencies. According to the 1919 act elections were held in 1920 and these elections changed the Punjab political history for the Muslims.<sup>147</sup>

## **Sir Fazal Hussain and Formation of Unionist:**

### **Family Background:**

Sir Fazal e Hussain was one of the most famous, renowned, and popular politicians in the History of Punjab, he and his family contributed a lot to the betterment of the Punjabi People and got positive feedback from the people. He belonged to an ambitious family and his forefather served for the Mughal Empire. Their services for the Mughal Empire were also appreciable and even they had drawn many benefits from them. After the downfall of Mughal authorities, they shifted their loyalty towards the Sikhs Empire and their rulers like Maharaja Ranjeet Singh. In that time, they got a strong position in their areas and became rich and soon they raised the position where they got much wealth, success, fame, and property. During the period of Sikhs rulers his Family enjoyed the movement of life and strength but after the defeat of Sikhs (1799-1849) rulers in Punjab they

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<sup>147</sup> Abid, Qalb-i- and Mussarrat Abid "Unionist-Muslim League Relations," History, Politics and Society: The Punjab, Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research .p,200-203

also lost their power and prestige, but this aroma couldn't remain for so long. And soon regained by entering the services of the British Raj.[1] Father of Sir Fazal e Hussain joined the services as Naib munsaran and retired as a district judge in 1904. When he was posted in Peshawar Sir Fazal e Hussain was born on 14 June 1807.

### **Academic Career:**

His early academic career started from the subcontinent he got his early education from Peshawar and Abbottabad, after that he did his matriculation from Punjab and got his graduation degree from Govt. College Lahore. To compete for Indian services, his father sent him to Cambridge University for preparing for the competition exam. He tried and appeared in the exam twice but couldn't get any success in the examination of the Indian Services. Later, he went for the Tripos in Oriental Language. After all their hard efforts he turned his mind towards the education of law and went abroad for getting higher education, he enrolled himself in Gray's Inn and on June 29, 1921, was called to the Bar.

After returning to India, Sir Fazal e Hussain started his practice in Peshawar District where his father was still serving as a district judge. According to the Judicial Tradition, he couldn't allow him to practice where his father or any blood relative was serving as an influential position. So, he had to go to Sialkot where he couldn't make any headway, and in 1905, he shifted to Lahore where he took his first political step towards AINC.

Sir Fazal e Hussain was not warmly welcomed in the official circle. All the public figures were busy in their day-to-day social, cultural, and political activities. All the Punjabi uprising leaders were busy all involved in their pursuits and professions engagements, so Sir Fazal had to carve out a niche for himself in public life.<sup>148</sup>

In that period Muslims of different areas of the sub-continent were thinking about securing their fundamental rights by establishing a specific platform like a political party before this Nawab Brothers formed an Urdu defense association but it couldn't turn into a political body but on the call of Nawab Saleem Ullah in November 1906 at Dhaka they finally reached some positive decisions in the shape of AIML.

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<sup>148</sup> Dr. Riaz Ahmed, ed. The Punjab Muslim League, 1906-1947 (Secret Police Abstracts), 79.

### **Rivalry between Shafi and Sir Fazal:**

In early 1906, Sir Mian Muhammad Shafi proposed the establishment of an association and suggested the Muslim League. The suggestion or plan of M. Shafi was still an embryonic stage when Sir Fazal took hold of it and went ahead to give it a shape. They gathered a few acquaintances on March 30, 1906, under the presidentship of Maulvi Fazal ud Deen formed an organization by the name of Indian Muslim League they conducted a special meeting in June 1906 to complete its structure, and Sir Fazal e Hussain became his first general secretary and Sheikh, and Omer elected its first president. So, before the creation of AIML Sir Fazal e Hussain brought it to existence his organization and gave it the name of Muslim League.

Sir Fazal e Hussain was not part of the famous Shimla deputation (October 1906) but his revelry Khan Bahadur, Mian Muhammad Shafi (1869-1923), was its part. Shafi and his companions were the representative of Punjab in that deputation but on the pretext of creating the AIML meeting on December 30, 1906, at Dhaka, he also became a part of it and even selected the provincial committee.<sup>149</sup>

After returning to Lahore Shafi started to work on the establishment of a provincial branch, on this purpose he called a meeting with a Punjabi famous leader Barristers on March 24, 1905, Sir Fazal gave his suggestion to the meeting that they should reorganize the Muslim league in which he was working as a general secretary as a provincial Punjab ML, but refused his suggestion and they formed a committee to set a draft of the provisional branch, the committee did this and called another meeting on November 30, 1907, a provincial body was formed. A member of Shimla deputation a leading barrister and Punjabi influential in Lahore Mian M. Shah Deen Hamehun was elected his first president and Shafi was elected his first general secretary. Both entitled by the government in the new year in the list of 1908 with Khan Bahadur Title Mian M. Shafi belong to such group of Punjab politics who had a great link with the British authorities even Shafi had a very close friend with viceroy named Sir Dunlop Mith. These close relations between Dunlop and Shafi played an important role in the 1909 reforms to get a separate electorate.

### **Sir Fazal e Hussain joined the Government:**

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<sup>149</sup>Dr. Riaz Ahmed, ed. The Punjab Muslim League, 1906-1947 (Secret Police Abstracts), 82.

The provincial government was divided into two categories i) transferred ii) reserved under the Indian act 1919 the transferred subjects included administration of local self-government, education, medical, fisheries exercise, agricultural, cooperation society, religions, and endorsement. The reversed subject was comprised of a land revue, famine life, prison, police, and justice. For the landlord, the transferred subject elected minister was appointed, and these ministers were responsible for their related departments in front of the legislative. Those departments who were dealing with revenue subject headed by those members who were prisoned by the governor, and they were alone answerable for all what they did. As soon as the results were known Sir Edward (1864-1952) the Governor Punjab offered the ministry of local government, education, and medicine. He accepted the offer without wasting any time and took his oath in January 1921, the rest of the ministers gave hands to Lala Hakrishlan, were the leader of Congress.

After taking the oath of Minister-ship in viceroy council, Sir Fazal e Hussain disassociated himself completely from the membership of Congress as well as the Muslim League. Now, he started openly opposing the Muslim League policies and works. He forgot all the good time he spent in the Muslim league and this political party that lunched him as a political leader. He didn't allow the ML to play any role in Punjab politics whenever the opportunity arose, went out his way to manipulate and damage it.

Sir Fazal e Hussain continually and deliberately adopted this behavior towards the ML because AIML, a year earlier in annual session at Amritsar which was held on 29, 30 December 1919, Mr. Jinnah elected as president. The Punjab leadership wanted Jinnah's seat and keep away from their province, due to some strict statements given by Jinnah for Punjab, all the drama created by the Punjab leaders. In 1917, when Mr. Jinnah was invited to Punjab to address a political conference the Punjab administration restricted Jinnah to enter in Punjab province.<sup>150</sup>

### **Sir Fazal e Hussain strengthen Himself:**

After becoming the minister in the council of governors in their different subjects he started to strengthen himself politically. Sir Fazal e Hussain started to empower himself and his position step by step, by following the strategy which the British have preferred after years of experimenting in the early years of British Raj in India. They discouraged the formation of factional and regional

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<sup>150</sup> Qalb-i-Abid, S. "Muslim Politics in the Punjab, 1921-1947". Lahore: Vanguard, 1992.

organization as they usually became focal points of undertaking the agitation to redress local governance. They promised and encouraged the country-wide organization which was not influenced by the regional politics and could only deal with the larger issues. The main purpose behind the creation of AINC in 1885 was to douse agitation activities in which the Bengal intelligentsia was involved. Congress performed her task very intelligently, so Sir Fazal e Hussain also planned to strengthen himself by organizing the Unionist party in 1923 consisting of the Hindus, Sikhs, Muslim communities from all the Punjab.

### **1923 and 1926 council elections:**

The next Punjab legislative council elections were held between 20-28 November 1923. At that time Sir Fazal e Hussain had already established his political party named the Unionist party on a strong footing but he did not allow his party members to take part in elections on the party basis. Though there were no constancies and legal basis to contest from any political party platform, he wanted an election held on a non-party basis. First candidates contested the election in their capacity after winning the election they could join the party. In this way, he tried to strengthen the Baradari system and party individuality not even he allowed the party and its programs to have any role in electoral politics.

After the elections, 27 ruler members joined the party who won elections the strength of the party improved when the 6 social and guard members joined the party only Unionist had 33 winning seats, prominent among the newly elected members were Mian Abdul Azeez from Lahore city, Khan Bahadur Sheikh Abdul Qadir from the west Punjab towns, Mir Maqbool Mehmood from Amritsar, Ch. Shahabuddin from Sialkot Ch. Afzal Haqq from Haisherpur-Ludisana, Mian Feroz ud din from south-east town and Mazhar Ali Azhar from East-West central. Later he was elected from the Khilafat Committee, but one of them couldn't hold his seat named Mian Feroz ud Din because Nawab Zada challenged him one vote defeated and even claimed that his ballot papers were rejected wrongly. He also blamed the election commission and their corruption, so as the result of recounting of ballot paper he was declared elected.<sup>151</sup>

When Punjab, under the 1919 Chelmsford reform became a governor province Sir Edward Maclagan became the first governor of Punjab province. He contributed very much, strengthening the Unionist party and also Sir Fazal e Hussain as a leader, but when he relinquished his charge

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<sup>151</sup> Hussain, Azam." *Fazli Hussain: A Political Biography*". Bombay: Longman, Green and Company Limited, 1946

and Sir William Malcolm became a new governor of Punjab on May 31st, 1924, working relationship turned. He had his views and complex. He didn't like and allow to make walk the authority of bureaucracy by the Ministry. This time was quite difficult for Sir Fazal and his party. He didn't select his minister not just from the Unionist party but also from the independent member as well as among the other party. Hailey nominated Casson for the council president for some time. Late Hailey pursued Sir Abdul Qadir, Dr. Gokul Narang, and Mian Shah Nawaz not to contest the elections. Sir Fazal became angry about this decision, so he induced Sir Abdul Qadir to stand for the presidentship, which he did and won.

Hailey believed in the growth and development of the political organization in Punjab on the provincial basis having but a little bit of connection with the All-Indian politics. Here Sir Fazal also completely agreed with him and later he devoted his all-public life to keeping the Muslims of Punjab away from the main theme of Muslim politics. In the era of Hailey, the provincial elections were held in November 1926.

Allama Iqbal was elected as an independent candidate from the Muhammadan urban Lahore city constituencies by defeating another independent candidate named Malik Muhammad Deen. Ch. M. Zafar Ul Khan and Dr. M. Allam both two new faces also introduced in these elections and in a very short time they became popular. They both defeated their opponents in the November 1926 council legislative election from their constituencies. After these provincial legislative elections, there was a huge dispute between the AIML on basis of the Delhi proposal. Mr. Jinnah had to face a big opposition from the Punjabi Muslim league under the leadership of Shafi even the AIML turned into two factions.<sup>152</sup>

### **Sir Fazal e Hussain sends his emissaries to London:**

Meanwhile, as a review of the working of 1919 reforms was due, Sir Fazal decided to send Shaft Ahmed Khan and Ch. M. Zafar ul Khan as his emissaries to the United Kingdom to collect relevant information. Both were his confidence and protégé, Sir Zafar Ul Khan who belonged to the Ahmadi community and Sir Fazal had a very good relationship with his family and knew each other from the early years. After completing his bachelor's degree in law know he was being practiced in Sialkot later he came over to Lahore, met with Sir Fazal encouraged his work in professional and other activities. Even Sir Zafar Ul Khan participated in the November 1926

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<sup>152</sup> Dr. Riaz Ahmed, ed. The Punjab Muslim League, 1906-1947 (Secret Police Abstracts), 82.

elections of the legislative council from the rural Muslim Consequences of Sialkot and defeated his opponent comfortably. Sir Fazal considered him as worthy of his confidence. Another choice of Sir Fazal was a mediocre lecture of Indian History at Allabad university named Shaft Ahmed Khan (1893-1947) he was the eldest son of Murdabad and landowner, later he married the daughter of Sir Mian Shah. After that marriage, he had established relations with influential and rich families of Bhaghbantra Arains.

During the Simon commission's Sir Fazal e Hussain had gone to Geneva to attend the meeting of the League of Nations as an alternate delegate. After that he visited England and remained very busy and active in England to conduct meeting with various functionaries of the British government. He also met with the secretary of state for India to discuss the issues and problems of constitutional reforms. His two emissaries also met with him and gave their report. Sir Zafar ul Khan also discussed his meeting in his autobiography and mentioned these reports which he had given to Sir Fazal.<sup>153</sup>

On November 18, 1927, Sir Fazal came back to India, just after a few days' governments announced the commission. He started to criticize PML on the welcome of commission he talked about the masses the Shafi League having a non-serious attitude would harm the environment and structure of Punjab. Before leading the Bombay for Lahore, he met with Jinnah and discussed that royal commission. Governor of the Punjab Sir Malcolm Hailey was not happy with the Sir Fazal interview and expressed his anger and his displeasure in the letter dated November 24, 1927. Later he offered to resign from the Ministry of revenue from Punjab. But after some sessions and investigation, they felt about it didn't contradict the British government policies so in this way his offer to resign was not accepted.

On the two back-to-back visits of Simon's commission, first, visit from 3 Feb to 31 March 1928 and second tour from 11 October 1928 to 13 April 1929. On both tours, the subcontinent and its party showed their anger towards them. The Shafi League was the only party who were ready to welcome them on the arrival of the Simon Commission at Lahore on 30 October 1928 many people lead by different leaders like Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Lalla Lajpat Rai, and Dr. Satyapal. The police had to start the lathi charge (dolon) and Lalla Lajpat Rai was physically injured. As a result

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<sup>153</sup> Sarfraz Hussain Mirza, *The Punjab Muslim Students Federation* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1991), 138.

of severe injury, he died on November 17, 1928. In response to Nehru's report, Sir Fazal e Hussain took a step as a member of the Punjabi legislative council. He wrote many letters and sent them to the governor of Punjab Mr. Hailey, but Sir Fazal e Hussain's demands were ignored by the governor his draft according to the demands of Punjabi Muslims was rejected by the central council too.

### **Origin of Muslim Conference:**

At that time Sir Fazal e Hussain was thinking in different terms. He was not ready to accept the solution of Nehru's report and the good relation between Congress and AIML. He wanted to weaken Mr. Jinnah and AIML as well. It was not good for Sir Fazal if Mr. Jinnah had succeeded. So, Sir Fazal started to weaken the position of Jinnah so that non-Muslims leadership couldn't accept him as the sole spokesman of the Indian Muslims. He commanded a group of central legislative councils to come and set up an organization consisting of different Muslim Parties and individuals to consider Nehru's Report. All parties and members of All Party Conference agreed on this Sir Agha Khan would preside at the conference. AIML decided in its open session in December 1928 they wouldn't participate in the All-Party Conference.<sup>154</sup> The session of All Party Conference couldn't achieve its goals expected what Sir Fazal e Hussain had in his mind, to weaken Mr. Jinnah's position.

Subsequently, with a view to his major objective, the All-Party Conference was transferred by Sir Fazal e Hussain into a new organization called All Indian Muslim Conference. This organization remained in action till his death and Sir Agha Khan served as its president for a long time. Sir Fazal e Hussain took special care of its organization. He also published a newspaper from Patna named "Ithad". Sir Fazal found many investors for this conference and Agha Khan remained its big supporter in any case. This statement was justified show its letter which was written to Sir Akbar Hider by Sir Fazal dated July 30, 1931.<sup>155</sup>

At the end of 1933, the conference had lost its position. Sir Fazal Ibrahim wrote a letter to Sir Fazal e Hussain on December 23, 1933 and reminding him of his contribution to the uprising at this conference, but later he also lost face. This organization was later rebuilt by Sir Agha Khan and under his supervision, but Sir Fazal was not agreed. The motive and objective of Sir Fazal e

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<sup>154</sup> Romesh Chandhra, "Punjab Leaguers going to the people," People's War, 13th August 1944.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid,22



Hussain and others who set up the AIMC were to destroy the leadership of Jinnah and finish the AIML at any cost. These all efforts were ruined all in vain, but as a result of their efforts ML leaders started to think about their strength and reorganized the AIML.

### **Sir Fazal viz-a-viz RTCs:**

May 1929, the labor party of the UK won the election and formed the government in June 1929. Mr. Jinnah wrote a letter to the new PM of the UK named James Ramsey MacDonald (1866-1923) and sent greetings, also said about the issues of the subcontinent and resolute. The suggestion of RTC was also given by Mr. Jinnah the Lahore government favorably responded and in October 1929 announced its discussion Indian Round Table Conference. After thwarting Mr. Jinnah in the Calcutta session, Sir Fazal became very close to the British hierarchy. He was also elevated on April 1st, 1930, to membership of the governor-general executive council and headed the department of lands, education, and health. Sir Fazal smashed to control the selection of delegates to the RTC. However as regarded its first session, he had to give way in the nomination of the few. Among those who were not much liked by Sir Fazal. Maharaja of Mahmoodabad, Maulana M. Ali Johar, and M. Ali Jinnah, fortunately, two of them did play any effective and active role.<sup>156</sup> Maulana M. Ali Johar was seriously ill even died on January 4, 1931, and was buried in England. Maharaja Mahmoodabad was also very ill for the conference and didn't attend the conference he also died on May 23, 1931.

The rest of Mr. Jinnah was not also acceptable for Sir Fazal. He started to make plans to remain this lost, stones in his way and he declared the Shifat Ahmed Khan as a Punjabi representative instead of Mr. Jinnah. Mr. Shifat was also a very prominent member of the Punjab legislative council. Sir Fazal also called the former Punjab governor, Sir Hailey at that time governor of U.P as asked for help against Jinnah. Sir Hailey was very against Jinnah as Sir Fazal even both wrote letters to the UK government about Jinnah's lacking point. Notes and diaries of Sir Fazal were edited by Dr. Wahid Ahmed published in 1977 by the research society of Pakistan, Lahore. He revealed the role which he played between the control lines of the proceeding Sir Fazal recorded under the date of December 21, 1930.<sup>157</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> Hussain, Azam." *Fazli Hussain: A Political Biography*". Bombay: Longman, Green and Company Limited, 1946

<sup>157</sup> Ibid,43

“The Muslim’s position at the Round Table is deteriorating and I must do something to put it right. I can’t let my life’s work be despoiled. I think must hard and plan of action which will answer the purpose.”

The entry of December 22, 1920. Sir Fazal revolted it “men who are doing mischief at the RTC are labor party, labor government and Hindu through Bhopal, Sir Fazal e Hussain, Shafi, Jinnah and Sultan Ahmed.”

Sir Fazal also claimed on January 3, 1931 “news from RTC indicated that the labor government made attempts to make Muslims hold some type of joint elections. Sultan Ahmed, Bhopal, Shafi, Hadayat Ullah, and Fazal Haqq were ready for the game. Mr. Jinnah was also helping and no doubt Jinnah through himself remained in the background. I had to take strict action towards the present situation and the situation had just been severe.”

Sir Fazal was not even to accept the proposal of Shafi, which was brief and complete about letting the candidate, but Sir Fazal considered the proposal great mischief. On January 7, 1931, Sir Fazal ordered Sir Feroz Khan Noon who was education minister of Punjab to take strong steps to repudiate the proposal he wrote the letter to him “I have no doubt Shafi intended in this way to place the Hindu in the wrong and was not at all serious about it, but it was such dishonest tactics which instead of doing wrong to the other side does wrong to those who have recourse to them, the labor government may say after all this was the offer needed by the Muslims to Hindus that there if we decide following the offer which the Muslims made and the Hindus receive Muslims can have nothing to gamble about.”<sup>158</sup>

Sir Fazal e Hussain instructed Feroz Khan Noon to conduct such public meetings through which they came to know about the cheap proposal of Shafi. Sir Shafi was ready to accept the offer of jointed elections, but it was not suitable for the Indian Muslims they called the editors of the three newspapers, which were the mouthpiece of the Unionist Party, and asked them for opposing forcefully Shafi proposal.

The newspaper “Siyasat” edited by Syed Habeeb, the newspaper “Inkalab” edited by Abdul Majid Salik and Ghulam Rasool Mehar moreover the newspaper “The Outlook” edited by Malik Abdul Majeed. The first 2 newspapers were published in Urdu on the regular while the last one was a weekly English newspaper. They all were recipients and other profits from Sir Fazal. On Syed Habib and his newspaper Siyasat who was a former member of AIML, used against the AIML by

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<sup>158</sup>Hussain, Azam.” *Fazli Hussain: A Political Biography*”. Bombay: Longman, Green and Company Limited, 1946

Sir Fazal. he used him as a weapon against all the platforms of AIML's session. After the death of Sir Fazal on July 9, 1936, Syed Habib and his newspaper faced a lot of criticism from the new premiership of Punjab. Sir Sikandar has also sealed this newspaper in 1937. Syed Habib brought out other papers in place of this and remained in politics till his death on Feb 23, 1952.<sup>159</sup>

The daily newspaper "Inkalaab" was also devoted entirely to support the propaganda of the Unionist party and opposed the policies of AIML. This newspaper also remained active to make reports against the ML and after the death of Sir Fazal this paper-faced many challenges. This hurdle was also a big challenge for the league leaders which was established by the Fazal. This paper remained active after the partition of India and its editor also faced criticism by the Pakistan Leaders and masses. After attending the first session of RTC Jinnah didn't come back to India and Sir Fazal had the opportunity to make propaganda against the Jinnah and political activities towards India. Sir Fazal also manipulated that he should not be elected for the upcoming RTC, leading the field open for Sir Fazal's prodigious.

Allama Iqbal was not happy with the progress of the Muslim delegation in the 2nd RTC, especially with the Ch. Zafar Ul Khan and Shifat Ahmed Khan. Iqbal just wanted to quit the session and back to India, even he wrote a letter to Sir Agha Khan about the back performance of the Muslim delegation on the other hand Sir Fazal was not happy with Iqbal about what he did on the arrival of Sir Agha Khan at the end of 1934 in India. Sir Fazal wrote many letters to some suitable personalities and asked them to meet but the Allama Iqbal refused to meet with Sir Fazal by sending him a sorry note. During the 3rd RTC, Sir Fazal had strengthened his position and imposed himself as the sole spokesman of the Muslim faith, luck had favored. All ways of Sir Fazal cleared in 3rd RTC because many prominent leaders died before it like Maulana M. Ali Johar, Maharaj Mahmoudabad Mian M. Shafi. Sir Ali Imam also died on October 27, 1932, and the last M. Ali Jinnah had already exiled himself in London.

### **Role of Sir Fazal ul Khan and Sir Shifat:**

Both were very loyal to Sir Fazal. They were active in the second and third round table conference for the uprising of the position of Sir Fazal. They gave their best and full support to the agenda of Sir Fazal on every platform. They even totally followed the instructions which given by Sir Fazal.

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<sup>159</sup> Hussain, Azam." *Fazli Hussain: A Political Biography*". Bombay: Longman, Green and Company Limited, 1946

### **Other design of Sir Fazal:**

In 1935 Jinnah had come back to India and working on the reorganization of AIML. He also called a meeting of AIML on December 30, 1935, as the agenda couldn't be finished in one day, the council decided to hold an annual session of AIML on April 12, 1936, during the Easter holidays in Bombay.

Jinnah wanted to bring back to Sir Fazal in the league. Jinnah also invited him to preside over its upcoming annual session. Sir Agha and Sir Shifat Ahmed Khan also wanted that Sir Fazal should go back to the league. <sup>160</sup>Even Sir Agha wrote a letter to Sir Fazal for cooperating and presiding league upcoming annual session in 1936 from Bombay but Fazal had many other designs under the Indian Act 1935 the elections were being held to the provincial assembly Sir Fazal wanted to successfully contest the elections and after winning the elections, he had a provincial government by agreeing to preside over the ML annual session, he would have some demands, his support base among the Non-Muslims.

In short, he refused point-blank to accept the invitation ultimately Mr. Jinnah chose Syed Wazir Hassan (1872-1947) a founder member of the AIML he also served as a secretary between 1912 to 1919 to preside over the Muslim league annual session. 11, 12 April 1936 annual session of AIML was conceded very much important, it proved a landmark in the history of AIML. Besides the discussion about the organization and elections preparation, Nawab Zada Liaqat Ali Khan announced that the Muslim league would participate in upcoming general elections. It was authorized by Mr. Jinnah to form a central parliamentary board to select a candidate and to supervise the conduct of elections.

Sir Fazal also kept a very close eye on this session. Khan Bahadur Nawab Ahmed Yar Khan Dultana also ended this session on behalf to collect the important information about the session. He sent the session report to Sir Fazal on the very next day on April 13, 1936, from Bombay. He told the whole story that what happened in Pandal. He stated that it was not alarming for Sir Fazal and his political party. The league activities in the session were normal and on daily basis. He also shed light on the weak and some important discussions of the session.

Just after a couple of weeks, after the annual session of the league, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan wrote a letter to Sir Fazal dated May 1st, 1936, Sir Sikandar shared his views about Jinnah progress and

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<sup>160</sup> Hussain, Azam." *Fazli Hussain: A Political Biography*". Bombay: Longman, Green and Company Limited, 1946

his views about that “he wanted Muslims to be the united body and raised their voice”. Sir Fazal gave a response to Sir Sikandar on May 6, 1936 and agreed with Sir Sikandar's views about Mr. Jinnah and further elaborated in his letters that the discussion of establishing a central parliamentary board by Jinnah was wrong. Etihad e Milat Party had already boycotted the Jinnah and Ahrar were to oppose Mr. Jinnah.

### **1936 general elections:**

1936 elections were being held in December 1936. Jinnah had already formed a parliamentary board but here in Punjab Jinnah was facing difficulties from the very beginning. Jinnah visited Lahore on April 29, 1936, his all efforts to bring Sir Fazal round to his point of view but Sir Fazal remain against his point of view later Mr. Jinnah also asked for help from Iqbal to convince Sir Fazal but him also remained unsuccessful to convince Sir Fazal. Moreover, Sir Fazal described the nomination of the League in the Elections as “Miscellaneous Urbanies”

### **Tactics adopted by Sir Fazal to defeat league:**

At that time Sir Feroz Khan was the education minister of Punjab but suddenly he was selected as the Indian High Commission of the United Kingdom. The governor asked Sir Feroz to fill the vacancy of educational ministry but due to bad health, he refused his offer. After he retired from the executive council. He spent much of his time in Dalhousie and Abbottabad where the climate was invigorating. When he received the invitation from the governor he was in Dalhousie (Hilly area of north India) as he was unable to come down to Punjab, he took all over the charge from Sir Feroz Khan on June 20, 1936, while still at Dalhousie. Even before he had taken charge of his office, Sir Fazal took all the information about Jinnah’s activities that Jinnah is doing to strengthen the Muslim League and the parliamentary board. Mian Amin ud Deen wrote a letter to Fazal and shed light on how low he could stoop in opposing and ML. he also discussed in his letter about those parties and leaders over ready to join the Unionist and oppose the Jinnah point of view openly.

Lalla Deen Kaiser played an important role to convince the statics and leaders to oppose the Jinnah on behalf of Sir Fazal. Lalla Deen Kaiser was associated with Majils e Ahrar e Islam but later along with Zafar ul Khan founded another political party by the name Etihad e Millat. He served as an agent of Sir Fazal in that period. Lalla Deen Kaiser was born in 1899 and related to Abdul

Majid Saalik as he was married to his sister-in-law. He wrote many Urdu and Punjabi poems which were quite famous. He also started his newspaper in 1920 but couldn't get success and died in 1956.

Sir Fazal came to know from somewhere about funds of ML expenditures for upcoming elections. It was not a good sign for Sir Fazal, Bhopal money was rapidly making trouble for Sir Fazal, so he asked for some help from Sir Agha Khan and Sir Agha Khan sent a telegram from London and gave a green sign to Sir Fazal.<sup>161</sup>

A letter that was written by Sir Fazal on 22 June 1936 in which he discussed in detail his difficulties and made a strong case for monetary help. Furthermore, he added that the main purpose for which he required money and funds was to buy the loyalties of the press, especially, Urdu press, or what he called the vernacular press. He decided that he would pay the press monthly that to show their loyalty and security. He started to pay a commission to the journalist to write articles in different newspapers in support of his party.

Moreover, he purposed to publish some leaflets, pamphlets and lastly, he planned to send summaries of local news to England for the information of the conceived quarters. Sir Agha sent 10,000 rupees to Sir Fazal with best wishes. The parliamentary board of the league met on June 8 1936 Maulvi M. Ishaq from Manshera and Maulana Zafar Ali Khan resigned from it. Raheem Baksh Gaznavi of Peshawar and Zain Ul Abideen of Multan were reappointing the Etihad e Millat on board. The reason which Zafar Ali Khan gave for leaving the board was his belief in complete independence which the ML had not yet adopted at its creeds. Maybe Mian Amer Ud Deen efforts on the line suggested by Lalla Deen Kaiser on behalf of Sir Fazal had borne fruit.

### **Sir Fazal intrigues in the united province:**

UP was another province where Sir Fazal e Hussain operated through his protégé, Sir Shifat Ahmed Khan, to sabotage Mr. Jinnah's efforts. These were few letters that have been published through enough light in this regard. Sir Shifat wrote a letter to Sir Fazal from Shimla dated May 27, 1936, and informed them about the humorous developments in the UP in connection with Jinnah's parliamentary board. Another letter which was written by Shifat to Sir Fazal on dated June 15, 1936, he informed Sir Fazal that the political progress of Jinnah and his activities. Moreover, he also described the failure and disappointments in the political activities sometimes

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<sup>161</sup> Hussain, Azam." *Fazli Hussain: A Political Biography*". Bombay: Longman, Green and Company Limited, 1946

when Jinnah's point of view. He also discussed the resignation of Nawab Ahmed Khan from the parliamentary board and told the story about the press statement by Jinnah on his resignation.

In another letter Sir Shifat informed Sir Fazal which was written dated July 5, 1936, about his particular efforts to sabotage ML. after a long meeting with the UP governor, which was based on 2 days at Nanaital, they concluded that the meeting of UP Muslims should be summoned at 25 instants to devise ways and means to counteract parliamentary board of Jinnah. He also discussed the meeting which he held with different journalists and convinced them to walk in their favor and their party even they agreed to do this.<sup>162</sup>

Sir Fazal e Hussain stooped to use whatever tactics he could to destroy Mr. Jinnah and his supporters. Raja of Mahmoodabad and Mr. Jinnah's relations also come under bad circumstances even Raja of Mahmoodabad not hesitated to donate for ML but at that time their clashes turned into a new phase. Besides this Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and his party also ceased to support the ML and its members resigned from the parliamentary board. All the propaganda spread by Sir Fazal even ceased all the financial support of ML by using his links. Sir Fazal also got the support of Ulama against the Jinnah now Jinnah was paralyzed in terms of financial and monetary basis. Every tactic adopted by Sir Fazal broke up the League. A letter written by Maulana Mushtaq Ahmed dated June 19, 1936, revealed that many Peers and Saints of Punjab under the support of Sir Fazal set a proper moment against ML.

The daily newspaper of Lahore especially "Eastern times" and "Inkalab" which were subsidized by Sir Fazal were unleashed to attack Mr. Jinnah with their reports and statements. Sir Fazal was quite indulged and unscrupulous in all types of intrigues to achieve his ends. He also introduced the concept of corruption in the assembly and media by buying their loyalty against his opponents. In his entire life, he had suffered from the complex that his colleagues were not faithful to him and would betray him at the first opportunity. Because of such fears, he never allowed any party capable member to perform any important role in politics. His ambition was to lead and form his party's first government in Punjab province when the Indian Act 1935 was made effective on April 1, 1937, his term of office as a member of the governor-general council was to expire in April 1935.

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<sup>162</sup> Ian Talbot, *Freedom's Cry: The Popular Dimension in the Pakistan Movement and Partition Experience in North-West India* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996), 86.

## **Death of Sir Fazal:**

In his last years of his life, he tried to remove Sir Sikandar Hayat from the politics of Punjab, he succeeded in his mission in arranging appointment as a full-time deputy governor of the new formed revenue bank of India. Sir Sikandar knew about his whole plan so that's why he didn't want to go out from the Punjab, but he couldn't do this. Finally, he had to except the offer and went to Calcutta branch on dated Feb 20, 1935.

Later, the climate of Bengal didn't suit him, so he transferred himself to Bombay. During the sick period of Sir Fazal, the anger of Sir Sikandar Hayat followers up day by day and they also wanted him to bring back in Punjab. Ch. Shahabad Deen and Ahmed Khan Yar Dultana also got success to bring him back in Punjab. <sup>163</sup> However, he became much interested in the state of Sir Fazal's health, perhaps, praying for his early departure to heavenly abode. The uncle of Sikandar Hayat named Bahadur Nawab Zafar Khan who has been elevated as a member of council of governor tried his best to get health updates of Sir Fazal by his physician, his physician was non-Muslim and refuse to cooperate with him and remained loyal with his profession. He even told the whole story to Sir Fazal as well. <sup>164</sup>

The desire of Sir Fazal to lead the government of Punjab province was not fulfilled. He died on July 9, 1936, mourned by the darbaris and government circle, who describe his death a great lost for the Punjab province. The daily Urdu newspaper "Inkalab" a mouthpiece of the Unionist party which was getting rupees 100 monthly as subsidy from the Agha Khan gave a huge tribute in his paper. Mr. Jinnah sympathized with his family in his great bereavement. And paid him tribute as a man of splendid personality and great ability. But according to the reports of the times of India when generalist asked to Mr. Jinnah about the thoughts and policies of Sir Fazal then he said: he is not accepting his politics on July 11, 1936

## **Sir Sikandar Hayat 1936-1942:**

### **Background:**

the death of Sir Fazal closed a chapter and brought Sir Sikandar Hayat on the screen. Sir Sikandar became successor of Sir Fazal and served as a premier of Punjab till his death on December 26, 1942. He totally changed the political environment of Punjab politics and established some useful

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<sup>163</sup> Hussain, Azam." *Fazli Hussain: A Political Biography*". Bombay: Longman, Green and Company Limited, 1946,p.77

<sup>164</sup>Ibid, 81



relation with ML and its leaders. He had a soft corner in his heart for League leaders. Sir Sikandar Hayat was born in 1892, in a family which claims to have migrated from Central Asia and whose ancestors were patronized by the British in different ways for the services especially in the war of independence in 1857.

In his early age of 9 years, he lost his father in 1901 and elder brother who took as over chief of the plan, sent very young Sikandar Hayat Khan to Aligarh to his preliminary at MAO high school. After completing his matriculation from MAO, he went to London for medical studies but due to some reasons he couldn't pursue his medical field later he came back to India in 1910 after spending 2 years in UK. During the 1 world war in 1914 he was recruited as a soldier for British government and during the 3 Afghan war in 1919, he was given command a company of Indian troops, and fought against the Afghan forces. After hostilities ceased, he took a part in the local politics and in short time he became a member of chairman of town committee. Later, He became member of Punjab legislative council in 1920 and 1923 general elections unopposed from the consequences which comprised his home district Attock. He also won unopposed election, which was held in November 1926, from the constituencies which was reserved for the Mohammadan Landlords.<sup>165</sup>

When Sir Fazal became the member of central governor general council so Sir Sikandar to a charge on 1 April 1930 as member of the Punjab governor general council. Sir Sikandar had an amazing and charming personality unlike his predecessor who, in the words of Gorge Ander-son was scarcely and engaging personality, as described in his biographical for the home library club, "great men of India" Sir Sikandar was also familiar and famous among the other parties as well. The British Hierchy system consider him incapable and dependable of betraying them. They (government) relay upon him very much, when the governor of the Punjab, Sir Geoffrey (1876-1955) went on leave in 1932 so Sikandar Hayat took over the charge. Later on other time when Sir H.W. Emerson governor of the Punjab went on thee leave on 1934. Sir Sikandar Hayat again act as the governor of the Punjab. He was knighted in 1933.

### **Sir Sikandar Hayat in Unionist Party:**

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<sup>165</sup> Malik, Iftikhar Hyder. "*Sikander Hayat Khan: A Political Biography*". Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1985.

After the death of Sir Fazal e Hussain in July 1936, he resigned from the post of deputy governorship of the reserve bank and came back to Punjab (Lahore). The party leaders considered that Nawab Muzaffar Khan was not capable of leading Unionist forces properly, he was sent on leave, and on October 20, 1936, Sir Sikandar assumed membership of the council of the governor, about two months and two weeks before the elections. Mr. Jinnah pointed out that by bringing Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan into the administration, the field was being prepared for big official interference in forthcoming elections.

Under the Indian act 1935, in some provinces where a unicameral legislative system was being established, the same system was given the nomenclature of the provincial legislative assembly. The assemblies consisted of only elected members. 6 provinces were given by cameral system namely U.P, Assam, Bengal, Bombay, Behar, and Madras.

The lower house was called the legislative assembly, and the upper house was called a legislative council. The province of Punjab was to have a unicameral legislative. The house of the provincial legislative assembly had a strength of 175 elected candidates. The Muslims were allocated only 89 seats under:

Total	89
Urban	9
Rural	75
Landlord	2
Women	2
Baloch Famenders	1

### **Elections 1935 in Punjab province:**

The schedule of the election was fixed and on November 30, was announced for submission of nomination forms. The poling was starting from December 20, 1936, to the end of January 1937.

Before the elections, Mr. Jinnah visited Punjab many times. In public meetings held at the Delhi gate ground. Jinnah delivered the speech on October 11, 1936, and he told a large Lahore gathering “your province Punjab is the most official-ridden. Some of your lord, who held the high positions on the creature of the British government. They have no desire to cooperate with the intelligentsia of Muslims. They have no desire, but they are exploiting the masses.” After that speech by Mr. Jinnah, Sir Sikandar and his followers delivered the speech against the Jinnah by saying Jinnah is not a Punjabi Muslim, so he has no right to interfere in their politics, even they just wanted him to through him from Punjab. The PML leadership under the supervision of Allama Iqbal gave its best in these elections but the victory of elections was already fixed in favor of Sir Sikandar Hayat and the Unionist party.<sup>166</sup>

The PML won only 2 seats named Malik Barkat Ali and Raja Gazanfar Ali. Khawaja Ghulam Hussain and Mazhar Ali Azhar won 2 seats for Majlis e Ahrar and Khalid Lateef Gubba and Dr. M. Allam won 2 seats for Etihad e Milat. 1 Muslim seat of Kasur district went to the Congress presidential, Mian Iftikhar ud Deen. Another seat from landlords went to the provincial Congress branch where its candidates Ch. M. Hasnain won. Baji Rashida Lateef, Mian Abdul Azeez, and Dr. Safi ud Deen Kitchlew contested independent elections they want too. The rest of the 78 Muslim seats were won by the Unionist candidates. In the general consequences, they won 12 seats and also won the took Indian Christians and got one labor seat. Thus, they had an overall strength of 93 out of 173 members.

### **Sir Sikandar formed its cabinet:**

**Sir Sikandar** was invited on Feb 17, 1937, to form his cabinet. Which took the oath of office on April 1, 1937. His cabinet consisted of 2 Muslim ministers like Mian Abdul Hai and Khizar Hayat Tiwana. One was a Hindu minister named Sir Chotu Ram, from his political party, and another Sir Manohar Lal from among independents, one Sikh Sardar Sundar Singh who represented the Khalsa nationalist party<sup>167</sup>

### **AIML, Kaiser Bagh Complex, Lucknow October 1937:**

<sup>166</sup> Hussain, Azam.” *Fazli Hussain: A Political Biography*”. Bombay: Longman, Green and Company Limited, 1946.

<sup>167</sup> Malik, Iftikhar Hyder. “*Sikander Hayat Khan: A Political Biography*.” Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1985.

The land of Lucknow always played a crucial role in the political history of ML. the League leaders organized huge public meetings and party meetings too. The Kaiser Bagh Complex was used by many political parties for their purposes, many big political leaders of the subcontinent delivered their speeches in this complex, it was built in 1850 and a big part of this complex had been demolished in the war of independence 1857.

In October 1937, the ML organized an annual session of, and they invited all Muslim members from throughout the other provinces, around 400 delegates participated in the session in all the provinces. Many important agreements were signed and even they also decided to work together due to the unbiased attitude of Congress ministries, Jinnah Sikandar pact was one of them. This pact admitted that Jinnah gave all the rights to Sir Sikandar of PML on the provincial level.<sup>168</sup>

After attending this session when Sir Sikandar Hayat came back to Lahore then Sir Allama Iqbal wrote many letters to Jinnah about the Sir Sikandar even the PML office-barriers and its friends didn't appreciate the terms which Sir Sikandar Hayat and the Unionist Party obtained from Mr. Jinnah general secretary Ghulam Rasool Khan and Joint secretary Ashiq Hussain Batalvi along with Malik Barkat Ali were very vocal in their opposition Sir Allama Iqbal was also agreed with them and conveyed his views to Mr. Jinnah through writing letters. He sent a letter dated October 30, 1937, and said the rumor is that part of the Unionist party doesn't sign league creed. So far Sir Sikandar Hayat and his party have not signed it and I heard this morning they would wait till the next session of the league. An idea as one of them told me, is to slacken the activities of the provincial league immediately another letter was sent dated November 1, 1937, followed.<sup>169</sup>

Sir Sikandar and his party members met me yesterday. We had a long discussion on the differences between League and Unionists. So, I have a very humble request to You to kindly send me the copy of an agreement which he signed and which I'm told is in your possession. I further want to ask you whether you agree to the provincial parliamentary board being by the leaders of the Unionist party under the supervision of Sir Sikandar. Sir Sikandar tell me that you agree to this and therefore, he claimed that the Unionist party must have a majority in the provincial

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<sup>168</sup> Sikandar Hayat, "*Aspects of Pakistan Movement*", Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad, 199

<sup>169</sup> Ibid,p.24

parliamentary board. This as far as I know does not appear in Jinnah-Sikandar Pact. Allama Iqbal sent his last letter of this series to Mr. Jinnah on November 10, 1937.<sup>170</sup>

In this letter, he showed his feelings and thoughts about Sir Sikandar and his tactics. Moreover, in this letter, he wrote that “Know I’m completely sure about Sir Sikandar thought related to Punjab province. He wanted nothing less than the complete charge of the League and provincial parliamentary board. In your pact with him, it is mentioned that the parliamentary board will be reconstituted and that the Unionists will have a majority on board. Sir Sikandar told me many times that he should agree with Sikandar on every reasonable possibility for the Unionist. I personally see no harm but beyond the past when he wanted complete control in the office.

Holder of the league especially the secretary who has done so much for the league faith he also criticized the pact which Jinnah signed with Sikandar he said that this pact had already damaged the prestige of the league and the tactics of the Unionist party may demise it is still further you have not so far signed the creed of the league. They did this because they wanted to get some time to strengthen their own Zamindara League in the province. Perhaps you know that on this return to Lucknow Sir Sikandar Hayat established his own party Zamindara League whose branches are in the provinces.

Jinnah didn’t give any answer to Allama Iqbal, but he wrote a letter to Malik Barkat Ali on November 20, 1937, in which he told Malik Barkat Ali about his point of view. In his letter further, he explained the reason why he was very much supported Sir Sikandar, he just wanted to strengthen the Muslims of Punjab, not even or League. At the end of his letter, he also suggested he showed his letter to Mr. Iqbal and Ghulam Rasool because they wrote many letters to Jinnah. Later, on the issue of Shahid-Ganj Mosque issue. The Muslim leaders of Punjab decided to form a committee under the leadership of Sir Sikandar Hayat. Sir Sikandar pointed his prominent Muslim Leaders as the member of this committee in that way slowly the Sir Sikandar Hayat won their trust.<sup>171</sup>

### **Formation of War Board and Sir Sikandar Hayat:**

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<sup>170</sup> Malik, Iftikhar Hyder. “*Sikander Hayat Khan: A Political Biography.*” Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1985.

<sup>171</sup> Sikandar Hayat, “*Aspects of Pakistan Movement*”, Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad, 199, 242-245.

The leadership of the Muslim League and Jinnah protected Sir Sikandar Hayat from the wrath of Muslim masses during the session and invented it from becoming a platform for condemning him. But after the Second World War had declared in September 1939. Sir Sikandar once again banging grind his axes. When the British needed a men power to strengthen the arm forces, then the Punjab premier and his followers were always ready to provide at any cost. Even before the commencement of the second world war Sir Sikandar, in a statement issued from Shimla on August 25, 1938, assured the British Government that in event of any, all resources at the commend of the Indian Muslims would be placed at their disposal for utilization in any way. Mr. Jinnah and ML condemn this attitude of Sir Sikandar and in the meeting of the council held on December 4, 1938, in Delhi.

Through Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan argued that he spoke as the representative of the material races of Punjab and not as a Muslim, he also told in simple words he couldn't have conflicting loyalties. Mr. Jinnah gave him a strong speech reply told him how he could claim what he did when 56% of Punjab was Muslims further, he explained that Sir Sikandar Hayat was a pillar of the ML and Muslims of Sub-continent expected him to be loyal to their interests and to protect them in the result of the intervention of Mr. Jinnah, Zahir ul Hussain withdrew his resolution.

After the commencement of the Second World War, the British government formed war boards and committees. The ML barred its members from participating in them and pass the resolution to this effect in the meeting held on June 17, 1940, in Bombay. Sir Sikandar was also attending that meeting but own turning back to Lahore, he also participated in the formation of the Punjab war board. The prominent leaders Syed Amjad Ali, Nawab Sir Shah Mumdot, Nawab Mushtaq Ahmed Ghulam Mushtaq Ahmed Qurmani, Mian Ameer ud Deen, and others participated in this inauguration. Sir Sikandar faced severe criticism for defying the ML council decision. He gave his justification by saying as the premier of the Punjab he had to attend that official function. He assigned a deputation lead by Nawab Sir Shah Nawaz Mamdot, the task of obtaining Mr. Jinnah's consent for the Punjabi leaders to join the war committees and boards, but they were failed to convince Mr. Jinnah. He refused to oblige them and directed members of ML to refrain from taking part in the war efforts in any form until an agreement was reached with the British government.<sup>172</sup> The attitude of ML affected the requirement policies of the government, it took the initiative to ease the situation. Lord Linlithgow, Viceroy of India stated on August 8, 1940, which he declared

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<sup>172</sup> Hussain, Azam." *Fazli Hussain: A Political Biography*". Bombay: Longman, Green and Company Limited, 1946

that no constitution would be adopted by the government without the concern of Muslims of India. The debates began on August 14, 1940, in the house of common the secretary of state Leopold Stennicit Amery, further, clarified the situation and position. In the light of the statement of the viceroy and clarification by the government, the working committee of the ML meet with Mr. Jinnah at his residence and reexamine the situation. It was decided that to leave those Muslims who think that they can serve any useful purpose by merely associating themselves with the war committees free to do for.

### **Formation of defense council:**

Another issue cropped up in mid-1941 which became the main reason to spoil the relationship between ML leaders and Sir Sikandar Hayat. The viceroy of India announced the expansion of his executive council and nominated Sultan Ahmed, Sir Feroz Khan Noon, and Sir Akbar Haidari to it in July 1941. Forgetting the membership of the national defense counsel, the viceroy of India announced the names of AK Fazal ul Haqq, Sir M. Saad Ullah, and Sir Sikandar Hayat lead of the ML government in Bengal, Assam, and Punjab respectively. Two other league members named Nawab Sir Ahmed Khan and Begham Sir Shah Nawab were also included. The viceroy of India did all this without consulting the ML, the league leaders considered the action of the viceroy in an attempt to sabotage its authorities and asked its members to resign from both bodies. In the beginning, Sir Sikandar took the stand that he and his colleague's premiers were nominated to the defense counsel as representative of the province, and as such, they were not representing Muslims alone.<sup>173</sup>

The viceroy sent a message to Jinnah through the governor of Bombay on July 20, 1941, had informed Mr. Jinnah that he had nominated them as representative of other great communities. Before the communication of the viceroy with Mr. Jinnah placed the working committee in its meeting held on August 24, 1941, Sir Sikandar had already assured the committee that he would immediately resign from the council. Saad Ullah the premier of the Assam although he couldn't attend the meeting in Bombay, he conveyed his decision via telephone for leaving the defense council. AK Fazal ul Haqq also remained a member of the defense counsel he requested to get some time to think about it but ultimately, he also left the council but only after hurting various

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<sup>173</sup> David Gilmartin, "Religious leadership and the Pakistan Movemetn in the Punjab India, Partition: ''*Process, Strategy and Mobilization*, (Delhi: Oxford University Press 1993

wild changes against the ML leadership. It was generally believed that at the time that it was Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan who had induced AK Fazal Ullah Haqq to become his mouthpiece and brought own record the letters parochial thoughts which he was rather shy to articulate.

### **Apposition of Sir Sikandar Hayat to Pakistan resolution:**

Jinnah was not happy with the attitude of Sir Sikandar Hayat. 1942 when Mr. Jinnah made a fresh committee of the ML, he didn't include Sir Sikandar Hayat as its members. On the other side, Sir Sikandar was also not as happier with the awakening, which was taking place among the Punjabi Muslims as well as the changes in the organized structure of ML. Iftikhar Hussain Khan Son of late Nawab Sir Shah Nawab Mamdot, who died on March 8, 1942, became the president of PML. Own his appointment was the president of provincial ML, Sir Sikandar was not apricated because he wanted someone of his liking such as Nawab Muzaffar Khan to take over.

Iftikhar Hussain Khan was also elected as a member of the provincial assembly in the by-elections held on March 22, 1942, for filling the seat which had fallen vacant due to his father's death. Sir Sikandar Hayat remained strictly opposed to the policies of Iftikhar Hussain Khan, till the end tried to sabotage his efforts to strengthen the PML and at one stage even created a situation in which Iftikhar Hussain would have suffered the loss of an estate worth rupee 0.15 million almost income.<sup>174</sup>

Sir Sikandar Hayat never subscribed Lahore resolution of PML and sometimes in his speeches, was quite vocal in his opposition. But by this time Punjab provincial Muslim student federation had grown deep and strong-rooted and opposed the policies of Sir Sikandar Hayat as well as the measure he took to implement them.<sup>175</sup>

Sir Sikandar Hayat had believed in an autonomous Punjab province. He had a view that the Punjab province could exist independently and prosper as an autonomous unit by enchasing its material propensity, well organized by the British government. Sir Bertrand Glancy the governor of Punjab wrote to the viceroy on July 10, 1942. In this letter, Sir Sikandar Hayat's scheme was discussed in detail. But because of his death in the same year December 1942, it was consigned to the dustbin of time.

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<sup>174</sup> Qalb-i-Abid & Massarat Abid, "Unionist-Mulim League Relations and the Punjab Administration, 185.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid,28



### **Death of Sir Sikandar:**

The Unionist Punjabi Muslim League Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan died on December 26, 1942. The death of Sir Sikandar was a great blow for the British Government. The daily statement which was published simultaneously from Calcutta and Delhi and represented the interest of the British government, on December 27, 1942, issue prominently displayed Prime Minister Winston Churchill condolence message describing Sir Sikandar as a “Pillar of British Empire”. The statement highlighted very much death of the Sir Sikandar even used the phrase in six’ column banner line for a full-page spread of its story. Mr. Jinnah left early morning for Bombay by train, only 3 to 4 people named Sir Kirshna who at the time worked with the associated press of idea as to its correspondence and was close to Mr. Jinnah. M. Rafi Toose (1900-1983) and Syed Shamsul Hassan were present to see him at the station. M. Rafi Toose was much depressed with the death of Sir Sikandar Hayat. he also felt that the condolence message of Mr. Jinnah in the morning paper was not warm enough and voiced his feelings. Mr. Jinnah just gave a smile to him and put his fingers at the headline spread over the page of the statement.

### **Sir Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana elevation to premiership:**

Sir Bertrand Glancy, governor of Punjab province didn’t let the member of the assembly decide to own the leadership. Sir Glancy should have consulted Nawab of Mamdoot named Iftikhar Hussain Khan president of the ML and the leader of ML assembly party, but he didn’t firstly he offered premiership of Punjab Sir Feroz Khan Noon, but he preferred to remain at the center. Their next choice was another feudal knight. Nawab Malik Sir Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana whose father, Nawab Sir Umar Hayat Khan Tiwana (October 5, 1872- March 5, 1944) inherited and owned vast landed property and wealth. His family was very much toward the British government. Malik Sir Khizar Hayat Khan took after all the characteristics of his father and forefather.<sup>176</sup>

### **Early Life:**

Malik Sir Khizar Hayat Khan was born on August 7, 1900, at Kaira district Sargodha. He studied at Aitchison College and later, at the government college. When he was a student of 2nd year, he

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<sup>176</sup> Hussain, Azam.” *Fazli Hussain: A Political Biography*”. Bombay: Longman, Green and Company Limited, 1946

quit college and joined the army, and was commissioned in 1918. During the 3rd Anglo Afghan War 1919, he served in the British army as Aide-De-Camp to general Beynon. After returning from the Army services, he looked after his father's estate. His forefather had served for the Sikh ruler with as much loyalty as his grandfather and his father served for the British government. During the war of independence in 1857, his grandfather raised his troops in certain areas of India and fought by the British and even went for their assistant to such far-off battlefield as Kanpoor which was situated in the center of the united province.<sup>177</sup> He amassed much money and when he died in 1879, leaving his only son who was born in 1874

. All the property of the Tiwana family was under the management of the course of words. The father of Malik Khizar Hayat earned a lot of laurels and became Major General Nawab Malik Sir Umar Hayat Khan Tiwana, along with trails of titles. After he attended the majority, he found himself the owner of more than 15,000 acres of agricultural land with a good network of canals irrigation and ensuring Malik Khizar Hayat was the only son of his parents, consider the network his parental properly. After the partition, he fought a legal battle to retain their control.

Malik Sir Khizar Hayat in 1937, entered himself in parliamentary politics when he was elected to the Punjab legislative assembly unopposed from Khushab ruler Muslim consequence and Sir Sikandar took him in his cabinet as minister of public work. Governor of Punjab Sir Glancy preferred him over the most experienced and educated member of the assembly. He took oath as the premier of Punjab on December 31st, 1942.<sup>178</sup>

The viceroy of India Lord Linlithgow had misgivings about the choice of Malik Khizar Hayat as Punjab's premier but accepted that because of Sir Glancy no trouble would occur writing to the Leo Amery the secretary of state for India on January 11th, 1943, he stated that "I'm not perfectly certain that Sir Khizar is quite the ideal man to carry this burden or that he has all the qualities of Sir Sikandar. But he has subnational backing and Sir Glancy is now well in the saddle and in the position to give him a great deal of assistance."

### **Shaukat Hayat became a minister:**

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<sup>177</sup> Hussain, Azam." *Fazli Hussain: A Political Biography*". Bombay: Longman, Green and Company Limited, 1946

<sup>178</sup> Sikandar Hayat, "*Aspects of Pakistan Movement*", Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad, 199, 242-245.

Malik Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana included in his ministry Sir Chotu Ram, Mian Abdul Hai, Sir Manohar Laal, and Sardar Sir Sunbar Singh who had already served as a member of the cabinet of Sir Sikandar Hayat. He also added Khan Bahadur Sheikh Kiramat Ali, an MLA from Larkana District. Later, on Feb 6, 1943, son of Sir Sikandar named Sir Shaukat Hayat, was sworn in as a minister. He was born on September 23, 1915, after getting his formal education in government college Lahore he joined the Indian Military academy in 1935 at Dara Dan, he became a commission Military officer after 2 years in 1937. He served with the Middle East forces during the Second World War, but he didn't see much action as he was captured and became a prisoner. Later he was released and after the death of his father in 1942 he was discharged from the army. From the correspondence published in the transfer of power volumes, it clears that the British government deliberately planned him in Punjab politics. They didn't consider Sir Khizar Hayat Khan a man of strong will and intelligence and believed that he would succumb to the league pressure. Sir Shaukat was a safe bet for safe guiding the British Government's interest. Different references were made in the correspondence between the government functionaries' clarities that matter. The governor of Punjab Sir Glancy addressed to the viceroy Lord Linlithgow on April 17, 1943, published in the transfer of power volume 3 an interesting episode has been brought to light.

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The letter being with the reference to the reaction which fast of GhandiJee evoked and describing it as having receded ingloriously into the background, proceeded to disclose what happened in the meeting with Sir Shaukat Hayat Khan had with Mr. Jinnah after he was taken as a minister: "The main threat to our political tranquility comes from Mr. Jinnah and the ML. Sir Shaukat Hayat told me that you were good enough to see him in Delhi just after his interview with Mr. Jinnah and he was great full of courage you gave him. Mr. Jinnah appears as you'll have gathered, to have been extremely rough and overbearing in his dealing with Sir Shaukat Hayat Khan. Whom he advised to return to the army and give off the idea of ticket of ML for the Punjab assembly, which could only hope to secure employing cajolery and underground activities. Mr. Jinnah said that appointment of Sir Shaukat Hayat as minister was an insult to democracy."<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>179</sup>Dr. Sikandar Hayat, "Charisma, Crisis and the Emergence of Quaid-i-Azam," Journal of Pakistan Historical Society, vol. L, no. 1,P.58

<sup>180</sup> Dr. Sikandar Hayat, "Charisma, Crisis and the Emergence of Quaid-i-Azam," Journal of Pakistan Historical Society, vol. L, no. 1&2, 31-46.

In his autobiography, which was published in 1995, Malik Shaukat Hayat has given a completely different version of what happened in the meeting with Quaid e Azam on March 29, 1943, at the letter's New Delhi residence. He has started,

“Sharp 6 pm I arrived. His secretary received me and made me sit in the living room, kicking my heels, for some 20 minutes. After some time, I started my first meeting with my future leader, He barely looked up reluctantly extended his hand, and pointed towards the sofa along the wall where I sat. he kept on looking at his corresponded ignoring me completely. I felt as if I was back in the interrogation center in Asmara where I sat in the presence of the colonel. Properly the whole of my reception had been planned purposely to deflate me. Later he took over the cigarette, tapped on the case, and lit it without offering me. Affronted by the gesture rashly took out the cigarette and started smoking in front of him. My gesture was noticed looking from his papers he curtly remarked that he didn't issue cigarette to which I retorted saying that through political novice and a mere solely even I knew that tickets are issued by the provincial working committee. Then he asked why I had come to see him and why should I not go back to the army when I belonged.”

Long story short, finally the ticket of PML working committee gave to Shaukat Hayat Khan he got success to get his tickets with the help of his father's friends. It was an alarming situation for the Unionist Leaders and Khizar Hayat moreover, the governor of Punjab was also not happy with this addition in PML. In a note about the ML Delhi Session held from 24 to 26 April 1943 and published in the transfer of power volume 3. “Sir Shaukat Hayat Khan had given a ticket for his by-elections by the center league parliamentary committee on his placing his resignation in the hands of Mr. Jinnah to be used when needed. Meanwhile, both sides have contracted to treat this matter with utmost secrecy.<sup>181</sup> Sir Shaukat Khan had believed to have made it clear to Mr. Jinnah that, if it came to fight with the British government Mr. Jinnah must realize him from his obligations because of his father's long connection with the British government and because he is an army officer. Sir Shaukat Hayat will not go against the British government. Mr. Jinnah has seen his point of view and agreed to let his out when needed.”<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>181</sup>Ian Talbot, *Freedom's Cry: The Popular Dimension in the Pakistan Movement and Partition Experience in North-West India* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996)

<sup>182</sup> Dr. Sikandar Hayat, “Charisma, Crisis and the Emergence of Quaid-i-Azam,” *Journal of Pakistan Historical Society*, vol. L, no. 1&2, 31-46.

In the frame note, the following statement also raise up

“29,000 were contributed by Sindh members an equal sum by the Punjabi members. The premier of Punjab promised on condition that his name would not be announced, a donation of rupees 7,000 Sir Shaukat Hayat offered rupees 3,000 but his offer was not accepted as it was thought that its acceptance at the stage when he had just been given the Muslim League ticket would create misunderstanding.”

The account doesn't clear anywhere in the Muslim League records do not have contemporary newspapers reported anything about the resignation of Sir Shaukat Hayat or about the ML not accepting his donation even Sir Shaukat Hayat mentioned in his autobiography penned a completely different version. Sir Shaukat Hayat Khan was elected to the assembly on May 23, 1943, from the Attock District north consequence of the Punjab province by the majority of about 3,000 votes. In the 1937 general election Khan Bahadur Nawab Muzaffar Khan won this seat, he resigned to accommodate Sir Shaukat Hayat. Governor of Punjab Sir Glancy composited Nawab Muzaffar Khan by appointing him a member of the Punjab and NWFP public service commission.

### **Down Fall of Sir Khizar Hayat and ML grows in Punjab:**

The death of Sir Sikandar Hayat was a great blow to the British Government but both in the assembly and outside it went a long way in transforming the ML into a force to be reckoned with. They looked towards Quaid-e-Azam for the guideline. Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot already held the reins of the organization as its presidentship. Another Youngman, Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Dultana, was elected as its sectary. ML had not composition in the Punjab Assembly only Malik Barkat Ali had faith in the politics of ML, but after elections, Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot had been elected to the assembly the position became a little respectable. Later Mumtaz M. Khan Dultana became a member by-election from the Punjab landlord constituency.<sup>183</sup> In the beginning elections of Sir Shaukat Hayat made no difference to the ML. he behaved like another loyalist, but from the initial stages, he had a strong argument that he should have been called upon to fill the position of his father. This feeling grew with time, he became convinced that he was seated of his hereditary right by Sir Khizar Hayat Khan. In a few months after having been

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<sup>183</sup> Sikandar Hayat, “*Aspects of Pakistan Movement*”, Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad, 199, 242-245.

appointed the Punjab premiership, the viceroy noted that Khizar Hayat Khan and his Muslims minister's temple to show themselves to be more Muslims than the ML itself, this of course by way of a county attraction to the league. He expressed the fear that the non-communal policy of Sir Sikandar Hayat is rapidly abandoned by Sir Khizar Hayat Khan. But as a governor, in his reply dated July 26, 1943, asserted that Sir Khizar Hayat has shown no kind of communal partiality. He has now been called to Shimla and taken very sternly to task by Sir Khizar Hayat.

Sir Khizar delivered a strong speech in a public meeting at Sheikhpura on July 15, 1943. The members of Khizar's cabinet protested against Shaukat's statement and considered it as the rebellion act but he explained and referred to the Jinnah Sikandar pact and said that he had not made any declaration beyond what was implied in it. Leader Sir Khizar Hayat nor the governor of Punjab, Sir Glancy, could do much to contract and arrest the momentum of the popular Muslims will. The governor expressed his fears that ultimately it would not be possible to restrain AIML from having the dominating role in the politics of Punjab, by his letter which was written to viceroy lord Linlithgow dated April 23, 1943.

On May 4, 1943, the viceroy of India reported to the secretary for India that in the meeting which he had with Sir Khizar Hayat, he found him profoundly uneasy at the position of Punjab so far as Pakistan is concerned, and told me that he felt that Pakistan, deeply tinged as it was with religious prejudices was getting to a point as which it couldn't be resisted. Later, on October 1st, 1943, Lord Linlithgow recorded and conveyed to the secretary of State of India that Sir Khizar Hayat is a pleasant and well-mannered person, not politically intelligent. Through he knew that Pakistan couldn't be resisted, Sir Khizar Hayat didn't go with the ML. the correspondence published in the transfer of power: volume IV, shows that Sir Khizar Hayat would have dis-mantled the Unionist and would have said goodbye to politics, but the governor of Punjab and viceroy did not let him do so.<sup>184</sup>

Sir Khizar Hayat, whom the viceroy himself described as a person not particularly intelligent, accepted the course of action suggested by the governor of Punjab, Sir Glancy, and viceroy, who stood up to the ML. meanwhile, AIML had given much power, strength, fame, and the message of Quaid e Azam "faith, unity, discipline." Became a message of hope for the down-trodden Muslim

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<sup>184</sup> Sikandar Hayat, "*Aspects of Pakistan Movement*", Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad, 199, 242-245.

masses of the Punjab Province ML 55 established more branches in small villages and organized daily basis meetings in which they would highlight the purpose of Pakistan and its aims on daily basis. The Punjab administration used various ways to stop the masses to participate in politics even they banned political meetings and activities by imposing off CPC 144 section. Sir Shaukat Hayat became a victim of this action. The Punjab administration didn't tolerate activities for a long and dismissed him on April 26, 1944, and they gave a reason why the improper exercise of power by him as a minister.<sup>185</sup>

Sir Khizar Hayat and the governor were under the impression that the Punjab loyalist, dare not toe any other line except that which was chalked out for them by the administration. On the eve of the second annual session of the Punjab provincial league at Sialkot from 28 to 30 April 1944. Sir Khizar Hayat issued a statement dissociating himself from the ML. the session condemned his statement and called upon all Muslim members to declare their allegiance to the ML alone. Mr. Jinnah and other league leaders held lengthy talks with the Unionist leaders, but they were not in the mood to cooperate with the league so on May 27, 1944, after protected negotiation, the AIML committee of actions expelled Sir Khizar and his colleagues from the ML organizations.<sup>186</sup>

In the secret letter of the governor on August 16, 1945, addressed to viceroy lord Wavell he complained ML have been indulging in much propaganda, wholesale vilification of Congress and the Unionist government in the Punjab province. Demand by the AIML holding the general elections to settle the question that alone represented Muslim's India unnerved Mr. Jinnah and his followers are loudly demanding for general elections, a matter about which Congress appears to be comparatively lukewarm.

It was the Glancy-Khizar axis, which was responsible for the breakdown of the Shimla Conference as they insisted Muslims of the Unionist party should be included in the council of viceroy. The INC also supported them. But Sir Glancy gave it completely different compactions and accused Mr. Jinnah of engineering the breakdown with the view to using it for enhancing his prestige. He told the viceroy that the Unionist party with rallying cry against Pakistan because he strongly believed that no Punjabi however uniform would contemplate with equanimity so shattering a

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<sup>185</sup> Sikandar Hayat, *Aspects of Pakistan Movement*, Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad, 199, 242-245.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid, 253-54

dismemberment of the province involving in effed the disappears of the word. Punjab, which has been held in high honor for the last 2000 years <sup>187</sup>

Sir Feroz Khan Noon also tried to contribute by himself in Pakistan scheme he wrote a letter to Mr. Jinnah and asked him for resignation from the executive council of the viceroy and before the upcoming elections 1945-46, he wanted to work for the ML and Pakistan scheme. He also applied for the 5 to 6 months leave but the viceroy was not as happier with his action. He had a great interest in the Pakistan Scheme and agenda of the ML. he gave many suggestions and bits of advice to authorities to solve the issues of the Punjab province,<sup>188</sup>

Governor of Punjab Sir Glancy didn't pay any heed to what Sir Feroz Khan suggested to him. He recorded however in his version of the interview what he alleged was the admission of Sir Feroz Khan to him that he didn't believe in Pakistan as preached by the ML and heartily wished that the term Pakistan had never been invented. The whole interview didn't act to enhancing the personal prestige of Sir Feroz. On October 17, 1945, when the governor of Punjab and Sir Khizar Hayat met with the viceroy, both were very anxious that they should announce a definite policy about Pakistan i.e., what they meant by permission to secede from the Indian Union in the other words Sir Glancy and Sir Khizar insisted that before fixing elections date, the Unionist should provide a rallying cry against Pakistan- something on which elector should bite. They were confident that the announcement that the 2 divisions, Jalandhar and Ambala and the Amritsar District would not be allowed to go to Pakistan, would frighten the Punjab Muslims and they wouldn't vote for ML. Sir Feroz gave his best by organizing public meetings and obtained the support of different Baradaris for uprising the League.

On the other hand, Lady Noon pleaded to Mr. Jinnah in her letter sent on October 18, 1945, to uplift the ban on Begum Shah Nawaz and talked about her importance in her areas. Begum Shah Nawaz also decided to rejoin the League and sent an apology letter to Jinnah on October 6, 1945. Mr. Jinnah also accepted his apology on October 17 and lifted the ban from her. The new premier of Punjab gave an assurance that on his return to Punjab he would do his utmost for the Punjab ML in his province. But he (Sir Khizar) had been paying only lip service and did little practice to

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<sup>187</sup> Ian Talbot, *Freedom's Cry: The Popular Dimension in the Pakistan Movement and Partition Experience in North-West India* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996)

<sup>188</sup> Hussain, Azam." *Fazli Hussain: A Political Biography*". Bombay: Longman, Green and Company Limited, 1946



put a new life in PML probably thinking that such assurance has been given by his predecessor (Sir Sikandar) in the past; Sir Sikandar Hayat had little to translate then into reality and ML took no action against therefore he was allowed to get away each time, but after 1943 the political game of Punjab had changed now, the PML established itself on a strong footing and new premier his was not especially popular in Punjabi Muslims. Realizing that Sir Khizar was not in the mood to fulfill his promises, the PML renewed its pressure on him. <sup>189</sup>

Many distinguished leaders participated in their annual celebration of the Pakistan Resolution with the view to reviving enthusiasm in the Pakistan Scheme. Inevitably, therefore, Sir Khizar Hayat Khan attended the Delhi session of PML the ML leaders expressed his loyalty to his committee. The PML leaders showed their regrets about their performance and once again Jinnah appealing to Punjab's delegation to do all they could for the growth of the League. Once again assured the premier of Punjab and his associate to work hard to popularize the league message and program. As usual, when he reached back to Lahore and met with the anti-Pakistan scheme governor of Punjab and Unionist leader, Sir Khizar once again found out that it was not easy for him to work actively for the growth of the Pakistan Scheme. <sup>190</sup>

There was also a huge pressure by Sir Chutto Ram, even he was not ready to obey the Jinnah's order in every circumstance. The PML president Nawab Mamdot had already realized the situation and was also aware of the intentions of the Anti-Pakistan elements. Nawab Mamdoot accessed the situation and decided to challenge Sir Khizar Hayat, the Nawab argued that under the terms of the Jinnah Sikandar Pact, Sir Khizar ministry was subjected to discipline of ML. On the other side, Sir Shaukat Hayat was also making trouble for the Sir Khizar ministry and 20 assemblies threatened the Punjab CM if the bill would not support the league's point of view, then they would be the Unionists. In the meeting Sir Khizar and League leaders in September and threatened the league if they would not oppose the Unionist party, governors' rule (section 93) might be enforced in the Punjab province. This threat was not enough for the Jinnah to stop himself. Another meeting was held in November but stuck to their guns. In this stage league, the working committee organized the committee to take into Punjab matters especially the defense of Sir Khizar Hayat of PML. In

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<sup>189</sup>Dr. Sikandar Hayat, "Charisma, Crisis and the Emergence of Quaid-i-Azam," *Journal of Pakistan Historical Society*, vol. L, no. 1p.,33

<sup>190</sup> David Gilmartin, "Religious leadership and the Pakistan Movement in the Punjab India, Partition: ''*Process, Strategy and Mobilization*, (Delhi: Oxford University Press 1993

the meantime, the ML organized a session in Karachi in which they appreciate the action which they took against Sir Khizar Hayat.

League leaders visited Lahore on 18th March 1944 to attend the inauguration session PMSF. Sir Khizar with his Muslim colleagues also attended that session. During his speech, Jinnah underlined the need to work hard with his dedication and especially pointed to the youth Muslims to participate in future hurdles in the end he asked Sir Khizar to fulfill his promise. Later, he had a meeting with Sir Khizar Hayat, and soon demand of Unionists would support the PML within and without the Punjab assembly.

Sir Khizar Hayat found himself in the dilemma; he didn't know what to do under the circumstances. Sir Khizar Hayat couldn't think and decide independently beyond a point. Sir Khizar got in touch with the governor, after many meetings with Sir Khizar and the governor, he realized that the premier had to accept Mr. Jinnah's demands otherwise both League and Pakistan Scheme became popular in Punjab. However, Sir Khizar Hayat now needed official advice to reject the demands of Jinnah; the governor due to his anti-Pakistan bias, extremely liked his premier to do his utmost to resist the ML's pressure. The governor of Punjab also involved the viceroy of India and was able to have his support for the anti ML program.<sup>191</sup>

In April, Jinnah again visited Punjab and met with Sir Khizar demanded that it was the time when the Unionist had to choose the ML and its opponents in the meantime, armed with official advice and decided to show his power by striking at the heart of the ML, on April 26 Sardar Shaukat Hayat dismissed by Sir Khizar from his cabinet with the allegation of misuse of his ministry's power. This action was interpreted in the circle of ML that now there was little possibility of a compromise between the ML and Sir Khizar Hayat. Sir Khizar took a strong step by issuing a long statement on the ML-Unionist relationship under the Jinnah-Sikandar pact, completely rejecting the pleas of ML for the corporation. Due to the popularity of the Jinnah and Pakistan scheme, Sir Khizar couldn't oppose the Pakistan movement publicly.<sup>192</sup>

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<sup>191</sup> Dr. Sikandar Hayat, "Charisma, Crisis and the Emergence of Quaid-i-Azam," *Journal of Pakistan Historical Society*, vol. L, no. 1&2, 31-46.

<sup>192</sup> David Gilmartin, "Religious leadership and the Pakistan Movement in the Punjab India, Partition: '*Process, Strategy and Mobilization*," (Delhi: Oxford University Press 1993)

17 Muslim members of the Punjab assembly parted their company with Sir Khizar Hayat which was followed by the declaration of war against the Unionists. In the middle of the annual session of PML at Sialkot, president Sardar Rub Nishtar criticized Sir Khizar Hayat's attitude and decided to form the inquiry committee on the dismissal of Sardar Shaukat Hayat because he was a great supporter of the Pakistan scheme in Punjab. Sir Khizar must lose his leadership and be relegated to the background. Sir Khizar now totally depended on the advice of the governor and to save him further embarrassment. To bribe some families of note in Punjab, Sir Khizar expanded his cabinet and also made other political appointments, but all these factors failed to produce the desired result.

The PML fast its activities especially in rural Punjab, moreover, now it was able to organize its guards, and the relentless campaign was started against the Punjab province. The PML now started to introduce its financial position and the league action committee itself started to look after the case against Sir Khizar, even he tried to explain but the league action committee exploited him from the league on 27 March 1944. The PML celebrated this action and PMSF organized interviews in which they appreciated the services of Sardar Shaukat and criticized the politics of Sir Khizar Hayat. The Lahore ML was excessively active against the rump of the Unionist party lead by Sir Khizar. Mr. Jinnah many times publicly announced that Sir Khizar Hayat had been following the advice of anti-Pakistan elements, especially the Governor of the Punjab and Sir Chottu Ram. The PML had already published its manifesto that how they will protect the Muslim interests. The PML also formed its assembly party which was consisted of 26 members under the Presidentship of Sir Shaukat and Mian Mumtaz Doltana became deputy leader.<sup>193</sup>

In the meantime, on the Indian level like Raja Ji-Gandhi Formula and Jinnah-talks in 1944 became the cause of the popularity of Pakistan scheme as well as PML in the Muslims. But the acceptance of the Pakistan Scheme by Sir Chottu Ram and Gandhi once again revived the controversy of anti-Pakistan. The Hindu Mahasabha Punjabi leaders criticized the Gandhi-Raja Ji formula by saying they betrayed the Hindu interest in Punjab. All Hindu conferences and Hindu students organized meetings had issued the statement against the Acharya formula for the partition of India.<sup>194</sup>The Sikh community and the Political parties like Akali Dal and All-Party Sikh

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<sup>193</sup> David Gilmartin, "Religious leadership and the Pakistan Movement in the Punjab India, Partition: 'Process, Strategy and Mobilization", (Delhi: Oxford University Press 1993

<sup>194</sup>Ibid,33

conference organized sessions to criticize the Acharia formula and acceptance of the Gandhi of Pakistan Scheme. In other words, all anti-Pakistan forces were opposed to such initiatives which could enhance the popularity of ML, especially in Punjab. Sir Khizar and Governor moved to settle the congress- League difference. Punjab premier was very much worried about it, Muslim League took office at the center, it would make his survival difficulties in Punjab. Sir Khizar was much relieved when this idea did not materialize Mr. Jinnah did not give his blessing.<sup>195</sup>

In May 1945, the viceroy Lord Wavell got in touch with the British council to form his new executive with the idea to get the cooperation of League and Congress, this development worried the opponents of the PML. After hearing about this news Sir Khizar sent a request to Viceroy in London to remember Unionists in the representing in the new Punjab council, in the reply viceroy assured him that he would consult him on all important matters. When Viceroy returned to Delhi, Sir Khizar and his Governor met with him and expressed their concern in great detail. They also threatened the viceroy about his development according to the representative of the Muslim League in Council.

On June 25, 1925, after a great deal of hard work, Viceroy Lord Wavell was able to align the Shimla conference. The Muslim leader already knew about the design of Sir Khizar, so when the conference opened Mr. Jinnah claimed to nominate all Muslim members of the new council branding the Unionists as traitors. The unionist and Congress pooled their resources against the League claims. At a stage, some moderate leaders of the Muslim league got in touch with Sir Khizar and tried to have his support, promising that he would be consulted on the nomination of the PML in the council on viceroy; Sir Khizar Hayat however, remained a dominant refusing to support Jinnah on this issue. In the end, the conference therefore failed; Sir Khizar and Punjab governor were much relieved at least for the time being because of all the blame of the failure of this conference on the part of Mr. Jinnah by the officials and politicians.<sup>196</sup>

Although there was no immediate problem for the anti-Muslims and Unionist leaders' elements, the failure of the Shimla conference once again gave imputed to activities of the PML revival the Pakistan movement and anti-Khizar movement in Punjab. The support of PML openly

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<sup>195</sup> Azra Asghar Ali and Sajid Mahmood Awan, "Political Development and the Political Parties in Punjab, 1849-1947" in *Pakistan Journal of Social sciences* (PJSS) Vol.29, No. (June 2009):

<sup>196</sup> Hussain, Azam." *Fazli Hussain: A Political Biography*". Bombay: Longman, Green and Company Limited, 1946

started criticizing the attitude of Sir Khizar according to anti-Pakistan, during the Shimla conference and after that, Sir Khizar and top aides were constantly branded as traitors. The PML time and again expressed its determination to defeat the Unionist party in upcoming elections, several meetings were held in the different parts of Punjab for that matter. Sardar Shaukat Hayat, Sir Feroz Khan Noon, Mian Mumtaz Doltana, Raja Ghazanfar Ali, and Nawab Mumdot were given the task to defeat the Unionist party.

The PML manifesto was distributed in different areas of Punjab especially in rural Punjab, Sardar Shaukat was also given the task to reorganize the national guards of PML. The PML leaders openly challenged Sir Khizar and their party, by saying this they would win all the Muslim seats. Sir Khizar and his party leaders came to know that the magic word “Pakistan” would make trouble for them so, they asked Government for their help but at that time, the Government was also not able to do anything. Through different secrets reports had been indicating the fact that the Muslim supporters of PML were deeply committed to the idea of Pakistan and the prediction was that the league was in a position to win a good number of seats in upcoming elections in Punjab. Surprisingly, some veteran Unionist has the same opinion about that.

Thus, the PML was described as a rising star in the politics of Punjab. The viceroy's nervousness was noted, when the Punjab governor reported to him about 80% of Muslims supported PML. The religious appeal of the league was so great that it had even confused the Unionist party, it did not know about what to do or what to say. The president of Congress always made effort to form a united front against the PML. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad visited Punjab and was in touch with the Unionist party, Ahrars, and Khaksar. Later, popular leaders of Congress visited Punjab to support their candidates and Sikhs were also highly active in their election campaign and were more violent in their propaganda against the PML, its candidates, and the creation of Pakistan.<sup>197</sup>

Sir Khizar Hayat used his government resources (in some cases) to defeat the PML but, the top leadership of the PML like Sir Feroz Khan, Nawab Mumdot, Raja Ghazanfar Ali, Doltana Sahib, and Sardar Shaukat Hayat gave answers to their challengers. The PML got the services of

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<sup>197</sup> Rafique Afzal, “Malik Barkat Ali: His Life and Writings ,Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1969,p,33

PMSF and pro-league-press and journalists in the campaign. The result noticed the league got all 30 Muslim seats in the central elections, which was a very good omen, and it increased the prestige of the league. This led to the historic announcement by Mr. Jinnah that it was the clean verdict in favor of Pakistan and that the AIML was the sole representative of the Indian Muslims. The league celebrated “Victory Day” on January 11, 1946 and established more than 20 new branches in Punjab. By February 1946, all the results of the provincial elections were known as anticipated Sir Khizar Hayat and the Unionist party was defeated badly within only 13 Muslim seats and at the same time, 57 unionists were un-seated. The PML had a splendid victory by winning 73 seats and became the only single largest political party in Punjab. It was not ending the game for the opposition of PML, despite their mutual differences, there were commonalities among them such as.

(a) To oppose Pakistan

(b) To turn the victory of PML into its defeat by allying to keep the PML out of power

No doubt, the PML was the single largest party in the Punjab assembly, but once again Sir Khizar was asked by the Governor (Bertrand Glancy) to form a Ministry. Now, at that time Sir Khizar had completely lost his credibility and following in the Punjab assembly, now his political group reduced in size (only 6-7 Muslim candidates in assembly) and he was no more well known. These were the actual reasons that it took five days to find ministers for Sir Khizar Hayat’s cabinet when his political party had been virtually eliminated.<sup>198</sup>

### **Sir Khizar again appointed premier:**

Sir Khizar Hayat nevertheless was installed as premier of Punjab on March 7, 1947, by the anti-league and anti-Pakistan forces with at least one clear objective – to keep the PML out of power as long as possible and to hinder the creation of Pakistan and Sir Evan Jenkins succeeded him as the last governor of British Punjab. In his first official report, he described the weak team progress of Sir Khizar. The premier did not know what to do after becoming the Chief Minister of

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<sup>198</sup> Dr. Sikandar Hayat, “Charisma, Crisis and the Emergence of Quaid-i-Azam,” *Journal of Pakistan Historical Society*, vol. L, no. 1&2, 31-46.

Punjab; He knew very well that more than 90% of employees in the government supported PML, even his life was in danger and for that matter; he spent most of his time hiding from the public. Sir Khizar Hayat was also going abroad on vacation during summer and was unwilling to come to India at the time when the most crucial issue of India the transfer of powers - was being decided.

The PML leader, again and again, warned the government that Sir Khizar's unpopular Ministry would bring the most dangerous result for the piece of Punjab. The top leadership of PML and PMSF attacked the Governor for depriving the powers of the PML. The PML also fought strongly during the budget presentation in the assembly.<sup>199</sup>

In the meantime, leaders of PML also arguing their case before the cabinet mission plans sent by the British government to decide the future of India. The mission arrived in India on March 23, 1946, with the object of planning under which power could be transfer to the Indians. Nawab Mumdot met the cabinet mission and argued that there could be settlement about the boundaries of Pakistan once the Pakistan scheme was accepted. The mission also had a meeting with Sir Khizar Hayat, he was in favor of giving safeguard to the Muslims and regretted that Mister Quaid e Azam was not pressured to define Pakistan's boundaries, especially earlier; Sir Khizar supported that the government should decide the Pakistan issue by announcing an award, even he did not favor the Sikh's inclusions in Pakistan, if it was created.

Sikhs leaders also met with the cabinet mission and opposed the idea of Pakistan's creation. Moreover, they favored the formation of the independent state of Sikhs in the case India was divided. The cabinet mission also interviewed many other Indian leaders; it noticed that the two major parties, AIML, and Congress are poles apart. The Cabinet mission propounded some scheme which was discussed in the Shimla conference from 5 to 12 May 1946 but lead to no agreement. Sikh's point of view was dominating factor and the league's Pakistan scheme was rejected.

The 16th May plan suggested the three-hired Indian union-center empowered to deal with the subject such as communication, defense, and foreign affairs; it would have the power to raise its revenue. There was a three-section, section A based on Indian majority areas, section B based on Muslim majority areas, section C based on Bengal and Assam. The constitutional assembly

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<sup>199</sup>Becker, Mary Louise. "*The all India Muslim League, 1906-1947: A Study of Leadership in the Evolution of a Nation*"(Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013), 202.

would have 385 members, of whom 93 were to be from the Indian State and the rest to be elected by the various provinces according to their population and the seats would be divided amongst the communities, according to their population and strength. The Punjab provincial assembly allocated a total number of 28 seats divided as 8 (general) 16 (Muslims) 4 (Sikhs).<sup>200</sup>

It was anticipated that the Sikhs and Congress would gladly accept the recommendation of the Cabinet mission, for the Pakistan Scheme was rejected. The Sikhs did this because they were not satisfied with the number of seats allocated to their community. In the end, ML except for the 16th May plan but Congress was still in the middle to examine, and they just wanted to get rid of the group system. At the end of the day, the AIML decided to withdraw their previous acceptance of the 16th May statement and prepared a program of direct-action day.

On the other hand, the PML was very busy in its anti-government and Sir Khizar opponent policy, the PML leaders also showed their anger by renouncing the title which was given by the British government. As planned the PML leaders observed a total strike in Punjab. The PML as a different moment organization also took to the streets protesting against their them called the “Unholy alliances” between Sir Khizar Hayat and anti-Muslim forces in the province of Punjab. Speeches were made against Sir Khizar, but these protests were not as fruitful as they were thinking.

On September 2, 1946, Sikhs and Congress formed an interim government. The appointment of Baldave Singh as defense minister was like rubbing salt on Muslim's wounds. In response, the PML started to plan a holy war. A detailed program was chalked out for Civil disobedience moment against Sir Khizar Hayat the PML issued a statement implying the PML would not accept the interim government. After some time, Congress and Viceroy realized that without the league's participation in the government, it would be a difficult business. The direct-action day had taught many lessons. The viceroy put a lot of pressure on the Congress to give representation in the cabinet so on October 5, 1946; five members were appointed in the Indian

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<sup>200</sup> Becker, Mary Louise. “*The all India Muslim League, 1906-1947: A Study of Leadership in the Evolution of a Nation*”(Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013), 202.



government. Raja Ghazanfar Ali who was a member of the interim government and belonged to Punjab stated that the PML would not compromise on the creation of Pakistan.<sup>201</sup>

On January 24, 1947, the Punjab ministers gave a challenge by declaring PML guards as an unlawful organization; many top-ranking PML leaders were arrested. It turned out to be a great challenge for many Muslim eminent families of Punjab. More importantly, leaders of the eminent families also came out into the streets against Sir Khizar. Someday, Sir Khizar had to release the political prisoners due to the large-scale protest throughout Punjab.<sup>202</sup>

If one carefully analyzed the condition in Punjab affairs Sir Khizar Hayat was appointed as the premier of Punjab. The safest conclusion was that Sir Khizar Hayat had miscalculated the strength of PML. The governance of Punjab had now been extremely difficult. The 90% of employees of the Punjab govt supported the PML, even the chief secretary of Punjab, Akhtar Hussain was not trusted by the governor. Liaquat Ali Khan and Raja Ji issued statements against Sir Khizar. Jinnah also protested against the high-dishonesty and unwarranted policies of Sir Khizar's ministry even 70 years old uncle of Sir Khizar was also a supporter of the PML. Some popular Muslims from other provinces also visited Punjab and gave statements against the ministry of Sir Khizar. They even appreciated the PML peaceful protest by effective may against Sir Khizar.

<sup>203</sup>

Leagues working committee held its session and demanded the removal of restrictions on political activities of PML and condemned the attitude of All Anti-Pakistan forces. Soon Sir Khizar Hayat had a meeting with his uncle, Allah Baksh for his opinion and advice. It may be noted that Sir Khizar and his cabinet colleagues were so terrified that most of the time they were spending and hiding their nights in government guest houses. Soon the Punjab government came under pressure and realized around 2000 political detainees including the top-ranking leader of PML. After this achievement, PML sent a message to all its branches to celebrate the victory day on March 2, 1947.<sup>204</sup>

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<sup>201</sup> Azra Asghar Ali and Sajid Mahmood Awan, "Political Development and the Political Parties in Punjab, 1849-1947" in *Pakistan Journal of Social sciences* (PJSS) Vol.29, No. (June 2009):

<sup>202</sup> Ikram Azam, *Pakistan and the Indian heritage* (Islamabad: Pakistan Futuristics Foundation & 2 Institute, 1983),

<sup>203</sup> Sho Kuwajima, "*Muslims, Nationalism and the Partition: 1946 Provincial Elections in India*" (Manohar Publications, 1998), 130-150.

<sup>204</sup> Hussain, Azam." *Fazli Hussain: A Political Biography*". Bombay: Longman, Green and Company Limited, 1946

In the meantime, Sir Khizar Hayat meets with Sir Zafar Ul Khan, who was considered the wise man in the top brass, Unionist party leadership, and his uncle Nawab Allah Baksh. Sir Zafar Ul Khan mentioned in his memories that being a good friend of Sir Khizar he got in touch with the premier of Punjab after hearing the statement of Feb 20, 1947, about the date of the British withdrawal from the India and advised Sir Khizar Hayat to resign and thereafter competed with the AIML. On the other hand, the governor of Punjab and the Unionist party wanted Sir Khizar to linger on in his office as long as possible, but now Sir Khizar had enough of trouble and therefore didn't oblige his pro-British friends and instead preferred to resign. At this stage, the PML prepared to take office by re-electing Mamdot as its leader. Sir Feroz Khan Noon was advised by the Jinnah to support the Mamdot.

Mr. Jinnah didn't wish to see any rivalry for the position of Chief Minister of Punjab, but no one knew that the Punjab governor Sir Evan Jenkins, who had the reputation of being the pro-Sikh governor was in no mood to give an easy way to the PML. He managed to convince the viceroy of India that the PML should not be allowed to form the new ministry. The last viceroy of India, Lord Mount Batten who himself was not ready to accept the ML was now making plans to head over the power; eventually, the 3rd June plan evolved. However, the cold war between Evan Jenkin and ML continued until the end, he did all he could to harm the league interest.<sup>205</sup> Mount Batten was also angry because Mr. Jinnah did not accept him as common Governor-General of Pakistan and India. Therefore, the PML continued its criticism of Jenkins and Mount Batten until the creation of Pakistan.

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<sup>205</sup> Sikandar Hayat, "*Aspects of Pakistan Movement*", Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad, 199, 242-245.

## CONCLUSIONS

The Punjab was quite different from other provinces of India regarding its geography, economic resources and its multi-communal population Muslims, the Hindus, the Sikhs and other smaller groups. Most of the foreign invaders from north entered in India via Punjab. Islam spread here through the efforts of Sufis who came from Afghanistan, central Asia a Middle East and settled here permanently. Their shrines and their Gaddis still are centers of attraction for their disciples (Murids) not only within Punjab but in all over the world. The Sikh rule specially the reign of Ranjit Singh brought miseries for other Punjabis. The British East India Company took the control of Punjab in 1849 after a fierce battle with Sikhs.

With the arrival of the British, new development projects were launched. The communication between Europe and India further brought a wave of political awakening which resulted in the establishment of political and educational institutions here. To fulfill the imperialist aims, the British kept strict check on the moves from inside and outside of India especially in the north they had threats of the Russian invasion. To seek abandon raw-material and for massive military recruitment, the British deliberately kept the Punjab away from the mainstream of Indian politics. The module of progress which British chose for the Punjab was confined just in some upper segments of the society including landed aristocracy. Pirs and Gaddinasheens. But in the field of education, the British gave free hand to Indians to establish institutions and promote western education. In Punjab, the credit goes to Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam Lahore, one of the off-shoots of Aligarh Movement.

The educational institutions (a chain of Islamis Colleges and charity homes) established under this Anjuman brought a change in the outlook of middle-class. The students and the teachers of these institutions rendered a great job in the Pakistan Movement. The role of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation and Muslim National Guards in the last decade of the British rule in India will always remain a “golden chapter” in the history of the Pakistan Movement.

In 20<sup>th</sup> Century, with the establishment of legislative council, Introduction of the system of elections, the political activities were started in the Punjab in Punjab the system of nominations instead of elections in councils remained in practice for a long time and these nominations were reserved only for well off classes with foreign qualifications. Sir Fazli Husain, Sir Shafi, Sheikh Abdul Qadir, Justice Shah Din, and Sir Sikander Hayat are some examples.

The All-India Muslim League established in December 1906. Sir Shafi and Sir Fazli Husain tried to get tag of the provincial branch of the All-India Muslim League for their respective parties. Rapid political activities started after Montague-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919. Sir Fazli Husain with the backing of the British, established a non-communal party of rural elites including the Muslim, Sikh and Hindu landlords due to which Muslim League failed to achieve any significant political position in Punjab. The party came to be known as the 'Unionist- Party.' The British kept a tight control on Punjab through Sir Fazli Husain and Sir Shafi till 1936, but their successors could not hold that tight control and the doors were opened for National based political parties to enter the Punjab politics. Though the League could won just two seats of the Punjab Legislative Assembly in the provincial elections of 1937, within a few months was converted into an influential party because of the Congress Tyranny, Sir Sikandar Hayat joined hands with Muslim League through Jinnah- Sikandar pact, Oct 1937. After Jinnah-Sikandar Pact the Muslim members of Unionist Party could join Punjab Muslim League and viceverse. This gave immense support and boost to the position of the Punjab Muslim League. The significance of Jinnah-Sikandar pact can be viewed from eyes of Stanly Wolpert who said 'it made Pakistan possible'. This was the time after which Punjab Muslim League started to get recognition in Punjab at large scale.

With the start of 2<sup>nd</sup> World War, the mood of the Punjab Politics took a turn from regional towards national and international sphere. We see that the Congress and the League gained prominence in Punjab. After the death of Sikandar Hayat in Dec 1942, the Khizer Hayat could not show his caliber as a capable politician. The massive military recruitments and export of food grain from Punjab to other provinces during the war put the credibility of the Unionist party at stake. The British government started to give importance to Muslim League against the antigovernment propaganda and non-cooperation of Indian National Congress that started after its resignation from provincial governments. This proved a blessing in disguise which gave an easy entry to Muslim

League in Punjab as a largest Muslim political party another reason due to which Khizer Hayat faced a lot of trouble was the division within the Unionist Party. One group was favouring Shaukat Hayat and other was favoring Khizer Hayat to lead the Unionist Party. The tussle within the party was also one of the major cause for its downfall. War ended in victory of British and their allies in 1945. After the failure of Simla conference, the results of the general elections of 1945-46 confirmed the Muslim League as a sole representative body of Indian Muslims which proved that the demand of Pakistan was not merely made by Muslim League as a party, but it was a demand of Muslims from all over India. The idea of Muslim Nationalism is a divine truth. In elections of 1937 the Congress claimed to be the representative of all Indian communities but could win a majority only in Hindu majority provinces. On the other hand, the League could win just two seats from Punjab, but it had small representation in other provinces of Muslim majority where other regional based Muslim political parties formed their ministries that mean the Muslim majority provinces never voted for Congress. In this way the Muslim League won the image of a national based Muslim political party. In the following years the tyrannous rule of Congress in provinces brought the Muslims together at the platform of Muslim League. Secondly, Punjab could not produce a leader of caliber. Sir Fazli, Chottu Ram, and Sir Shafi no doubt led Punjab for a long time under British control but after them no leader could capably handle the complicated politics of the Punjab.

Sir Khizar Hayat used his government resources (in some cases) to defeat the PML but, the top leadership of the PML like Sir Feroz Khan, Nawab Mumdot, Raja Ghazanfar Ali, Doltana Sahib, and Sardar Shaukat Hayat gave answers to their challengers. The PML got the services of PMSF and pro-league-press and journalists in the campaign. The result noticed the league got all 30 Muslim seats in the central elections, which was a very good omen, and it increased the prestige of the league. This led to the historic announcement by Mr. Jinnah that it was the clean verdict in favor of Pakistan and that the AIML was the sole representative of the Indian Muslims. The league celebrated "Victory Day" on January 11, 1946 and established more than 20 new branches in Punjab. By February 1946, all the results of the provincial elections were known as anticipated Sir Khizar Hayat and the Unionist party was defeated badly with only 13 Muslim seats and at the same time, 57 unionists were un-seated. The PML had a splendid victory by winning 73 seats and became the only single largest political party in Punjab. Despite the marvelous victory of Muslim League in 1945-46 elections it failed to form government in Punjab. Muslim League failed to form

government in Punjab because Khizar Hayat was asked by the Governor (Bertrand Glancy) to form a Ministry. Sir Khizar Hayat nevertheless was installed as premier of Punjab on March 7, 1947, by the anti-league and anti-Pakistan forces with at least one clear objective – to keep the PML out of power as long as possible and to hinder the creation of Pakistan.

The Punjab Muslim League pushed the Unionist Party into background. In this changed political context most of the Muslim members of the Unionist Party to maintain their local power started to join Muslim League. The Gaddi Nasheens, the Pirs and the landowners to secure their future as a powerful class, also joined League. The League instead of involving itself in political intrigues put stress on overall welfare of the people. Its demands of separate electorates, provincial autonomy, protection of Muslim culture, protection of the rights of minorities, reforms in N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan had a great appeal for masses. Moreover, the stand of the League on the issue of Shaheedganj Mosque, Palestine and the Middle East - increased its popularity day by day. Another martial race of Punjab, the Sikhs, most of the time remained busy in different movements of their liberation from the British both inside and outside India. They were suspected to have connections with Russia. In the 2 World War Russia fought against the Germans, the enemy of the British. The Labour Party had to change its policy towards Russia. The Sikhs started their political activities in India forcefully. They raised their voice against Lahore Resolution and Pakistan Scheme. They claimed Punjab to be their homeland and demanded 'Azad-Punjab' as their independent country. They passed aggressive statements against Pakistan, became ally of the Congress, and finally agreed on the division of the Punjab. This approach of the Sikhs looks more emotional than a rational one. In present situation they are living in India as a minor community while most of their Holy Shrines are in Pakistan. If they would join Pakistan, in united Punjab they would enjoy the status of an effective minority of Pakistan. In short, the specific agents and key factors which turned the politics of the British Punjab from 1937 to 1946 in favour of the All-India Muslim League were the attitude of Congress rule in Indian provinces from 1937 to 1939, Sikander-Jinnah Pact of 1937, World War II. Failure of the Simla Conference, teamwork of the Muslim League and above all the capable and wise leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam who took right action in right direction and in right time.

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