

Farzanda Aslam *
Muhamad Iqbal Chawla **
Zabir Saeed ***
Moazzam Wasti ****

Forgotten soldier of Pakistan Movement: Reimagining the role of Mian Muhamad Mumtaz Daultana in Colonial and Post-colonial Punjab

Abstract

Plethora of works have been produced on the colonial and post-colonial history of the Punjab but the role of Mian Muhammad Mumtaz Daultana has been academically over-nighted by the historians to date and this paper intends to address it. He was an important leader of the Punjab who remained committed to the Pakistan movement, remained loyal and worked hard under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam in the creation and consolidation of Pakistan. He was president of the Punjab Muslim League and also the first chief Minister of Pakistani Punjab. Therefore it is of immense importance to understand the role of Mian Muhammad Mumtaz Daultana in the creation and consolidation of Pakistan in the light of primary and secondary sources.

Before the inception of Pakistan, his father Ahmad Yar Daultana was a popular politician from the Daultana family in the Punjab region. His house was the focal point for important political activities. Daultana was selected by Quaid-i-Azam to contend on behalf of the Muslim League against the Unionist Party because this party was not in favour of the Muslim League, by looking for the certainty of the Mumtaz Daultana, Quaid-i-Azam made him the individual from the member of Direct-action committee. The other member of the committee was ministers of the Muslim League s' parliamentary and interim government. Mian Mumtaz Daultana was the youngest member but everyone acknowledged his improvisation and intelligence.¹ The Sikandar-Jinnah pact had also great importance. this Pact was marked by Quaid-i-Azam and Sir Skinder Hayat Khan, according to this pact, at Provincial level Unionist gathering will apply its arrangements with the assistance of Muslim League party individuals, under the administration of Quaid-i-Azam, The Unionist Party will be under the strategies of Muslim League.

* Farzanda Aslam, Lecturer in Lahore Collage for Women University Lahore.
Farzandaatif@gmail.com

** Prof. Dr. Muhammad Iqbal Chawla, Chairman, Department of history and Pakistan Studies, university of the Punjab, Lahore.

*** Zaber Saeed, Ph. D Scholar, Department of History, University of the Punjab, Lahore.

**** Moazzam Wasti, Ph. D Scholar, Department of History, University of the Punjab, Lahore.

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Introduction:

Mian Muhammad Mumtaz Daultana was the son of Ahmad Yar Daultana, from the creation of Pakistan, which man become popular in the field of politics from Daultana family that was Ahmad Yar Daultana. that was pioneer of Daultana family. He was elected as the member Punjab Legislative Council in 1920,1926 and again in 1930 on two seats. Meanwhile, he left one seat from Punjab Legislative Assembly because according to Assembly rule he could not become member of two seats. Ahmad Yar Daultana s' younger brother Mian Allah Yar Khan Daultana elected from that seat.²In the1946 election, again Mian Allah Yar Daultana was successful from that seat.³ After that Ahmed Yar Daultana, Sir Chaudhry Shahabud-Din and Mian Mumtaz Daultana entered in the Legislative Assembly.

Dultana played very active role for the separate Muslim state and remained loyal both to the Muslim league and the Quaid- i- Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah in his entire life. Daultana was also among those Punjabi feudal⁴ who resisted the movement of the Unionist party in the Punjab headed by Sir Mian Fazl-i-Husain, Khizr Hayat Tiwana and Chootu Ram. He was respectable landlord in the East Punjab. Daultana's family were sub-clan of the south Punjabi Hindu tribe joya Rajpoot. Mian Mumtaz Daultana had a place with such a family in which the peculiarity of turning into a sole beneficiary was attained in legacy for the last four descendants.

Daultana was able to secure a chance for working with Mr Jinnah and getting familiarity with politics at the highest level. His spouse Almas Daultana, also contributed her share in the Pakistan Movement. He was elected individual from the Punjab Assembly in 1944.he was the General Sectary of Punjab Muslim League. Mian Muhammad Mumtaz Daultana was elected as for the Punjab Assembly in 1946, on the ticket of the Muslim League from the Sialkot as the individual from the Punjab Assembly.⁵ After the emergence of Pakistan he became the first finance minister of Punjab in the year of 1947.

Ideology of Pakistan and Mumtaz Daultana:

However, the Hindus constrained the Muslims for the battle of a separate country, Hindus did not give the rights to the Muslim as per their religion and made their life miserable. Those people who believe that Islam is an ideology of Pakistan, according to them, Muslims should establish religion system and Khilafat system in new country. Quaid-i-Azam said, that two nation theory mean that the Hindu are separate nation which lived with us, we should realize that they are different from Muslims. Being a Muslims, we consider ourselves different from Hindus, because we had change traditions, life style and history from Hindus in Tehreek -i- Azadi⁶. According to Daultana, Ideology of Pakistan was based on Islam, determination for freedom and equality in society. He said that as per two nation theory Hindus were two distinct nation in History, culture and civilization and thus had developed different life style from each other.

After 1857, these differences sharpened further as Muslims, in general were totally deprived of even basic rights in comparison with the Hindus and found themselves in a hopeless situation. They were not hopeful for their future. At that time, following Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan's (1817-1898) teaching nationalism⁷ Daultana always believed on nationalism and Islam. It was the period, when Muslims were talking actively about their separate recognition and working for full freedom in united Hindustan.⁸ Muslims felt that if they failed to get their autonomy by getting a separate homeland then they would be compelled to spend their lives as second-rate citizen.⁹ At first, Muslims of Hindustan attempted to live together with Hindus under the British government but after realization this arrangement was unworkable they demanded their own separate state. Muslims had same approach till cabinet Mission into 1946. But the conduct of the Hindus in 1916, 1926 and in 1928 was not reasonable. when Nehru report came Muslims felt that they have no equivalent rights regard less of living at the same place. According to Daultana, Ideology of Pakistan was based on Islam, determination for freedom, and equality in society.

Mumtaz Daultana Work for the Freedom Movement:

Mumtaz Daultana joined the Muslim League in 1942. Quaid-i-Azam needed to contend the Unionist Party's hold in Punjab and for this reason Quaid-i-Azam needed to get competent individual on his side in that important province. In these circumstances Jinnah, in his quest for competent, qualified and influential Muslim leaders in the province came across Mumtaz Daultana, Iftikhar Husain Mamdot, and Shaukat Hayat.¹⁰

At that point, when the Mumtaz Daultana gave his discourse to the Muslims Student Federation in Islamia Collage, he was included in the most acclaimed pioneers. The Sikandar Jinnah Pact was marked and according to this pact, at Provincial level Unionist gathering will apply its arrangements with the assistance of Muslim League individuals and in the inside under the administration of Quaid-i-Azam; Unionist Party will be under the strategies of Muslim League, So, in Punjab Unionist Party was won. Muslim League realized that Unionist gathering was against the formation of the Pakistan. At that point, when the unmistakable pioneer of the Muslim group Nawab Shahnawaz Sahib kicked the bucket, the Unionist party attempted to get advantage from this occasion. The program of Unionist Party was to dispense with the minor responsibility for League in Punjab and by posting their individuals they could likewise get the total hold of Punjab. For this they chose the name of the Nawab Nisar Ali. He was popular in the English people. It will be wrong if we consider Muslim league as a strong party from 1906. It had only name that time, its working position started in 1937 when Quaid -i-Azam properly owned it. 1937 to 1940 was the period, when Muslim league got the solid position in the heart of people. these seven years consider his real life on the other side congress established in 1885 and it was under the working of last three generations and it had seen his three generations. It was a time when all the bureaucracy was against the Pakistan movement. they felt that Muslim league could destroy their future. Daultana was the active member that time due to his family background when he joined Muslim league Quaid-i-Azam warmly welcomed him. Quaid-i- Azam always said, that I am leaving two things between a first Pakistan and second Muslim League.

Daultana and Punjab Muslim League (1937-1947):

The 1937 elections were a severe setback for the Muslim League but later, securing the support of the, *Sajdha Nashins* the rural elite Muslim league become a party of the masses. This period was proved decisive not only for the history of Punjab but also for the history of India. As a consequence of the 1937 elections, the League's leadership decided to approach to the rural masses. Where most of the potential Muslim voters resided. Muslim League met at Lucknow in October 1937, for its reorganization¹¹ and the "Sikandar Jinnah pact" was signed in this session between the Muslim League and the Unionist Party. Per this pact the Muslim League accepted the autonomy of the Unionist Party in the provincial matters and the unionist party agreed to be guided by the League on All- India affairs. Skinder Hayat agreed to advise all those Muslims member of the Unionist party, who were not yet members of the League, to join it and therefore become subject to its discipline.¹² According to Ispahani Iskandar join hand with the League "not out of deep conviction but as a matter of necessity."¹³ Talbot held this statement exaggerated according to him "both that threat and the Muslim Leagues influence in the province."¹⁴

Iftikhar Haider Malik also agreed with Talbot's point of view with his words "people on both sides seeking a rapprochement"¹⁵ Adoption of "Skinder Jinnah Pact" created a new situation in Punjab and the Muslim League considerably suffered in the province.¹⁶ Daultana was watching these developments carefully and this was his initiation to high-level provincial politics. soon a controversy began between the Iskandar and Barkat Ali groups.¹⁷ This controversy continued almost till the end of 1938 in Calcutta session of the Punjab Muslim League. In April 1938, when an organizing committee for the Punjab was setup to reorganize the Muslim League from grass root level.¹⁸ Iskandar Hayat Khan was appointed president of the Punjab Muslim League. Muslim league gave 10 of 36 seats in the provincial Organizing Committee to Iqbal's group,¹⁹ which was not acceptable to the Iqbal group but as death had snatched Allama Iqbal on 21 April 1938, they felt helpless and couldn't challenge the council's decision. The organizing committee for the Punjab didn't do much to organize the Muslim League. The Unionist leadership (they were in strength in the committee) did not believe in building a mass organization. They had established only a few branches. The Council noticed, and authority was given to a sub committee consisting of Nawab Ismail Khan and others on 25 February 1940. On 15 March 1940, sub committee granted recognition to provincial Muslim league. The Unionist Party control of the Punjab Muslim League severely restricted its propaganda activity in the countryside.²⁰ The Punjab Provincial Muslim League had till then existed as an almost ineffective organization. Nawab Shah Nawaz of Mamdot held the office of president and Sayyed Khalil-ur-Rehman was secretary. Nawab Shah Nawaz of Mamdot passed away on 8th March 1942 and his son Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot was elected president.²¹ Iftikhar was also elected a member of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League Assembly on 22 April on the seat which became vacant due to his father death.²² During that period Mr Jinnah and Iskandar both relation grew strained but soon a compromise occurred between

both of them.²³ Later on, this compromise was not long lasting due to the death of Iskandar Hayat on December 26th, 1942.²⁴

Bertrand Glancy (Governor) didn't let the assembly decide the leadership. He nominated another land lord Nawab Malik Sir Khizr Khayat Khan Tiwana for premiership. When Bertrand Glancy was discussing with some important personality before appointing the new leader, the Punjab league leader Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot had also in the line of interview on this subject. While the ministry was properly established that the government had bitterly complained that the government couldn't fulfil the constitutional procedures by appointing the new leader. Sir Skinder Hayat was very shrewd, smart and very intelligent man. when they found out that young leagues have been suspected to their ambitions, so, they were trying to make president to young man Mamdot, so, they thought to be quite instead making doubt. Nawab Mamdot was easily visible to the victim. they act their original candidate cancelled to bring forward depending on this, that Nawab Mamdot should be given to the president. Because he was not very shrewd but polite nature young man and can controlled easily. So, they did not resist and Nawab Mamdot become president of Muslim League. Daultana and other leaders thought, that was good news for Muslims of Punjab. Nawab Mamdot did not create any aggressive political behaviour towards Unionist Party. he sustained his loyalties towards Quaid-i-Azam. he took very wise step if Mamdot did not show his passion towards Unionist Party, then Muslim League could not maintain its victory in coming years²⁵.

He was chosen as the President of the administration pioneers of the provinces. For the fulfilment of Sikandar Hayat khan's gathering, Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan exiled from the armed force and made the Minister in the Khizr Hayat's Ministry. Shaukat Ali Khan was agreeable to the formation of the Pakistan. Daultana additionally taken an interest in these activities and said that trade of the Muslim League and Unionist was only uneven. Mumtaz said, that amid the production of the Pakistan, the Unionist gathering was not with them. Unionist party swindled around then. Daultana and others pioneer advised to the central government that the Unionist Party was not faithful for the parcel of sub-continent. Quaid-i-Azam was occupied in tackling Refugees issues around then. We were offering notices

Mumtaz. when Mumtaz saw this constitution, it was composed in clear words that Muslim League individuals will go under the reach of Unionist gathering. Daultana went to the Iftikhar Hussain and told about the constitution, Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot said that due to minority how we challenge it. At the point when Khizr Hayat khan saw this he got some information about this constitution and said that without the cooperation of the Hindus and the Sikhs this nation couldn't run.²⁶

Be that as it may, Daultana did not concur with him, as Daultana thought about the goals of the Unionist Party. Khizr Hayat did not free hope, he sent diverse pioneers towards the Daultana like Sir Chootu Ram, Chaudry Shahabuddin and other respectable members. But Daultana did not concur with them and said that he cherished the Pakistan and won't contradict the Quaid-i-Azam at any cost. A meeting was held in which this constitution was examined. Daultana transparently reprimanded it. But this constitution was passed by the Khizr Hayat khan.

Daultana said that it is obligatory that Quaid-i-Azam should think about it. In 1944 Muslim League held a meeting under the administration of the Quaid-i-Azam, and Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, who was upbeat for his achievements all of a sudden stand up and said to Jinnah that in Punjab we had a place with Unionist Party and we are under the parts of their teach here. Quaid-i-Azam ended up noticeably incensed at this announcement and said that our loyalty ought to be just for the Muslim League. Khizr Hayat Khan said, I am not concurred with it, then Quaid-i-Azam said, it is currently mandatory that we ought to deal with this matter.²⁷ At last the Muslim League separated from the Unionist party, around then there were just nine individuals from the Muslim League. At the point when Muslim League got isolated a few individuals from the Unionist Party additionally included in the Muslim League and now the aggregate individuals from Muslim League were twenty-one.

Before partition from the Muslim League, the Unionist party held Punjab Provincial League's open session in Sialkot in 1944. Muslim League taken keen interest in this session and Quaid-i-Azam declared Daultana as the General Secretary of the Punjab Muslim League.²⁸ In his new capacity Mumtaz Daultana worked tirelessly to further the cause of the Pakistan Movement all over the province. Under his guidance the League expanded rapidly all over the province. At that time in 1945, the newspaper *Nawa-i-Waqat* did not come daily, then we brought *Dawn* and *Jang* newspaper from Delhi and distributed it to Muslims for more political awareness.²⁹

In 1945, following the party singular growth and gaining of strength in the province, many popular and senior politicians entered its fold. Among them were Raja Ghazanfar Khan, Sufi Abdul Hameed, Feroze Khan Noon and Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din.³⁰ All big party post were under the control of Daultana and Mamdot. Then, Daultana assumed that there was a critical part for the advancement of the Muslim League historical backdrop for Independent development. Mumtaz Daultana additionally worked hard for victory in the election of 1946. Daultana said that, if only youth will use their rights of votes correctly, then the Muslim League will win the race of the election of 1946. However, it did not help the Muslim League only just 30 percent votes from the youth. Daultana said to Quaid-i-Azam, that Muslim League will take more seats in elections than the Unionist party. However, Quaid-i-Azam said that, on the off chance that it will happen then it would not be finished expert of Muslim League and we need to state "Farewell to Pakistan. Daultana blamed the party's lack of progress due to strong bureaucratic influence. He further explained to Jinnah in June 1945, "the people of Punjab have never known political consciousness, are untrained to modern political ways of thought, have never experienced organized political effort. Within two or three years, people will be more aware, fully conscious and determine in province of Punjab."³¹ But Muslim couldn't afford to wait this as long as the provincial election were approaching rapidly. Daultana said that if Muslim League got 60 or 62 seats then Muslim League will win. Quaid-i-Azam said to Daultana for more hard work in Punjab for Muslim League victory.

Election of 1945-46:

After the outbreak of the second world war political situation of the country changed altogether. Political events followed each other in succession. when Linlithgow made his statement of war aims on 18 October 1939. Congress resigned from the provincial ministries to pressurize the government so that they could press for political freedom, however, the government stood firm and refused to how under pressure. After it they launched “Civil Disobedience” which soon fizzled out. Crips proposal followed but they were rejected by both league and congress. In 1942, “Quit India” movement was launched by congress, but it also failed after causing severe damage to government property in many areas although it did help in raising the consciousness of freedom all across British India. Congress also tried to trap Jinnah through “Rajaji Formula” and Gandhi Jinnah talk. Congress failed to attain its achievements and couldn’t succeed in its trap. Lord Whewell prepared a plan for the political and constitutional solution of India and announced a conference which was held at Shimla on June 20th, 1945. The conference failed because congress and the British refused to accept the Muslim league as the representative body of the Indian Muslims, but Jinnah remained determined. He demanded that be the election held as soon as possible. Which the Government announced would be held in the winter of (1945 -1946). The announcement for the Punjab Legislative Assembly election was made on 21 August 1945. The political agenda of the big parties both the congress, and the Muslim league was clear and well known. League stood for Pakistan and Congress for India’s full freedom while the Unionist Party had only its past glory³² By the end of 1945 Punjab League like its counter parts elsewhere in Muslim India welcomed late political converts, some opportunistic others genuine, with open arms, as they commanded influence over the rural voters .Daultana and others land-lords worked hard for the Muslim league at that time in Punjab per Quaid s’ orders.³³

Punjab Muslim League, guided by able leadership held meetings under eminent Leaguers.³⁴like Shaukat, Daultana Mamdot, Ghazanfar and others. They preached to the Muslims that if Pakistan was not achieved, they would come under permanent Hindu domination and tyranny. It succeeded in gaining the support of pirs and *Sajdha Nashine*, who had influential status and had a strong grip on the rural masses.³⁵ It distributed 30,000 copies of its manifesto in various cities and rural areas. four Lack were collected for its election campaign. National Guard was reorganized under Shaukat Hayat Khan. It openly claimed that it would win nearly all the central and provincial Muslims seats.³⁶ All big parties like congress and Unionist were worried about the possible victory of the Muslims League.

Polling was held in 1st to 15th February 1946. In Punjab Daultana House had become main centre of League activity. Almas Daultana also played an important role on the women side. Congress and Unionist both used all means to harass Muslim League leaders, voters and workers. It used all governmental machinery against the League like utilizing the authority of the zaildars, numberdars for intimidation of its workers. Punjab Congress worked hard to ensure defeat of League, however, When the result was announced on 23 February 1946. Muslim League won 73 seats out of 86 seats in spite of all the pressure tactics used against its supporters by its opponents.

The election results revealed the Muslim League's rapid advance in the province. Due to the hard work of the Punjabi land-lords like Daultana, Mamdot, Shaukat and others.

The results showed that Punjab was divided completely on a communal basis. The Unionist had lost their status as the most important political player in the province.³⁷ The election paved the way for Pakistan the League victory achieved due to the cooperative efforts of Muslim League leadership at all levels. Congress had also improved its Position from only 17 seats victory in 1937 election 51 seats in 1945.³⁸ After the election it was decided that Mian Ifikhar Husain Mamdot should be elected again as leader. Firoze Khan Noon initially was opposed to it but relented later on so Mamdot was elected as the leader, Shaukat Hayat as the Deputy Leader and Nur- Ullah as its secretary.

Regardless of Muslim League majority in the Punjab assembly it was to assume power as the British decided, against all norms of democracy to manoeuvre and get Khizr Hayat Khan Tawana as the provinces' premier. After election Muslim League emerged as a strong sole representative party of Muslims in Punjab. It all acknowledged that the popularity and prestige of Muslim League would be higher in coming years. The governor called Mamdot for the meeting for the purpose of formation of ministry but refused to allow him to form League's ministry. They met a few times and communicated often in this regard, however, the governor refused to budge an inch from his stand and favoured a tripartite coalition of the Unionist, Akalis (a Sikh grouping) and Hindus on 6 March 1946 headed by Khizar Tiwana.

It was a major political setback for the Punjab Muslim League that she was not permitted to form the government. Muslim League was the largest single party in the Punjab Assembly and obviously felt deprived and cheated.³⁹ The governor's tilt towards anti-Pakistani forces made the League's leaders like Daultana, Liaquat Ali Khan and Mamdot angry. Consequently, Muslim League high command reacted seriously and held a meeting of 30,000 Muslims in Lahore and spoke of grave consequence if a non-Muslim League ministry was formed as it was not a good omen for Muslims of Punjab. Liaquat Ali Khan also said, "Our main goal is Pakistan not only a ministry, we could sacrifice thousand ministries for the achievement of Pakistan"⁴⁰ Quaid-i-Azam said, "if the British and Hindus make alliance against us, we are ready for it. We will face it bravely, we are not going to surrender". Quaid-i-Azam also spoke about the overall political situation in the country and said, you should not be worry for forming the ministry, because ministry forming is the secondary matter for us. Our main goal is Pakistan.⁴¹ Punjab Muslim League reacted strongly and called for the mass "Strike" on 7th March and also the traitor day on 9th March to record their protest against governors unjust decision. In these two historical slogans in Punjab about Khizar, like "Khizar Singh Murda Bad" and "Quam Da Chor" Khizar Murdabad became very popular with the people of the Punjab. There were mock funerals in Amritsar and the burning of Khizar effigy in Ferozepur.⁴² The new ministry took oath on 11 March 1946. Apart from Khizar Hayat as premier, the ministry included, Bhim Sen Sachar, Congress Finance, Sardar Baldev Singh, Alkali (Development) Chaudry Lehri Singh, Congress (public work), Nawab Muzaffar Ali Khan

Qizilblash, Unionist (Revenue), Mohammad Ibrahim Barq, Unionist (Health and Education).⁴³

Quaid-i-Azam believed that Khizar Hayat was not trust worthy man so, he issued a statement on 27th April that he would no more talks with him and he was expelled from the Muslim League.⁴⁴ Because Lord Wavell was also not in favour of Khizar-Jinnah talk, due to his opposition an agreement between Jinnah and Khizar failed to materialize and he forced Khizar to sacrifice his political future to safeguard the British interest.⁴⁵

Daultana and Punjab Ministry in 1946.

The ministry despite its flaws and weaknesses continued to function for a year. During this period the ministry was in office only to keep the league out of power. The ministry was not able to carry out any meaningful legislation as it was extremely weak in legislation matters. While Punjab Muslim League was not in power but was supported by 90 percent. Even when some very important matters and constitutional issues such as the Cabinet- Mission Plan and the formation of Interim Government and constitutional assembly were being settled, the Punjab premier was spending his summers in abroad.⁴⁶ The leaders of the Punjab Muslim League Mumtaz Daultana, Nawab Mamdot and other prominent leaders group met the Cabinet delegation, The Congress which was the biggest party of the coalition become concerned and the Sikhs were not under its discipline that time, it was the great achievement to hold the session and passing the budget on 20th March 1946.⁴⁷ That session gave a golden chance to Leaguers to taunt the Unionist Muslims as a traitor and “Banaspatis Muslims.” Muhammad Hasan said to Khizar Khayat as a “Ghaddar” while Shaukat Khayat also addressed him with the same name.⁴⁸ One well known political analyst Sir Penderel Moon also blamed Bertrand Glancy the governor of Punjab, that he had created the wrong ministry which didn't command the confidence of the Punjab Muslims.⁴⁹ Ayesha Jalal blamed Jinnah, “Effort by Punjab leagues like Daultana persuaded Khizar to head a coalition ministry had nearly materialized but Jinnah vested a proposal which might have altered the course of Punjab.”⁵⁰ Sir Penderel Moon seems to be right in view of the wholesale agitation launched by the League against Khizar.

This Khizar Ministry survived for a year, until ousted by the League's agitation. Daultana as a General Secretary fulfilled his responsibilities skilfully when contrasted with the office-holder of the Unionist party. The office of the Muslim League was at the Miclord Road and in which the National Guard was additionally present⁵¹. Daultana was attending All India Muslim League electoral committee session in Delhi, some other members like Khawaja Nazim din Ishaq Sethi and Chandragiri were also the member of the electoral committee. When Daultana came back from Delhi, then suddenly Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din informed the Daultana that police wanted to seal national Guard office. Now we all decided that we should resist to Khizar government. Mian Iftikhar-ud-din was also agree for this resistant against government. Some other members like Iftikhar-ud-din Mamdot, Sardar Shaukat Khayat, Firoz Khan and Begum Shah Nawaz were also there. So, soon a historical movement started after resistant against the government. It was the first Political step which was taken against the government by Muslim League.⁵² Daultana said, that he also thought about this movement that, it couldn't be

powerful. Khizr Khayat khan warns us about falling but we suddenly decided to resist against British government.

Daultana and few other members were arrested during anti Khizar agitation. Large masses of people came out in their support a great movement was afoot in favour of the League. it was not planned movement and even central member of Muslim League not know about this movement. As it began to organise, Khizr Khayat took the drastic step trying to stop it. Newspapers were closed in Punjab, even Muslim paper like Dawn and Jung were prevented entering in Punjab. But even then, the intensity of the movement went away. Within two days, all League leaders which were in jail during movement came out from the jail. Government wanted to talk with committee members but Mamdot, Mian Iftikhar -ud- Din and Mumtaz Daultana were against negotiations with government. It was felt that it was the trap. The arrested leadership of the League was kept in different jails, Sardar Shaukat Hayat, Ghulam Mohiuddin Syed Amir Hussain Shah and Ch Habibullah were in Gujrat jail.⁵³ Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din was in Kangra jail. After their re-arrest the civil disobedience movement against the government intensified.

After their release from the jail the movement spread like a wildfire in the province as the Unionist Party battled unsuccessfully to curb its spread. The spouse of the Mumtaz Daultana, Almas Daultana, became the executive of the Shadow board of trustees. Quaid-i-Azam gave one lakh from League budget for the under-ground dispersion of the Dawn and Jang daily papers among the Muslims. After their that civil disobedience movement will become more and more intense.

Because of these exercises 'individuals came to support the Muslim League and battled for the Muslim League ever more eagerly Khizar government banned all the newspapers supporting the Muslim League, this attitude was against the Khizr Hayat Khan service, and due to this agitation, Khizr Hayat resigned from the service.⁵⁴ Daultana had now become very active worker in Punjab. Nawab Mamdot was always with him and both worked as good friends for this movement. It was a time when in Punjab unionist party was fully controlled by the English executive.

In late February 1947 when Khizar Hayat resigned. Daultana vigorously contested Khizr Hayat. The Muslims of Punjab had been dominated for a whole year by the tri -partite coalition. Sikh and Hindus both attacked at Lahore on 3rd March, after the end of the ministry. On 4th March, Khizr Hayat and bheem seen sitcher led a procession against Muslims. Lord Mount batten announced Pakistan constitution assembly through an official announcement to 26th July 1947.

Muslim League deprived from making Government.

Although, Muslim league was happy to get rid of Khizar Ministry, but it could not succeed to gain power in Punjab before partition. Jenkins who had been replaced by Glancy warned the viceroy that Muslim League would not be able to form ministry and during the next six month order could only be maintained in Punjab by force under section 93 .However he adopted the constitutional method to call Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot to form the ministry .but As Mamdot had not awareness to Government s' wishes to keep Muslim League out of power. He made several attempts to established League government, but Jenkins refused due to the

expected opposition of Hindus and Sikhs. He enforced Governor s' Rule under section 93 in the province.⁵⁵ Ghazanfar Ali Khan also met the governor to discuss the same issue. He argued a League ministry to be formed or to hold fresh election in the Punjab.⁵⁶ But he faced a blunt refusal and harsh words as follows, "I said I would resign sooner than see one (League Government) in office at this juncture. I thought practically every British officer in the Punjab would do the same."⁵⁷ Attitude of Punjab Governor was disappointing, but League still had some hope for power of Muslim League in Punjab, so, League was in touch with the viceroy Lord Mountbatten through Liaquat Ali Khan and Jinnah and lodged a complaint against the governor. Both leaders tried to persuade Mountbatten and insisted him, that league be allowed to form a ministry. But Mountbatten didn't agree. In short, the Punjab League leaders made efforts to form a ministry till the partition plan of India.⁵⁸

With the acceptance of partition plan there was no possibility of formation of Punjab Muslim league ministry in Punjab. The governor of Punjab now brought forward the idea of a coalition for the remaining period for the partition, to be formed in such a way that it could be divided into two sections East and West Punjab on 6 June 1947. But both Sikh-Hindu representative preferred section 93 the remaining period and the question of League ministry was partially dead before the partition.⁵⁹

Emergence of Pakistan and Water Dispute:

August 15, 1947 was the day of Freedom, yet it brought, a great deal of tears. The movement of the Refugees was a major issue for the Pakistan. Madhu pur and Feroze Pur headworks came to India and thus, the river Ravi and the Sutlej water came under Indian control. This was a disastrous project for Pakistan agriculture economy. On April 1, 1948, the waters of two rivers were stopped. Similarly, drought will also occur in the vast fertile areas of Punjab and Bahawalpur. Mumtaz Daultana was chosen as the first Finance Minister of Pakistan. Instead of gaining its legitimate and legal rights, the Pakistani Government leaned on India because of its defence weakness at that time Pakistan couldn't afford risk of war. Mumtaz Daultana and Sardar Shaukat Hayat offer to buy water from India very warmly accepted the offer to buy water on May 4, 1948 an agreement was signed between Pakistan and India which was signed by Daultana and Shaukat Hayat from Pakistan. From India's Jawaharlal Laal Nehru, Sardar Saran Singh and N Kadigul signed the agreement. As a result of this agreement, the government has submitted the price of water fixed by the Indian Prime Minister invest Punjab to the bank and got water from India.⁶⁰ Thus, by paying the price of water to India, Mumtaz Daultana recognized India's occupation of the River Ravi and Sutlej. The weakness of Daultana and Shaukat Hayat further encouraged India. Therefore, India planned to grab the Indus water under their control. It started planning to use the River Indus for its economic and agriculture development. Most of the River Indus part was in the Pakistan. so, the dispute became an international issue. International organizations and world bank intervened on this occasion. The political shortcoming of the Sardar Shaukat and the Mumtaz Daultana drove the Baharat to possess the water of the waterway Sindh. The enormous piece of the waterway Sindh was under the Pakistan, Baharat needed to involve that water of the stream Sindh with a specific end goal to make Pakistan fruitless. A

considerable meeting of National and International meetings was held as an expansive piece of the Sindh was under the Pakistan. After a long discourse the understanding was agreed upon.

Conclusion:

This study intends to explore, investigate and analyse Mian Muhammad Mumtaz Daultana's role in the political history of Pakistan by focusing on his character and achievements during freedom movement. Although Punjab has produced many politicians who played important role in the history of Pakistan, but this study highlights only the character and achievements of Mian Muhammad Mumtaz Daultana. He played a very important role in the politics of Punjab for freedom struggle during the colonial period. Daultana joined Muslim League in 1942 and worked hard for making idea of Pakistan popular with people of Punjab. He became the first finance minister of Punjab and became the second Chief Minister of Punjab in 1951.

He had great important in freedom movement as he was considered a close and trust worthy member of the Quaid s' team in Punjab. He stepped in to politics by successfully contesting the election in 1943 for a seat of the Punjab Legislative Assembly and in 1946's election becomes a member of the Provincial Assembly of the Punjab. Daultana was also among those Punjabi feudals who resisted the movement of the Unionist party in the Punjab headed by Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, Khizar Hayat Tiwana and Chootu Ram.

Daultana s' father Ahmad Yar Daultana served in the political circles in a commendable manner. Since Ahmad Yar was a Unionist member, it was not easy for Daultana to join Muslim League and freedom struggle. While Sir Chootu Ram and others requested him not to join the Muslim League. he rejected their entreaties and joined the Pakistan Movement. He opened his eyes in family which had been serving the people for the last four centuries. The programme of Unionist Party was to offer minor responsibilities to the League members thereby exercising nearly total control of the province. At that time when all the bureaucracy was against the Pakistan movement. They felt that Muslim league could destroy their future. Daultana was the active member that time due to his family background when he joined Muslim league Quaid-i-Azam warmly welcomed him. Quaid-i- Azam always said, that I am leaving two things after me, first Pakistan and secondly Muslim league. He selected Daultana as a member of Direct-Action Committee. In Punjab Daultana house was focal point for all political activities and meetings. Quaid-i-Azam always stayed at Daultana house when they came in Punjab. So, all members met with Quaid-i-Azam and discuss all political issues with him at Daultana house. Mian Muhammad Mumtaz Daultana was not only active participant in freedom struggle but he also played important role in Punjab politics after inception of Pakistan.

¹ Wakil Anjum, *Daultana Dastan*, [Urdu] (Lahore: Jang Publishers, 1996), p.30.

²Zahid Chaudry, *Muslim Punjab Ka Syasi Irtqa*, Lahore,2013, p.110,111.

³ Kri Pal ci Yadao, *Election in Punjab 1920 to1947*, New Delhi, pg,46,48,71.

⁴ Feudalism is an arrangement of accepting area from a ruler and consequently working and battling for him Feudalism is additionally characterized by an arrangement of landownership by better classes in exceptional connection than the illustrious or state control. Zahid Chaudry, *Muslim Punjab Ka Syasi Irtqa*, Lahore,2013, p.110,111.

⁵ *ibid*, pg,40,105,112.

⁶ Vakil Anjum, *Daultana Dastan* (Lahore: Jung Publisher Press 1996)pg,50

⁷ noun. Devotion, especially excessive or indiscriminating devotion, to the interests or culture of a nation-state. The belief that nations will benefit from acting independently rather than collectively, emphasizing national rather than international goals.

⁸ Vakil Anjum, *Daultana Dastan* (Lahore: Jung Publisher Press 1996)pg,51

⁹ *Ibid*, 52.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, pp,53,54

¹¹ Rafi -uiiah-shahab ,*The Political History of Pakistan*(Lahore :Dost Association,19195),122.

¹² Ian Talbot, *Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement* (Karachi: Oxford University Press,1988),122.

¹³ M.A.Ispahani, *Quaid -i-Azam as knew Him* (Karachi: Royal Book Company 1966)pg,54.

¹⁴ Talbot ,*Provincial Politics* ,89.

¹⁵ Iftikhar Haider Malik ,*Iskandar Hayat Khan (1892-1942):A Political Biography*(Islamabad NIHCR,1985),122.

¹⁶ Sajjad Zaheer, “*Light on the League s ‘ Unionist Conflict*”(Bombay :1944),19.cited by S M ,Ikram ,*Modern Muslim India* .

¹⁷ Both groups were old rivals of each other and they wrote letter to Jinnah for complaining I demand Allama Iqbal ,Barkat Ali and their other colleagues refused to submit .they felt that by this move Sir Iskandar intention was to pocket the Punjab Muslim League and to make it a subservient branch of the Unionist Party .Afzal Malik Barkat ALI ,42,43qbal supported to Barkat A .Sir Iskandar demanded that some of the office bearers of Punjab Muslim league should be removed and be replaced by men of his choice .

¹⁸ Ashiq Husain Bitalvi, *Iqbal ke Akhri Do Saal*,(Lahore: Iqbal Academy,1960),pg,524 52

¹⁹ Ikram Ali Malik , *Reading on the History of Punjab*, (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan University of the Punjab, 1970), pg., 274.

²⁰ Most work of this kind was left to the Punjab Muslim student federation . It had been reorganized by Abdul Sitar Khan Niazi and others in 1937 . The federation strongly sported and over by Jinnah as well as a Pakistan propaganda committee was found .Its task was to tour village’s enlightened Punjabi peasants about the demand for Pakistan. Ian Talbot, “*Muslim League in the Punjab 1937-owth of 1946*” (P.H.D. Dissertation, University of London, 1984), 190. sported the demand of Pakistan and organized the Pakistan Conference at Lahore presided

21 Muhammad Rafique Afzal, *Malik Barkat Ali: his life and writings* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan University of the Punjab,1969),pg. ,59.

- 22 Khalid Shamsul Hasan, *The Punjab Muslim League and the Unionist* (Karachi:Ushba Publishing, 2005),pg,126.
- 23 Ikram Ali MALIK , *Reading on the History of Punjab*, (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan University of the Punjab, 1970),pg,629,622.
- 24 Iftikhar Haider Malik, *Iskandar Hayat Khan, (1892-1942):A Political Biography* (Islamabad NIHCR,1985),104.
- 25 Vakil Anjum, *Daultana Dastan* (Lahore: Jung Publisher Press 1996) pg.52
- 26 Vakil Anjum, *Daultana Dastan* (Lahore: Jung Publisher Press 1996) pp,53,54.
- 27 Muhammad Iqbal Chawla, “Wavell and Muslim Politics in Punjab -Expulsion of Khizar Hayat Tiwana from the Muslim League (1944),”*Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* ,46(January -June 2009),158.
- 28 Vakil Anjum, *Daultana Dastan* (Lahore: Jung Publisher Press 1996), pg.82.
- 29 Ibid ,pp,83-84.
- 30 Talbot, *Provisional Politics*, p, 95.
- 31 “DAULTANA TO Jinnah 15 June 1945.” cited in a bit.,95
- 40 Raguvendra Tanwar, *Politics of sharing power the Punjab Unionist Party 1923-1947*(New Delhi: Manohar, 1999), p, 175.
- 33 The 21 August announcement for general election necessities realignment of the loyalties. Many leaders of different dispositions reframed their political opinion and overnight became staunch Leaguers
- Ian Talbot, *Provincial Politics*, 96.
- 34 Ikram Ali Malik , *Reading on The History of Punjab*, (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan University of the Punjab, 1970), pg., 582.
- 35 Asif Ali Rizvi ,”*Polity of Last Election in the British Punjab* ,” *Pakistan VISION* ,1(January ,2000),pp,10,11
- 36 Ibid, 12.
- 37 Khalid Shamsul Hasan, *The Punjab Muslim League and the Unionist* (Karachi:Ushba Publishing, 2005),pg, 156.
- 38 Qalb-i-Abid Abid, *Muslim Politics in the Punjab,1921-1947* (Lahore: Vanguard,1992),pg,298.
- 39 Tanwar,185.
- 40 Nawa-i-Waqat,8 March,1946 .Cited in Ikram Ali Malik,591.
- 41 Dawn,(karachi,22March 1946.
- 42 Ayesha Jalal, *Self and Sovereignty* (Lahore;Sang-e-Meel ,2007),pp,470,471.
- 43 Talbot, *Khizar Twana , Unionist Party and the Partition of the India* (oxford :oxford Unionist Press,2002),199.
- 44 Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah correspondence*(Karachi: East &West 1977),p,179.
- 45 Muhammad IQBAL Chawla, “Wavell and Muslim Politics in Punjab -Expulsion of Khizar Hayat Twana from the Muslim League (1944),” *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* ,46(January-June 2009),p, 158.

- ⁴⁶ Qalb-i-Abid Abid, *Muslim Politics in the Punjab, 1921-1947* (Lahore: Vanguard, 1992), pg, 303.
- ⁴⁷ Hasan ,p,158.
- ⁴⁸ Talbot, Khizar Twana, p,150.
- ⁴⁹ Pendraal Moon,(Lahore: Jung ,*Divide and Quit* (London :Chatto and Vindus ,1946)34.
- ⁵⁰ Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spoken Man* (London: Cambridge University Press ,1985)150 ,151.
- ⁵¹ Vakil Anjum, *Daultana Dastan* Publisher Press 1996), p,89.
- ⁵² Ibid, pp,90, 91.
- ⁵³ Riaz Ahmad , “ *Muslim Punjab Fight for Pakistan: League s’ Agitation against the coalition Ministry of Sir Khizar Hayat Khan Twana,*” *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture* :xxvll(January -June 2002),pp,3,4.
- ⁵⁴ Ibid, 6.
- ⁵⁵ Abid, Muslim politics ,322.
- ⁵⁶ Nwaa-i-Waqat,1st April 1947.Cited in Ikram ALI Malik ,6o9.
- ⁵⁷ Ibid.
- ⁵⁸ Abid, Muslim Politics,322,326.
- ⁵⁹ Ibid,327-332.
- ⁶⁰ Vakil Anjum, *Daultana Dastan*, Publisher Press 1996), pp,144,145.