
The Sikh Community in the ‘United Punjab’: Sikandar’s Premiership and his Reconciliatory Policy

_____ Maqbool Ahmad Awan*
=====

Abstract

The Sikh community and their demands under the premiership of Sir Sikanadar Hayat Khan lie at the heart of this research article. Sikandar Hayat Khan struggled to gain a dominion status for India where the major communities of the ‘United Punjab’; the Muslims, the Hindus and the Sikhs could live in a complete communal harmony. Throughout his political career, he kept working indiscriminately for the welfare of all the communities in the Punjab. Further, this research paper analyzes the reconciliatory policy of Sir Sikanadar Hayat Khan; from the platform of the ‘Unionist Party’ towards the various communities of the Punjab. Sikandar never let the communal conflicts happen in the ‘United Punjab’ and to gain this end, he never preferred the Muslims to any other community i.e., the Sikhs. The ‘Sikandar-Baldev Pact’ of 1942, in which Sikandar tried to create harmony between both the Muslim and the Sikh communities has also been discussed and analyzed in detail. This study also focuses to prove that the fundamental purpose of the Sikandar-Baldev Pact was to meet all the demands of the Sikh community and to bring them into the mainstream politics of India before the partition of the sub-continent. It will also deal with the claims, demands and the resentment of the Sikhs during the Premiership of Sir Sikanadar Hayat Khan. This article portrays a picture of political attitude and accommodative behaviour of Sikandar with the Sikh community and also helps to explore, whether the Sikh community was fully satisfied with the performance of Sikanadar Hayat Khan or was it just a temporary compromise or the need of the time; and to what extent both the communities were the supporters of each other.

Introduction

The Punjab was one of the biggest provinces of the sub-continent with vast territorial units and large population. However, it remained under foreign rule

for many centuries and proved its significance in economic, cultural, socio-political and intellectual status of the people belonging to this region. The Punjab also enjoyed a significant and unique identity because of its political and administrative set up as compared to the other provinces of India. The 'United Punjab' was a beautiful picture of communal harmony and strong bonds of mutual cooperation and understanding amongst the various communities such as the Muslims, the Hindus and the Sikhs. Every community of the 'United Punjab' used to participate in each other's social and religious ceremonies. They jointly spent their time and were very close to each other; even they participated in the wedding and burial ceremonies of every community and all had a deep association with one another's sorrowful and euphoric moments. Majority of the population of the province belonged to the agrarian society and came of from the rural *Jat* families which had the same culture, customs, traditions, language and even the heritage. The culture of the 'United Punjab' was one of the richest and oldest cultures of the world. The Sikhs were the third largest community of the 'United Punjab' before the partition of the sub-continent. They emerged in the 15th century with the followers mainly from the Hindu community. The Sikh community had the long religious, political, socio-economic and historical background in the Punjab. The Sikhs used to be considered very loyal and close to the British rulers; they were also very influential in the Punjabi society since the annexation of the Punjab in 1849.

On the one hand, the Muslims, the Hindus and the Sikhs had been living together in the Punjab and the province was considered as a hub of communal rivalries because of the religious and social conflicts among the various communities. On the other hand, every community had its own cultural and traditional history and acted upon in their lives according to their social and religious beliefs. The Muslims penetrated in the region as conquerors and brought many non-Muslims into the circle of Islam by their teachings, preaching and behaviour. One of the major issues of the Punjab politics was to maintain a balance of power and communal harmony among the above mentioned communities of the province.

The Muslims, after their arrival, became the ruling community in India and ruled over the whole region for a long time while the sphere of the Sikhs remained limited only in the Punjab.¹ Religion preaches fraternity, co-existence and welfare of humanity but it also causes unremitting and irrecoverable loss when it is abused and misinterpreted. The Muslims appeared in the sub-continent securing a huge mass conversion from the Hindu society. At the outset of the Sikh religion, the major communities of the 'United Punjab' i.e., the Muslims, the Hindus and the Sikhs lived together peacefully. The deterioration occurred among them when Guru Arjun Singh was assassinated, after that, many other

Gurus were also killed by the Muslim rulers from the Sikh community. Then the Sikh community established its militant wings and adopted a very reactive and brutal attitude towards the Muslims. The atrocities of the Sikh militant groups on the Muslims added fuel to the fire and thus made the communal tensions more adverse.

The Sikh Rule in the 'United Punjab'

The Sikhs took the control of the Punjab by the use of force and expelled the Muslims from the region. The alliance between the Muslims and the Sikhs would have only been possible if the Sikhs could eradicate the bitter experiences with the Muslim domination during the 18th century when both the communities engaged in the battlefield where the Muslims fought zealously against the Sikhs under Ahmad Shah Abdali.² The Sikhs had a great feeling of hatred for the Muslims and always preferred the Hindus to the Muslims. The memories of the past rule, the communal clashes such as; the assassination of the Sikh Gurus by the Muslim rulers, atrocities by the Sikh and the Muslim rulers and warriors like Banda Singh Beragi, Mir Mannu, Ahmad Shah Abdali and Ranjit Singh, etc., gave birth to disharmony between the Muslims and the Sikhs.³

H. V. Hodson is of the view that, "the Sikh-Muslim past history for two and a half centuries had been one of the bitter and bloody war, first for communal survival and then for the mastery of the Punjab".⁴ The most prominent ruler of the Sikhs was Ranjit Singh and after his demise, no other Sikh ruler was in a position to run the affairs of the Punjab smoothly and as a result, they were defeated by the British Imperialism. At that time, no community was able to confront the British domination and the need of the hour was to develop good ties with them, if the Punjabis wanted themselves not to be deprived culturally, politically and socio-economically. Fortunately, both the communities produced such personalities as did remarkable services to develop cordial relations with the British rulers. The Punjab politics became more dynamic in the early 20th century when both the communities came out from passivism to activism. The Muslims and the Sikhs organized their own political wings keeping in view the model of the Congress and the purpose was to preserve and safeguard the interests and demands of their respective communities. The Muslims founded All India Muslim League and the Sikhs organized their *Akali Dal*⁵ and the Central Sikh party, etc. In the 'United Punjab', the Sikh political parties were more vibrant than those of the Muslims' and the Hindus'. In order to counter the political and militant wings of the Sikhs, the feudal lords of the Punjab decided to organize their own political organization namely 'Unionist Party' in the Punjab. Moreover, the purpose of their organization was to protect the rights of the major communities of the province; the Muslims the Hindus and the Sikhs.⁶

The power in the Punjab first remained in the hands of the Mughals which later on, shifted towards the Abdalis and in the end, the Sikhs became rulers in the province. When the Sikhs came into power, general chaos and anarchy prevailed in the province. Nadir Shah (1688-1747) and Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded the Punjab and after this, the process of political disintegration started in the region. These Foreign invasions created unrest and insurgencies in the province which destabilized indigenous rule that never succeeded to provide peace and stability in the Punjab. Ultimately, the decline of the Mughal Dynasty was caused due to certain weaknesses of the rulers which paved the way for Ranjit Singh who successfully established the Sikh rule in the Punjab.⁷

The death of Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1772 left the Punjab with a weak rule of the Afghans who could not manage it aptly and in this way, the Punjab came under the political domination of the Sikhs. Ranjit Singh (1799-1838 A.D.) established his rule in Lahore and turned the Punjab into a dominant state with complete Sikh political supremacy and later on, while extending his rule, he also occupied Multan, Peshawar and Kashmir. He endeavored to unite the Sikh community who were scattered before his rule in the Punjab.⁸ Ranjit Singh, during his ruling period, supported the landed aristocracy of the Punjab and gave them important positions in the province.⁹ In the era of the Mughals, Akbar, the great adopted a conciliatory policy to deal with the political and influential landed aristocracy of the Punjab and the same policy was followed by Ranjit Singh when he came into power.¹⁰ They received a massive support from the martial races of the rural classes of the Punjab. The landed elite remained loyal and supportive to Ranjit Singh who utilized fair and unfair means to bring the Punjabi chieftains under his political power.¹¹ Ranjit Singh infused a spirit of nationalism and patriotism in the Punjabi community to establish his strong hold in the province.¹² The demise of Ranjit Singh on 27th June 1839 brought the downfall of the Sikh rule and then the Punjab was occupied by the British. His death was a great loss and severe tragedy not only for the Sikh community but also for whole of the Punjab.¹³ The Khattars of Wah, (Sikandar Hayat's ancestors—Hayat family), the Mamdots of the Eastern Punjab, the Tiwanas of Khushab Shahpur, the Noons of Shahpur and the Khans of Kasur were either persuaded or forced to support the Maharaja. However, the Muslim urban families also enjoyed high positions in the court of Maharaja during the Sikh rule in the Punjab.¹⁴

The British maintained a close association with the local chieftains and used the channel of the landed elite to gain their political motives in the sub-continent. The British gave preference to the *lambardars* (Village heads) and landlords in order to strengthen and prolong their rule in the Punjab. But the policy of allegiance with the landed aristocracy was also adopted by the Sikhs. The chiefs

and the landlords were awarded with the vast tracts of land and were made powerful in their native states. The British adopted reconciliatory policy because they thought that the diplomatic relations with the feudal lords would turn the animosity of the landed elite into freindship.¹⁵ They also patronized the middle class of the sub-continent who ambitiously started copying the British customs and traditions. The British thought that the middle class could prove as a potential asset for them to achieve their interests in the sub-continent.¹⁶ The Sikh rule faced its downfall because of the internecine wars, mutual jealousies and factional disputes. Subsequently, the British annexed the Punjab which made the Muslims heave a sigh of relief and they expected now that the religious freedom would be granted to them.¹⁷ On 14th March 1849, Lord Dalhousie (1812-1860) ordered for the annexation of the Punjab with the British India and it was formally annexed by a proclamation on 29th March, 1849. Lord Dalhousie called a special meeting in Lahore which was attended by almost all the major Sikh Chiefs including Maharaja Dalip Singh (1838-1893). On that day, the British proclaimed that the Punjab had become a part of the British Empire in India.¹⁸ On 5th April, 1849, an agreement was signed between the Sikh Regency and East India Company which was accepted by the British Government.¹⁹ Undoubtedly, the British Government was extremely eager to make the aforementioned annexation because of the political and economic aspects of the Punjab.²⁰

The Unionists and the Sikh Community

The Unionist party was founded by Sir Fazal-i-Husain, Sir Chhotu Ram and Chaudhry Lal Chand in 1923 in the Punjab as the representative and guardian of the three major communities; the Muslims, the Hindus and the Sikhs. The other main leaders of the Unionist Party such as the Daultanas, Tiwanas, Maliks and Sardars, etc. were from the aristocratic class and feudal lords of the Punjab. The deep-rooted prejudices among the communities existed from the very beginning in the political history of the 'United Punjab'. All the religious and political sections worked jointly and remained loyal to the masses with a view to continue their grasp on the public and private affairs of the Punjabi community. With the passage of time, when the Sikh community thought that they were going to be deprived of their social and political rights in the region, they started to assemble for their political autonomy and organized themselves under the banner of the *Akali Dal* Party.²¹ The Unionists were playing a dual game; on the one hand, they were the supporters of the British government, while on the other hand, they were also representing the major communities of the Punjab. The Unionists were loyal to the British government and the leadership of the Unionist Party was also purely based on the Punjabi communities; the Muslims the Hindus and the Sikhs.

The relations between the Muslims and the Sikhs had never remained ideal on the political grounds. Even a minor anti-Sikh statement by the Muslim leadership could infuriate the Sikh leadership, whereas they could tolerate a lot of unreasonable announcements from the Hindus in general and from the Congress leaders in particular. Mian Muhammad Shafi²², a prominent leader of the provincial Muslim League, declared the Sikhism as a sub-section of the Hinduism in front of the Indian Statutory Commission. The Unionists introduced policies which were perceived to be against the Sikhs' interests; therefore, the Sikhs protested vehemently to condemn the policies of the Unionists.²³ In the Provincial Assembly, the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikh's representatives were united for their interests but among their respective masses, they were the communal leaders of their communities. The Communal Award of 1932 further created conflicts between the Muslim and the Sikh communities. The Sikhs started to protest, even before the announcement, because of the fear of the establishment of the Muslim Rule in the Punjab. After the death of Sir Fazl-i-Husain in 1936, Sir Sikandar Hayat took the charge of the Unionist Party.²⁴

In the mid of 1930s, many radical changes took place in the political arena of the 'United Punjab'. The Sikhs' political parties also condemned the Communal Award; they raised their voices against the Award to express their reservations deliberately. According to the Government of India Act, 1935, the Punjab Legislative Assembly was allocated 175 seats in which the Sikhs had 31 General seats and 1 seat for women candidate and the Muslims were allocated 84 General seats and 2 for the women quota.²⁵ The Sikhs protested against the allocation of the number of seats which were give to their community. Their demand was to get 30 percent seats in the Provincial Assembly or the partition of the Punjab at the Round Table Conferences from 1930 to 1932, which aggravated the communal issue in the Punjab and made it more complicated.

The provincial elections under the Act of 1935 were held in 1936-37 and the Sikhs had the choice to endorse either the Congress or the Unionists. They rejected both the aforementioned parties; the Congress because of its predominantly anti-Sikh policies and the Unionists because of their claim of being champion of the agrarian class. The Sikh community of the 'United Punjab' also thought that the Unionists' primary interest was to promote the Muslim *Jats* and the secondary interest was to uplift the Hindu *Jats* or the Sikh *jats*. As a result, the Sikh community of the Punjab organized themselves and formed alliances with the other political parties but none of the leaders in the Sikh community was able to develop a strong unity and reasonable coalition. Instead, they were divided into two major groups; the *Akali* and the *Anti-Akali* groups and the latter group came to be known as the *Khalsa* Nationalist Party.²⁶ Both the abovementioned groups could not achieve any major success in the provincial affairs and later on,

neither could attain popularity at national level despite their utmost efforts. In the 1936-37 provincial elections, the Unionists won 98 seats and the *Khalsa* Nationalist Party got only 20 seats out of the total of 175 seats. The Unionist Party got a clear majority in the Punjab Assembly to form their ministries.²⁷

The government of the Unionists remained stable in the 'United Punjab' due to the strong coalition of the Muslim, the Hindu and the Sikh communities. But the political environment of the Punjab remained imbalanced due to the prevailing injustice in trade as well as agricultural sector. Moreover, the socio-economic situation instigated sectarianism in the province. The Muslim community was in the worst position as compared to the Hindus and the Sikhs because the former dominated the trade and industrial sector and were also in the government sectors. Sir Sikandar showed some serious concerns after observing the prevailing situation closely. In January 1937, he expressed his views that the Unionist Party was not only the representative of the Muslims but it was also the representative of all the other communities of the Punjab including the Hindus and the Sikhs.²⁸ The core agenda of the party was to introduce a permanent government which should focus upon Muslim culture as well as protection of the basic rights of the minorities.²⁹ Sikandar had always claimed that the Unionist Party was committed to provide suitable facilities to the minorities and it would always maintain a sympathetic attitude towards them.³⁰ On the other hand, the policies which were adopted by the Punjab Provincial Muslim League did not have any effect on the rural population. The National Unionist Party got success in the provincial elections of 1936-37 just because of the support and influence of the *Pirs* and the landed aristocracy of the Punjab. This landed elite also received special attentions from Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan when he took decisive steps for the formation of his cabinet. Thus, Sikandar formed the cabinet by taking support of Ahmad Yar Khan Daultana, Malik Firoz Khan Noon and Malik Khizr Hayat Tiwana who belonged to the landed aristocracy of the Punjab province. The new ministers were the men whom the landed elite trusted from the experiences of the past. Sir Sikandar manipulated *biradari* loyalties in order to maintain unity among the rural Muslims. He also favoured the communal unity and had a vision of collective welfare of all the major communities of the Punjab. The cabinet of Sir Sikandar Hayat was a unique mixture of those ministers who belonged to all the three major communities; the Muslims, the Hindus and the Sikhs of the 'United Punjab'.³¹

Sikandar's Premiership: Communal Challenges and his Reconciliatory Policy

In the provincial elections of 1936-37, the Unionists secured the sufficient majority and the governor of the Punjab, Sir Herbert Amerson, asked Sir

Sikandar to form his ministry. Although, Sir Sikandar achieved clear majority, even then, he preferred a coalition government in order to bring the major parties in his ministry.³² Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan was invited on 17th February 1937 to form the cabinet which took oath of its office on 1st April 1937.³³ The National Unionist Party's victory in 1937 was greeted with satisfaction by most of the distinguished British officials. The Unionist Party became the major party of the province with its 98 seats in the Assembly including the Muslim, the Hindu and the Sikh members. The Unionist Party maintained exemplary discipline in the 'United Punjab' till the death of Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan. The *Akali Dal* criticized the *Khalsa* Nationalist Party which formed a coalition government with the Unionists. They further categorized *Khalsa* Nationalist Party as an extremist one.³⁴

The experience of this coalition government in the 'United Punjab' proved very successful. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan knew that his cabinet consisted of trustworthy men who were known for their collaboration and co-operation. He formed coalition cabinet with the help of three members from the Muslims, two from the Hindus and one from the Sikh community. The composition of cabinet and Assembly was based on a perfect communal balance.³⁵ In Sikandar's cabinet, Malik Khizr Hayat Tiwana (Minister of Public Works), Mian Abdul Hayee (Education Minister), and Sir Sikandar (Premier of the Punjab) himself belonged to the Muslim community.³⁶ The powerful rural Hindu community was represented by Sir Chhotu Ram (Development Minister and the representative of the rural Hindus), and Mr. Manohar Lal (Finance Minister, from independent candidates but a representative of the urban Hindu non-agriculturalists); the latter came from the urban Hindu community. While, Sardar Sunder Singh Majithia (Revenue Minister, a Sikh Jat) from the Sikh *Khalsa* Nationalist Party represented the Sikh community. Later on, Sardar Dasaundha Singh replaced Majithia when he (Majithia) died in April 1941. After Dasaundha Singh, Sardar Baldev Singh became the member of Sikandar's cabinet who also signed Sikandar-Baldev Pact in June 1942.³⁷

This was a very strong coalition government in the 'United Punjab' under the Premiership of Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan. His first priority was to take on board all the major communities of the province i.e., the Muslims and the non-Muslims to maintain the communal balance. He also discouraged the leaders and the newspapers which put their part in aggravating the communal animosity. In spite of all the efforts by Sikandar, the non-Muslims never gave him and his fellow Unionists a free hand to resolve the communal and political issues. During Sikandar's Premiership, every community was pursuing the communal agenda remaining within the coalition government in the Punjab. In 1937, the non-Muslim members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly intrigued against Sir

Sikandar and made a united effort to force the Premier to leave the office through a 'Motion of no-Confidence'. They even collected a large amount of money under the supervision Sardar Baldev-Singh to remove Sikandar from his office but were not favoured by the Muslims in this anti-Sikandar conspiracy.³⁸

Mosque *Shahidganj* Issue

Sir Sikandar Hayat, during his Premiership, remained busy in uniting the communities and creating harmony among them in the 'United Punjab'. As a matter of fact, the main objective of his ministry was the welfare of the communities and boosting up the agrarian class of the province. The incident of the Mosque *Shahidganj* created a troublesome situation for Sir Sikandar and also disturbed the communal harmony in the 'United Punjab'. The Muslims claimed that the Mosque was completely belonged to them because it was built during the period of the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan. After the Sikhs' occupation of the Punjab, the Mosque was seized and a *Gurdwara* (place of worship for the Sikh community) was built in its place. When all the claims of the Muslims were rejected by the court, the mosque became a bone of contention between both the communities; the Muslims and the Sikhs. In May 1935, Lala Amolak Ram, *Munsif* (Judge) of Lahore court, clearly stated in his judgment that the land of the *Shahidganj* Mosque was a gifted property of the Sikh community which belonged to their religious institution called *Gurdwara*. As a result of *Gurdwara* Reform Movement, the Sikh *Gurdwara* Act of 1925 was passed which ordered to place all the *Gurdwaras* under the management of the Sikhs' central board known as the *Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee* (SGPC).³⁹ In March 1935, all the property related to the *Shahidganj* Mosque went into the possession of the local SGPC, Lahore. Therefore, the committee issued an order to demolish the Mosque.⁴⁰ The tension reached its climax when all the Muslim socio-religious parties made their best efforts to stop the demolition of the *Shahidganj* Mosque.

The *Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam* was more active for the protection of the Mosque but short after, they decided to keep themselves aloof from the agitation. When the *Ahrars* refused to take part in the agitation, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan (1873-1956), an enthusiastic leader, decided to make a separate organization called *Majlis-i-Ittehad-i-Millat* in 1935 and *pir* Jamaat Ali Shah (1834-1951) was appointed as its *Amir*. It was a socio-religious group which was not showing its interests actively in the political activities of the province. The agitation of the Mosque *Shahidganj* brought about an immense loss for the Muslims but they remained helpless to resuscitate the position of the Mosque. This socio-religious and communal issue led to a series of violent riots, which seriously disturbed the Sikh-Muslim relations in the Punjab.⁴¹ On 12th July 1935, a meeting was held in the *Badshahi* Mosque after the *Jumma* prayer which was attended by 15,000

Muslims of Lahore.⁴² In this meeting, Attaullah Shah Bukhari (1892-1961) formed a separate organization named the *Anjuman-i-Tahafuz-i-Masjid*. This organization was established to find the legal ways for the protection of the Mosque.⁴³ Because on 7th July 1935, the Mosque was demolished by the Sikhs and as a result, the Muslims started to protest against this wicked act of the Sikh community. The dispute of *Shahidganj* Mosque remained unresolved till 1940 and caused heavy loss for the Muslims.

Sikandar did not play any role to resolve this communal issue because his patriotic and nationalistic spirit did not allow him to take undue steps against the minority in the 'United Punjab'. The reason was that; Sikandar himself was a staunch believer of the 'United Punjab'. Sikandar's utmost efforts were to avoid and remain away from the communal conflicts in the province and he also tried to maintain the balance of power among all the communities. On the other hand, he was worried about his ministry and wanted to evade all the pressures either from the communities or from the political parties of the province.⁴⁴ Instead of bringing these issues in the assembly for resolution, he adopted his reconciliatory policy and took the assistance of his personal relations. Jogindar Singh once expressed his views about Sir Sikandar and said, "Sir Sikandar wants to unite all the communities and the nations".⁴⁵

After the provincial elections of 1936-37, the Unionists formed a coalition government in the 'United Punjab'. Although they could have established their government without coalition, yet they included the non-Muslim communities such as the Hindus and the Sikhs. The Indian National Congress established its government in the eight out of eleven provinces of the sub-continent. The Muslims of these provinces had a keen desire to become the part of the government but the Congress refused to take them in its ministries. As a result, the Muslims of the sub-continent made hue and cry to show their resentment but all their voices were in vain. On the other hand, the Unionists' party politics and agenda was to compete the policies and economic program of the Congress. If in this competition, the Hindu members of the Unionist Party left their party and joined the Congress then there would have been the possibility of the Unionists being disintegrated.

Meanwhile, many members of the Unionists also started having an inclination towards the All India Muslim League and its leadership. At the same time, Muhammad Ali Jinnah also felt a great need for collaboration with the Unionists because of the political importance of the Punjab Province as he once said that the Punjab was a corner stone for Pakistan. In this regard, he wanted to make the collaboration with the Unionists just to get access in the Punjab; Jinnah thought of an alliance and extended his hands towards the Unionists. As a result, the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact was signed in 1937 which demonstrated the visionary

approach, thought-provoking strategies and political wisdom of Jinnah. Ahmad Yar Khan Daultana, the chief parliamentary secretary of the Punjab, was the great admirer of the leadership from both sides; the Unionists and the League. He played an important role for both the parties to come closer and sign Sikandar-Jinnah Pact. At this juncture, all the Muslims of the sub-continent were ready to co-operate with Jinnah under the umbrella of the All India Muslim League.⁴⁶ The League convened its annual session at Lucknow on 15th October, 1937 which was attended by a large number of the Muslims from all over the sub-continent. Sikandar along with a number of the Unionists' members of the Punjab Assembly reached Lucknow to attend the session of the Muslim League. Jinnah, before coming to Lucknow, had already negotiated with Sikandar to figure out the problems of the Punjab.⁴⁷ According to the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact, the Premier of the Punjab agreed that the Muslim members of the Unionist Party would join the Muslim League and they would also have to submit their membership to the Central and Provincial Board of the League and the Provincial Parliamentary Board will be re-established.⁴⁸ Sikandar-Jinnah Pact was ambiguous in its nature and created a lot of confusion for many people. On the one hand, Sir Sikandar was pleased because he had been able to acquire the support of the Muslim League and on the other hand, Jinnah was also content because the Punjab's Premier had been included in the League. M. A. H. Isphani stated that Sikandar joined the Muslim League, not out of deep conviction but just as a matter of necessity for strengthening his ministry and also to avoid the threat from the 'Congress Mass-Contact Movement'. Chaudhary Khaliq-uz-Zaman expressed his views by saying, "Sikandar saved the Muslims of India by joining the League's session at Lucknow and he infused a new spirit in the Muslims of the Punjab as well as the League."⁴⁹

On the other hand, Sikandar-Jinnah Pact damaged Sikandar's relations with the Sikh community in the 'United Punjab'. On one side, it strengthened the Unionists' relations with the League but on the other side, it created a feeling of bitterness between the Muslim and the Sikh communities of the province. Sikandar Hayat could not foresee the side-effects of the pact on the future politics. The worries of the Sikhs escalated because the 'Sikandar-Jinnah Pact' declared the Unionists' Muslims as the League's members and the Muslim League was considered as the enemy of the Sikhs' interests. The Sikandar-Jinnah Pact diffused the self-esteem of the Sikhs in the 'United Punjab'. It also altered the course of the Sikh-Muslim relationship in the Punjab Province. The Sikhs went against the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact and portrayed it as a conspiracy against them and the communal harmony. In November 1938, a meeting was arranged at Rawalpindi by Sardar Baldev Singh and in this meeting, the Congress and the *Akali* flags were waved together and anti-Unionists remarks were passed. In this

session, the speakers also advised the Sikhs' audience to leave the Unionists and join the Congress. Sajjad Zaheer and Ashiq Hussain Batalvi analyzed the situation and commented that, "the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact was a short-sighted policy on the part of the League".⁵⁰ According to S.M. Ikram, "Sir Sikandar was trying to sail in two boats".⁵¹ On the one hand, he was the passionate supporter of the All India Muslim League and on the other hand, he was the head of the Unionist Party and the saviour of the party's interests in the 'United Punjab'. In short, Sikandar-Jinnah Pact damaged the communal harmony in the 'United Punjab' and also created hostility between Sikandar and the Sikh community.⁵²

The World War-II, Sikandar's dexterity and the Sikhs

On 3rd September 1939, the Britain announced the war against Germany and Lord Linlithgow, the viceroy of India, declared Indian participation in the war. The viceroy appealed to several parties of India to co-operate and help the British in the war efforts. India made its official declaration to join the World War-II in September 1939. The Indian National Congress which was running its government in eight out of the eleven Indian provinces had showed its opposition against the recruitment of the Indian soldiers and started a campaign against it. The Punjab Congress severely condemned the Punjab government's 'Recruitment Bill' in the Provincial Assembly. Despite all these affairs, the Congress maintained its policy of loyalty with the British government. No sooner had the war broke out, the Punjab government started facilitating the recruitments in the province by passing the 'Recruitment Bill'. The Premier of the Punjab, Sir Sikandar Hayat recruited his own son Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan in the Army as a captain. The League's stance regarding the war affairs was ambiguous and they also criticized Sikandar's policy on the war issue. The Punjab Premier, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan followed the policy of his predecessor, Sir Fazl-i-Husain on the question of war and he did not allow his loyalty with the British government to be intervened by anyone.

In the national affairs, Sir Sikandar was the passionate supporter of the All India Muslim League but whenever the affairs of the 'United Punjab' were to be concerned; he was very committed and independent to pass on remarks for the unity of the Punjab.⁵³ In this regard, Sir Sikandar also requested the 'Punjab Press' to support the Punjabi cause and its nationalism and he wished that a patriotic point of view should be conveyed to the masses. The Sikh community of the 'United Punjab' followed the Punjab Premier by declaring their co-operation and support.⁵⁴ The Chief *Khalsa Divan* and the *Akalis* called the all parties' Sikh conference and it also supported the British government. Sir Jogendra Singh wrote several articles in the press regarding the matter of support for the British government. The Punjab Premier, Sikandar Hayat Khan collected a huge amount

for the war efforts with the co-operation of the Sikh community. In November 1939, Sir Sikandar once again passed a resolution in the Punjab Assembly to confirm his assurance of support and loyalty with the British government. This resolution was presented by Gurbachan Singh, a Sikh member.⁵⁵ During the World War-II, the Punjab Premier Sikandar and the Sikh community were having the same stance to support the British government and they were also on the same page regarding the war issues.

The Lahore Resolution and the *Khaksar* Issue

The *Khaksar* Movement had been working under the leadership of Allama Inayatullah Mashriqi (1888-1963) since 1931 in Lahore. He was very much influenced by the philosophies, ideologies and working styles of Jamal-ud-din Afghani and Adolf Hitler. He launched the *Khaksar* movement in order to bring a revolutionary change in India for the cause of Pan-Islamism.⁵⁶ Allama Mashriqi's writings gave an expression that he guided and controlled his party like a dictator. The *Khaksar* Movement had a private paramilitary force which possessed spades and used to drill through the streets wearing a military uniform. Their major objective was to establish the Muslim sovereignty over the sub-continent and to enable the Muslims to enter into the ruling class. The ideology of the *Khaksars* was based on getting freedom for India from the British rulers. Approximately, five thousand workers of the *Khaksar* Movement reached at their headquarters in Lahore from N.W.F.P. (present *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*). The *Khaksar* movement was considered a Militant Muslim socio-religious and political organization due to its violent nature. They seriously threatened the peace and the tranquility of the Unionists ministry in the 'United Punjab'.⁵⁷ The Punjab government had issued an order in 1940, banning all military-style drills or processions. The workers of the *Khaksar* Movement were determined to detach the non-Muslims from the affairs of the sub-continent. The activities of this group became a serious threat for the non-Muslim community at large. The *Khaksars* were also not willing to obey the orders of the Punjab government. On March 19th 1940, a large number of the *Khaksars* gathered near the "Uchi Mosque of Lahore" to disobey the government's orders.⁵⁸ The policemen ordered them to disperse but they refused to obey the orders and even they went to the extent of assaulting the policemen. As a result, the police acted against them aggressively and the conflict between them caused a large number of casualties. The *Khaksars'* activities were taken by the government as illegal and the higher authorities issued orders to arrest all the *Khaksar* leaders. Sir Sikandar also invited Allama Mashriqi and asked him to avoid militant activities like the ones which were being done by the Hindus and the *Akali* Sikhs in the Punjab.

The *Khaksars* had a reputation of following the orders given by the government but after the opening of fire against them by the police, they had also gone furious and adopted the policy to use the pulpit of the mosques to deliver speeches and sermons in order to pretend their activities as purely Islamic in front of the Muslims. At this point of time, this issue also increased the communal rift among the various communities of the 'United Punjab'. The Punjab government was under massive pressure because of the disturbance caused by the *Khaksar* militant groups. The Hindus and the Sikhs were the coalition partners in the Unionists government and they emphasized the government not to surrender before the *Khaksars*. The Sikhs became more upset and felt a sense of insecurity at this critical situation. They overreacted and increased their number of soldiers in the *Akali* party in order to meet the challenges from the *Khaksars*. Later on, this issue was resolved with the help of Jinnah and political stability was restored in the 'United Punjab'.⁵⁹

The *Khaksars* went in favour of the policies of the Punjab Premier because of the League's help, but at the same time, the League had added to the troubles of Sikandar by passing a resolution in which they had demanded the creation of 'Pakistan' for the Indian Muslims.⁶⁰ Sikandar did his best efforts to impede and uproot the Pakistan scheme in the 'United Punjab' but all his efforts were of no use because the political scenario of the sub-continent after the Lahore resolution was going in favour of the All India Muslim League and Jinnah as compared to the Unionists or Sikandar. In the opinion of Sir Sikandar, the partition of India would have brought disastrous consequences if the idea of 'Pakistan Scheme' had turned into reality. Moreover, he believed that the partition of India was not the solution of the communal issues. He did his best efforts to keep the province away from the activities which were strengthening the idea of 'Pakistan Scheme'. At the same time, Sikandar was trying to satisfy all the stakeholders of the 'United Punjab'; the Muslims, the Hindus, the Sikhs and the British government. In this regard, through his political dexterity and accommodative behavior, he used his reconciliatory policy to resolve all the conflicts. Further, he tried to accommodate all the communities as well as the political parties of the Punjab. Throughout his political career, he remained loyal to the British government and also preferred to fulfill their demands. He tried to convince Jinnah for not paying a visit to Lahore at this critical juncture but Jinnah rejected his proposal leaving Sikandar with no other choice but to draw his own scheme. The viceroy, Lord Linlithgow advised the Punjab Premier to draw his own scheme of partition. When he drafted the scheme namely; Sikandar's Zonal Federal Scheme based on 'Seven Zones', he sent Mir Maqbool Mahmood (brother-in-law of Sikandar) to Dehli in order to get approval from Jinnah. But Jinnah presented it in front of the Muslim League, made many modifications in the clauses, which consequently

turned into the Lahore resolution. On March 11th 1941, Sir Sikandar said in the Punjab Assembly, "I have, no doubt, prepared the draft of the Lahore Resolution but the subject committee have made so many changes that it could hardly be called mine now".⁶¹

The Lahore Resolution increased the grievances of the non-Muslims especially the Hindus and the Sikhs in the 'United Punjab'. They assumed that if the partition scheme would be promulgated, then the Muslims would rule over the Punjab forever. The demand for an autonomous Muslim state in the sub-continent was taken by the Punjabi non-Muslims as a death blow in the region. After the Lahore Resolution was passed, the non-Muslims started to follow Gandhi and his announcement to counter the 'Pakistan scheme'. As the Punjabi Sikhs considered the Punjab as their home, the *Khalsa* Nationalist Party was not ready at any cost to accept the partition of the 'United Punjab' and they threatened the Unionists' government with secession. Sikandar did not want the Muslim League to be given the right of self-determination because this would be considered as sowing the seeds of partition in the sub-continent. This situation created more problems for Sikandar Hayat Khan and he was trapped in so many serious complexities. He thought that if he made troubles in the way of 'Pakistan Scheme', his future would be diminished in the eyes of the Muslims and the League as well. On the other hand, if he sided with the Muslim League, his non-Muslim coalition partners could create more troubles for him. Under such circumstances, he decided to resign from the 'League' but not from the 'National Defense Council'. He went to Bombay along with the resignations of seventy three members of the Punjab Assembly to attend the meeting of the working committee. He also met Jinnah in Bombay who showed the letter written by Lord Linlithgow to the Punjab Premier. Sir Sikandar was surprised to see the letter and he agreed with Jinnah's interpretations. Now, Sir Sikandar, the Premier of the Punjab; Sir Fazl-ul-Haq, the Premier of Bengal and Sir Saadullah, the Premier of Assam decided to resign from the National Defense Council.⁶²

Meanwhile another important development emerged from the Sikh community of the 'United Punjab' to counter the Muslim League's 'Pakistan Scheme'. They introduced the '*Khalistan* Scheme' which was a brainchild of some of the prominent Sikh leaders. On 20th May 1940, a meeting, which was called by Master Tara Singh, a representative and leader of the *Akali* party of the Sikh community of the Punjab, was held at Amratsar and was attended by almost 125 leading Sikhs.⁶³ In this meeting, it was decided that *Guru Raj Khalsa Darbar* would be established for the purpose of giving practical shape to the *Khalistan* scheme. The major objective of this meeting was to make struggles in order to establish an independent Sikh state from the *Jamna* to the *Jamrud*, and also to set up two other independent Sikh states in *Takht Sri Patna Sahib* and *Takht Sri Hazur Sahib* to

secure the Sikh shrines and to make safe the return of Gurcharan Singh to the throne of *Nabha*. They claimed to rule the entire 'United Punjab' and to validate their claim, they would say that the British snatched the Punjab from them and after the British government; they had a right to become the ruling power of the Punjab. The Raj *Khalsa Darbar* Board was established to secure the support of different Sikh parties for '*Khalistan* Scheme' and its branches were set up in various places of the Punjab. As the *Khalistan* scheme was made to counter the 'Pakistan Scheme', therefore, Master Tara Singh proclaimed that if the Muslims gave up the Pakistan scheme, the Sikhs would also take back their demand for *Khalistan*.⁶⁴ The politics of the Sikh community was not so mature as compared to that of the Congress and the League and they also lacked the leadership as compared to the other mainstream political parties of the sub-continent. Master Tara Singh was reluctant in behavior while facing Jinnah and the former also showed lack of political and argumentative skills with which he could have been able to face Jinnah. The Sikhs were overwhelmingly gripped by disunity and their leaders were weak enough to be distracted by the trivialities.⁶⁵

However, the political deadlock and tussle between the major communities of India; the Muslims, the Hindus and the Sikhs could not be brought to an end. The Sikhs in particular were greatly perturbed in the Punjab. Another meeting was called by a Sikh leader Kirpal Singh (1894-1974) which was to be presided over by the Principal of the *Khalsa* College and was attended by 150 leading Sikh leaders of the Punjab. Master Tara Singh, the *Akali* leader, declared that the Sikhs knew that Pakistan was being imposed upon their community. He also asked the Sikhs to gird up their loins for what he called a 'big fight'. It was revealed that 'some arrangements' had already been made by the Sikhs (on emergency basis) to combat the 'Pakistan Scheme'. Similarly, the *Akali* Conference at Amritsar interpreted Acharia's proposals as a virtual recognition of the League's demand for Pakistan. Speeches were also made against the 'activities' of the pro-Pakistan element in the Congress Party.⁶⁶

During Sikandar's Premiership in the 'United Punjab', resentment and consideration among the Muslims and the Sikhs was at its peak. Unfortunately, a few efforts were made to curb communalism by the Provincial Government. The communal tussle was observed in the Muslim-Sikh relations during 1940 to 1942. After observing the bitter period of the Congress Ministries (1937-39) under the Hindu Raj, the Muslim League ultimately presented its demand of separate homeland in the North-West as well as North-East of India. However, mandate regarding North West sternly shook Sikhs' politics because all their interests and stakes were connected with the 'Unite Punjab'. Moreover, the Sikh Community responded strictly and also resisted the creation of 'Pakistan' till the day of partition. On this critical juncture, when the partition seemed inevitable,

both the Muslims and the Sikhs of the Punjab were scared of each other. The Muslim League's freedom slogan devastated the Sikhs who would have to protect their sacred places and scattered community in a future 'Pakistan State'. However, their leadership could not find a method to counter this challenge. Besides this, the Sikh community wanted to get support from the British government, the Congress, the Hindu *Mahasabha* as well as the Unionists, but unfortunately, they could not develop good relations with anyone. In October 1941, Master Tara Singh, indicated that the Sikhs must depend upon either the British or the Congress for the protection of their rights.⁶⁷ Sikandar stated that the Sikhs had absolute role as a fundamental force in the affairs of India because they had played pivotal role in the Indian army.⁶⁸

To sum up, both the Hindus and the Sikhs seemed determined to oppose the creation of Pakistan. The Sikhs were feeling insecurity in the Punjab after the Lahore Resolution and the Cripps Proposals of 1942 which were no less than a blow for them because of their unsatisfactory terms. This anti-Pakistan campaign continued in one form or the other in the Punjab, provoking the Punjab Muslims and demanding that the Government of India should denounce the Pakistan Scheme. The failure of the Cripps Proposals and Rajagopalachari's⁶⁹ Formula (Rajaji Formula) also paved the way towards Sikandar-Baldev Pact which was signed after a short period in June, 1942.

Sikandar-Baldev Pact and its Impact

The Sikh community raised its voice against Sikandar's Pro-Muslim policy. They criticized that the policies of Sikandar had deprived the minorities of from their basic rights and all the important appointments had been conferred upon the Muslims. The Sikhs complained against the appointment of Malik Firoz Khan Noon in the Viceroy's Executive Council because they wanted this post for their community. Meanwhile, the Sikh Conference, held at Amritsar, unanimously condemned Sir Sikandar for his Pro-Muslim policy.⁷⁰ It was observed that the major cause behind the Sikandar-Baldev Pact was the reluctance of the Sikhs to join the army in the early 1940s. Some Sikhs refused to obey the orders of the British Government which prompted strict actions against them. Still, Sikandar's ministry adopted its reconciliatory policy for normalizing the situation and to find out a long-lasting solution for the Sikhs and the Premier's misunderstanding. The *Akalis* also opposed Sir Sikandar for favouring the 'Pakistan Scheme', whereas, Sikandar considered the *Akalis* an unreliable and ruthless enemy.⁷¹ To Sikandar, the insatiable *Akalis* were hard to appease; they put forwarded demands after demands and gained very little or nothing. But the efforts of reconciliation' from Sir Sikandar proved fruitful in the shape of Sikandar-Baldev Pact.⁷² Sikandar's policy of reconciliation with other communities was the hallmark of

his politics. So, he expressed his desire and agreed to hold meeting with Baldev Singh⁷³ who was representing the Sikh community. Baldev Singh (1902-1961), a Jat Sikh, belonged to Ambala District and had been the Minister of Development in the Punjab Government during 1942-46. Later on, he also served as a Defense Minister under the Unionists government (under Khizr's Premiership) in 1946-47.⁷⁴ Baldev Singh had a unique support of the Sikh community and later on, he exercised this mandate when he concluded Sikandar-Baldev Pact.

In March 1942, Baldev Singh, while representing the Sikh Community, got favour from the members of the *Khalsa* Nationalist Party (KNP), *Shiromani Akali Dal* (SAD), as well as from other independent members who established the Punjab Sikh United Party (PSUP). All the above-mentioned groups were in favour of securing the rights of the Sikhs. They made their efforts which proved fruitful when Sikandar-Baldev Pact was signed on 15th June 1942.⁷⁵ Sikandar explained the main terms related to the pact in a press conference at Lahore on 15th June 1942.⁷⁶ In this Pact, they tried to settle down the conflicting issues. The agreement permitted both the Muslim and the Sikh communities to use the meat of *Halal* and *Jhatka*. The facilities, according to the pact, would be provided for the teaching of *Gurmukhi* in the primary and middle classes to the Sikhs' children. Both the communities would be permitted to participate in the Assembly regarding their religious matters and Sir Sikandar will assure the Sikh representation at the centre. Besides this, the Punjab Government fixed 20 percent share of services (job quota) for the Sikh community in the government.⁷⁷ After this, Jogendra Singh, another representative of the Sikh community, was also nominated for the appointment to the Viceroy's Council to assume the office of the Health, Education and Land affairs.⁷⁸ Although, it was a temporary patch-up between Sikandar and the Sikh community, yet it had put very long impacts on the communal history of the Punjab. Master Tara Singh delivered his speech and highlighted the agreement:

“...It is purely communal in nature and does not compel them to follow the ‘Unionists agenda’... Further, he indicated that this agreement could not change the mindset of the Punjab Government; that is why the pact had no political importance. He also indicated that the upcoming events will judge the originality and importance of the agreement...”⁷⁹

Master Tara Singh thought that Sikandar Hayat wanted to destroy the *Akali Dal* party. However, Sikandar Hayat and Baldev Singh as well as the leadership of the *Akali Dal* possessed different political agenda to go on in the Punjab politics. Baldev Singh was of the opinion that this pact proved helpful for the Sikh

community in the Punjab. On 26th June, 1942, he was appointed as a Minister of the Unionists in Sikandar's cabinet. The Muslim League and the Congress were not satisfied and therefore they did not favour the Pact. While, Master Tara Singh was of the view that communal tussle could not be tackled through this pact in the 'United Punjab'. Jinnah expressed his deep concerns over the Sikandar-Baldev Pact because his opinion was that Sikandar was the member of the League because of Sikandar-Jinnah Pact and he had no right to sign a pact with any other community without the prior consultation with the League as well as its leadership. Jinnah pointed out that it was against the party discipline and being a member of the League, Sikandar was bound to seek the approval of the Muslim League.⁸⁰ Meanwhile, during the visit to the Punjab by Jinnah in November 1942, Sikandar Hayat could not face him and surrendered what he got in the Sikandar-Baldev Pact. This misunderstanding widened the gulf between the Sikhs and the Unionists. The Sikhs seemed convinced that Sikandar was playing a dual game with them.

In fact, the Sikhs wanted the *Azad* (Independent) Punjab and said that they desired no *Khalistan*. Baldev Singh also criticized the 'Pakistan Scheme' and showed his resentment by saying that the preference should be given to slavery rather than the partition of the Punjab. Later on, Sardar Sant Singh criticized the Sikandar-Baldev Pact and called it a surrender of the *Akalis* to the Muslim administration. He further remarked that it was a strange Pact in the parliamentary history of the Punjab that Baldev Singh was allowed to sit with the government and the rest of the *Akalis* on the opposition benches.⁸¹

On the other hand, Baldev Singh was also represented the Sikhs of the Punjab at various occasions; both pre-partition and post-partition of India. He tried his best to protect the rights and interests of the Sikh community in the 'United Punjab' with the support of Master Tara Singh and *Shiromani Akali Dal*.⁸² The Lahore Resolution created a gulf between both the communities; the Muslims and the Sikhs and left the latter isolated both at regional and national level. At the same time, the *Akalis* did not support Gandhi in his protest Movement of August 1942. The Congress also pressurized the Sikhs not to support the British in the War but the Sikhs rejected it. From this attitude of the Congress, *Akali* leader, Master Tara Singh resigned from the Congress' membership.⁸³ After the failure of the Cripps Mission, the Indian National Congress started Quit India Movement against the British in the Sub-continent but the Sikhs were completely out of its fold.⁸⁴ Later on, the Sikhs could not maintain good relations with the Congress, but in the Punjab, the Unionists were the closest allies of the British government.

Now the Sikhs, the Unionist party and the British government were the main stakeholders in the Punjab and they were moving towards the rapprochement to

protect their interests. Firstly, the Sikhs would support the War efforts of the British government whole heartedly. Secondly, the Sikh-Unionists coalition would restrain the Sikhs and the Congress from making new efforts for reconciliation with each other. The Sikhs knew that the Unionists' mainstream leadership was privately opposing the 'Pakistan Scheme'. Major J. Mc. G. Short, a British officer who was famous for his influence upon the Sikh Community was assigned the task of mediation between the Sikhs and the Unionists.⁸⁵ Baldev Singh, the *Akali* Leaders and Tara Singh began to negotiate with the Punjab Premier, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan. It was Master Tara Singh who broke the ice and made efforts for negotiations between the Sikhs and the Unionists. He assured his supporters that the proposed alliance would be in the interests of the Sikhs in the 'United Punjab'. Moreover, Baldev Singh pointed out that all the communities of the Punjab province would be free to take part in the Assembly according to their religious affairs. The major objective of this pact was to develop cordial relations between the Sikhs and the British government. Sikandar believed that the Sikh-British relations could not develop without the Muslim-Sikh friendly relations. Baldev Singh anticipated that this pact would prove very beneficial for the Sikh community while, Master Tara Singh's stance was ambiguous.⁸⁶ On the one hand, he was saying that the pact was a great achievement and on the other hand, he pointed out that the core political issues of the Sikh community would remain unresolved and they would further continue their fight against the Unionists. Tara Singh was trying to justify his stance because he thought that the Sikandar-Baldev Pact was merely an amalgamation of acknowledgments, pledges and assurances of the cultural and socio-religious issues. He further said that it could not resolve even the fundamental problems of the communities in the 'United Punjab'.⁸⁷

Conclusion

To conclude, Sikandar Hayat Khan made his utmost efforts for harmony, unity as well as understanding amongst all the communities of the 'United Punjab'. He earnestly wanted to defuse the bitterness and harshness which was increasing day by day, especially, after the Lahore Resolution. Though, he remained successful to some extent in maintaining the warm relationship with all political stakeholders of the Punjab but his divided loyalties made him a controversial figure in the Unionists' circles and also in the eyes of all communities; such as the Muslims, the Hindus and the Sikhs of the Punjab.

Sikandar was against communal divisions and differences and intended to promote the pleasant environment in the 'United Punjab' where all the communities could live freely and peacefully. He was also against religious disharmony; the main preference during his Premiership was the settlement of

the communal issues. Sikandar's character obviously became a controversial one on account of being a coalition partner with the Sikh community in the government, especially on the Mosque *Shahidganj* issue. Though, being a Muslim, he could favour the Muslim community but he tried to minimize the communal animosity by giving equal rights to all other communities besides the Muslims. In spite of all his efforts, the Sikhs never gave him a free hand to resolve the communal issues of the Punjab. Every community such as the Muslims, the Hindus and the Sikhs followed its own communal agenda but Sir Sikandar tried to accommodate all of them through his reconciliatory policy. The Sikhs' political parties expressed their resentment and used anti-Muslim politics to gain their political interests. Despite all the efforts of Sikandar Hayat to create healthy environment amongst all the communities of the 'United Punjab', the Sikh community was not able to forget their bitter past of religious conflicts.

Notes and References

- * Dr. Maqbool Ahmad Awan, Assistant Professor, Department of History and Pakistan Studies, University of the Punjab, Lahore.
1. Akhtar Hussain Sandhu, *Religious hatred in the Early Phase of Sikh History Focus on the Muslim Sikh Relationship during Mughal Era* (Pakistan Annual Research Journal Vol 50, 2014), 201.
 2. Kirpal Singh, *The Partition of the Punjab* (Patiala: Punjab University, 1972), 33.
 3. Akhtar Hussain Sandhu, *Punjab an Anatomy of Muslim-Sikh Politics* (Lahore: Dogar Publishers, 2014), 57-58.
 4. H. V. Hodson, *The Great Divide: Britian- India-Pakistan* (London: Hutchinson& CO, 1970), 19.
 5. *Akali Dal* (AD) was also the representative party of the Sikh community. It was established on 14th December 1920. Sardar Sarmukh Singh Chubbal, the first President, organized *Akali Dal* properly. However, it remained under the influence of Master Tara Singh (1885-1967). This party got eleven seats in the provincial elections of 1937 in the Punjab.
 6. Sanauallah Qasmi, "*Sikandar Baldev Pact*", M.Phil Thesis, Department of History, (University of the Punjab, 2012), 79.
 7. N.M. Khilnani, *The British Power in the Punjab, 1839-1858* (Bombay: 1972), 15.
 8. Fr. LEO, O.M. Cap, *The Capuchin Mission in The Punjab* (Manglore: J.M. Saures, Codialbail Press 1910), 17.

9. G.S. Chabra, *The Advance History of the Punjab*, Vol.-II (Ludhiana: n.d), 294.
10. I.H. Malik., *Sikandar Hayat Khan: A Political Biography* (Islamabad: NIHCR, 1985) 14.
11. Ibid.
12. Ikram Ali Malik, *A Book of Readings on the History of the Punjab, 1799-1947* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, University of the Punjab, 1985), 1.
13. N.M. Khilnani., 15-16.
14. I.H. Malik., 14-15.
15. Krishna Kapur, *A History of the Development of the Judiciary in the Punjab 1884-1926* (Lahore: 1928), 26-27.
16. I.H. Malik., 14-15.
17. G.S. Chabra., 294-295.
18. B. S. Nijjar, *History of the United Punjab* (New Delhi: Mehra Offset Press, 1996), 23-24. Also see Fr.Leo, O. M.Cap., 23.
19. Ibid., 25-26.
20. Mohinder Singh, 'Punjab's Contribution to India's Struggle for Independence', *Punjab Journal of Politics* 12:2(July-December, 1988), 54-63.
21. Stephen Oran, "The Sikh Congress and Unionist in the British Punjab, 1937-1945" *Asian Survey*, Vol. 6, No.2 (Feb., 1966), PP. 76-85.
22. Mian Muhammad Shafi (1869–1932) belonged to Lahore and was a politician, judge and lawyer in the British India. He became a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, a body which was an appointed cabinet in the British government of India. He represented and supported various Muslim national, educational, and religious causes. He was a founding member and leader of the Provincial Muslim League in the Punjab province. For details see, Jahan Ara Shahnawaz, *Father and Daughter*, (Lahore: 1971).
23. Akhtar Hussain Sandhu, *Punjab an Anatomy of Muslim-Sikh Politics* (Lahore: Dogar Publishers, 2014), 85.
24. Lawrance Ziring, *Pakistan: The Long View* (Durban: Duke University Press, 1977), 45.
25. B. S. Nijjar, 153-154.

26. *Khalsa Nationalist Party (KNP)* was established in 1936 by two Sikhs; Sir Sundar Singh Majithia and Sir Jogendra Singh. They were of the view that they would contest the legislative elections from the *Khalsa Party's* platform under the new scheme of reforms which were introduced by the British Government under the Indian Act of 1935. The membership of the party was open for all those who were above twenty one years of age. The central headquarter of the party was in Amritsar. *Khalsa Nationalist Party* was the representative of the Sikh community and in its manifesto; it claimed that it was the custodian of fundamental rights of the Sikhs. It achieved 13 seats in the provincial elections of 1937 in the Punjab.
27. S. M. Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan 1858-1951* (Lahore: united Press, 1995), 252-53.
28. Azam Ch., *Tehrik-i-Pakistan Mein Pakistan Ka Kirdar* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1996), 91.
29. *Ibid.*, 91.
30. M.A. Zaidi, *Evolution of Muslim Political Thought in India*, Vol.-V (New Delhi: 1978), 162-165.
31. Ian Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj 1849-1847* (New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1988), 115. Also see B.S. Nijjar, 159.
32. Khalid Shamshul Hasan, *The Punjab Muslim League and the Unionists* (Karachi: Ushba Publishing International, 2005), 93.
33. *Ibid.*, 93-117.
34. *Ibid.*, 118-119.
35. *Ibid.* For details, see Lionel Carter, *Punjab Politics, 1940-1943: Strains of War, Governor's Fortnightly Reports and other Key Documents* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2005), Enclosure to no. 95. Government House, Lahore, January 11th, 1942. 290-291.
36. Khalid Shams ul Hassan, 118-119.
37. The Governor's Fortnightly Reports contain a note of the Governor of Punjab B.J. Glancy, in his note, he gives the opinion about Sikandar's cabinet. He writes, "Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan is a man of very considerable ability and a most strenuous worker: he is essentially fair-minded, possesses great personal charm and still commands a large measure of respect. Malik Khizr Hayat Tiwana is maturing in the case of political experience. He is not free from occasional vagaries, but he does his work shrewdly and adequately. He is a distinct asset to the cabinet. Mian Abdul Hayee can scarcely be described as a very satisfactory

member of the team. He is not lacking in intelligence. But he is an indifferent personality and by no means a single-minded administrator. Sir Chhotu Ram is made of sterner stuff than his leader. He still pursues his ideals persistently and often passionately. But, though his outlook is the same as ever, he has been of late more circumspect in his public utterances. He is an effective and hard-working minister of marked capacity whose instinct is to ride straight at his fences, whatever their dimensions. Sir Manohar Lal is sound and very pleasant to deal with. He is not sufficiently assertive when he meets with opposition, though he has shown some signs of improvement in this respect. Sardar Dasaundha Singh has unfortunately failed to justify whatever hopes may have been entertained regarding his capacity. His intensions are good, but his mental caliber is regrettably low. The assistance which he affords to his colleagues and subordinates is negligible, and he exercises little, if any, influence among his own community". For details, see Lionel Carter, *Punjab Politics, 1940-1943: Strains of War, Governor's Fortnightly Reports and other Key Documents* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2005), Enclosure to no. 95. Government House, Lahore, January 11th, 1942. 290-291.

38. Nawa-i-Waqt 11, September, 1992.
39. Baldev Raj Nayar, *Minority Politics in the Punjab* (New Jersey: Pringeton University press, 1966), 177.
40. Muhammad Khurshid and Muhammad Akbar Malik, *Shahidganj Mosque Issue and the Muslim Response: 1935-36* (Pakistan Vision Vol # 12 No # 1), 126-27.
41. I.H. Malik., 55. For details see, David Gilmartin, *Empire and Islam*, (London: I.B. Tauris & Co. LTD 1988), 99-107.
42. Inqilab, July 13, 1935.
43. Muhammad Khurshid and Muhammad Akbar Malik., 128.
44. Mirza Muhammad Saeed Baig, *Hayat-i-Sikandar* (Lahore: Taj Company, ND), 53.
45. Ibid, 55.
46. S.Qalb-i-Abid and Massarat Abid, *Punjab Politics Diarchy to Partition* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 2012), 280.
47. Ibid.
48. Akhtar Hussain Sandhu, *Punjab an Anatomy of Muslim-Sikh Politics* (Lahore: Dogar Publishers, 2014), 142.
49. Ian Talbot, 124.

50. Akhtar Hussain Sandhu, *Punjab an Anatomy of Muslim-Sikh Politics* (Lahore: Dogar Publishers, 2014), 144-145.
51. S. M. Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan 1858-1951* (Lahore: united Press, 1995), 252.
52. David Gilmartin, 100.
53. S. M. Ikram, 252.
54. Stephen Oran, "The Sikh Congress and Unionist in the British Punjab, 1937-1945" *Asian Survey*, Vol. 6, No.2 (Feb., 1966), PP. 76-85.
55. S.Qalb-i-Abid, *Muslim Politics in the Punjab, 1921-47* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1992), 226-27.
56. B. S. Nijjar., 171-172. For more details see, Maqbool Ahmad Awan, United Arab Republic (1958-61), M.A. Thesis, Department of History, (University of the Punjab, Lahore: session,1990-92).
57. Qalb-i-Abid and Massarat Abid, *Punjab Politics Diarchy to Partition* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 2012), 290.
58. B. S. Nijjar., 171-172.
59. Ibid.
60. Qalb-i-Abid and Massarat Abid, *Punjab Politics Diarchy to Partition* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 2012), 235.
61. Ibid.
62. Nicholas Mansergh, *The Transfer of Power: 1942-47*, Vol-I (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1970), xxi.
63. S. Qalib-i-Abid and Massarrat Abid, *Punjab Politics: Dyarchy to Partition*, 314.
64. Akhtar Husain, *Muslim-Sikh Relations in the British Punjab after the Lahore Resolution of 1940* (Islamabad: Department of History, 2011), 146.
65. Ibid, 147.
66. S. Qalb-i-Abid and Massarrat Abid, *Punjab Politics: Dyarchy to Partition*, 314. Also see, Nicholas Mansergh, *The Transfer of Power: 1942-47*, Vol.-I, 1076-85. For further detail, see Qalb-i-Abid and Massarrat Abid, *Communalism in India: The Role of Hindu Mahasabha* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, University of the Punjab, 2008), 81.
67. The Governor of the Punjab B.J Glancy reported to the Viceroy Linlithgow: Sikh Politics have been much confused. Master Tara Singh has established himself as the head of the *Shiromani Akali Dal*, but has considerable difficulty in reconciling the views of the two main opposing

factions among his followers. He is, according to the proverb, "sailing in two boats", and divided between veering towards Congress ideas and passively encouraging Sikh enlistment in the Army. Sikh recruitment still falls considerably short of what it should be. For details, see Lionel Carter, *Punjab Politics, 1940-1943: Strains of War, Governor's Fortnightly Reports and other Key Documents* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2005), Enclosure to no. 95. Government House, Lahore, January 11th, 1942, 293. Also cited by Akhtar Sandhu, "Sikandar-Baldev Pact," 176.

68. Stephen Oren, "The Sikhs, Congress, and the Unionists in British Punjab, 1937-1945," *Modern Asian Studies*, 8 no.3, (1974): 407.
69. Chakravarti Rajagopalachari (1878-1972), an ex-Premier of Madras had been a member of the Congress working Committee for the last two decades who also enjoyed a close friendship with Gandhi. On 23rd April 1942, Madras Congress Party under his leadership recommended to take everyone by surprise that the Congress accepted Pakistan's demand which was put forward by the League. The common Muslims appreciated the Rajagopalachari's wisdom; however, the Hindus as well as the Sikhs opposed this pro-Pakistan stance which they thought was a creation of Madras Congress group working under his directions. The Congress party did not agree and the Congress Working Committee also rejected Acharia's initiative. As a result, Rajaji resigned from the Committee. The Punjab premier apparently could not follow the advice to desert either of the parties; the Congress and the Muslim League. On the other hand, if Sikandar had rejected the League, he would have been in great trouble. Therefore, he continued as before, but a few months later the non-Muslims were further dismayed; this time, not by Sikandar but on account of new developments in the Indian politics in the shape of the Cripps Proposals and the role of Rajagopalacharis' group on 'Pakistan'--- both meant a virtual acceptance of the much-hated 'Pakistan Scheme'. For details see, S. Qalb-i-Abid and Massarrat Abid, *Punjab Politics: Dyarchy to Partition*, 313-314.
70. For detail, see Mr. Bahawal to Mr. Jinnah ed., Akram Shaheedi, *Quaid-i-Azam Papers*, on 14th August 1941, 73.
71. Ian Copland, "The Master and the Maharajas: The Sikh Princes and the East Punjab Massacres of 1947," University Press, *Modern Asian Studies*, 36 no. 3 (July 2002): 671.
72. Penderel Moon, *Divide and Quit*, 32-34.
73. Baldev Singh (1902-1961) was born in a Sikh aristocratic family. He came from the *chokar Jatts* at the Dummna village in the Rupar District of the Punjab. His father's name was Inder Singh, who was a government official in the central provinces. His family was very influential in the

Sikh community of the district. His desire was to enter into the politics. Under the British Act 1935, elections were held in 1937. He was the candidate of the *Panthie* Party, a collaborator of the *Akali* and the *Khalsa* Nationalist party.

74. For details see, Nicholas Mansergh and Penderel Moon, ed., "Constitutional Relations between Britain and India: The Transfer of Power: 1942-47. Vol- XI (1981): 1045. For more details see, S. Qalb-i-Abid, *Muslim Politics in the Punjab*, 125-126.
75. Akhtar Sandhu, "Sikandar-Baldev Pact," 178.
76. H. N. Mitra, ed., *The Indian Annual Register: An Annual Digest of Public Affairs, 1919-1947* (New Delhi: Gian Publishing House, 1990), 344-46.
77. Raghuvendra Tanwar, *Politics of Sharing Power, The Punjab Unionist Party: 1923-1947* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers and Distributors, 1999), 158-59. For more details, see Lajpat Rai Nair, *Sikandar the Soldier-Statesman of the Punjab*, (Lahore: Institute of Current Affairs, 1944), 58-65.
78. SH.N. Mitra., 299. Also see The Times, 5 June 1942.
79. Raghuvendra Tanwar., 160.
80. H.N. Mitra., 196-98.
81. Ibid.
82. Sanaullah Qasmi, "Sikandar-Baldev Pact", M. phill Thesis, Department of History, (University of The Punjab, 2012), 71-72.
83. Qalb-i-Abid, *Muslim Politics in the Punjab, 1921-47*, 252.
84. Inqilab, August 12, 1942.
85. Akhtar Husain, *Muslim-Sikh Relations in the British Punjab after the Lahore Resolution of 1940* (Islamabad: Department of History, 2011), 173.
86. Ibid.
87. Ibid.