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## **Bertrand Glancy and Punjab Politics: Appointment of Khizar Hayat Tiwana as Premier of Punjab and Its Aftermath**

### **Abstract:**

*This article interrogates Bertrand Glancy's role in the appointment of Khizar Hayat Tiwana as premier of Punjab in 1943, after the death of Sikander Hyat Khan, and the aftermath scenario of Punjab politics. The Governor as an instrument of the British imperialists had to safeguard their interests. The British interest till the end of the World War II was to retain the status-quo in the center as well as in the provincial politics so that it could use men and material support of the Punjab in the war. Therefore, it is pertinent to seek what were the ideas of Glancy about the province of the Punjab, why he elected Khizar Hayat Tiwana as premier of Punjab, why he didn't even grant the Muslim League an interview, why Jinnah was not consulted in this election and how he encouraged, guided and dictated Khizar for anti-Pakistan moves in his premiership.*

**Keywords:** Pakistan Movement, Punjab Politics, British Imperialism, Bertrand Glancy's governorship, Premiership of Khizar Hayat Tiwana.

### **Introduction:**

In the decade of 1940, debate on two-nation theory had become a hot-issue in India. Jinnah had emerged as their great leader who had command over the All India Muslim League party. He brought overwhelming majority of the Muslims to agree to the scheme he had envisioned upon in the Lahore Resolution. By this time, All India Muslim League had begun to gain considerable strength in the country. Jinnah moved to expand the League to accommodate new entrants who were inspired by the idea of Pakistan and were willing to join and serve the Muslim League cause. Despite Sikandar Hayat Khan's lukewarm support to the League, Jinnah appointed him member of the League working committee. Though Sikander was not in favour of Pakistan scheme yet he could not prevent the League from preaching its message in the Punjab. Regarding Defence Council issue he surrendered to the League's high command. Sikandar's decision was highly commended by Muslim League. In fact the British administration could not expect such surrenders from the premier. They wanted Sikandar Hayat to defy because they thought Sikander Hayat a better representative of Muslims than Jinnah.

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Then the Sikandar – Baldev Singh Pact in 1942 was supported by Glancy because it suited the British Government and could reduce the effects of Pro-Pakistan propaganda in Punjab. But even after the Unionist – Sikh Pact, the Pakistan movement came into greater momentum and the British administration became more active to check its growth. Sikandar had surrendered to the League on the Defence Council issue but his relations with the League's leadership were not good. On 6th March 1942 the Premier submitted his resignation from the membership of the League but after meeting with Jinnah on March 27, he wrote Jinnah not to take action offer. To Sikandar, the Cripps Offer was the best possible solution to the communal problem. Sikandar gave his formula of the division of Punjab in 1937 which again revived the controversy over the Pakistan Scheme.

Soon the League's leader was in Punjab, popularizing the Pakistan Scheme. This visit to the Punjab was a great proof of success of the popularity of the Pakistan Scheme in the province. The British Government, the Unionist Party failed to check the pro-Pakistan movement. And it greatly disturbed the Sikhs who criticized both Jinnah and Sikandar.

Unionists were opposed to the Pakistan Movement. Sikandar Hayat Khan was not a Muslim nationalist but he was a Punjabi nationalist and his views suited to the British Government who considered Sikandar a better leader of Muslims than Jinnah. Sikandar Hayat Khan, the premier from the Unionist Party, had remained loyal to the government, especially, on the question of World War II. So Glancy did not want a League ministry because he thought that Unionists would bring more recruits for the war than the Muslim Leaguers. Sikandar Hayat Khan had laid the foundation of the Pro-government ministry. Though Sikandar had surrendered to Jinnah on some issue, such as Defence Council issue, yet he was not in favour of Two-Nation Theory.

### **The Role of Glancy in the Appointment of Sir Khizar Hayat Tiwana and after:**

Sikandar Hayat died on December 26, 1942. The Governor of the Punjab wrote to the Viceroy 'Nothing could have been more tragic than the sudden death of Sikandar....'<sup>1</sup> To Glancy, Sikandar was an outstanding and extremely popular figure whose loss was 'likely to be felt all the more keenly as the days go by'.<sup>2</sup>

Sir Khizar Hayat Tiwana became the Chief Minister of Punjab in 1942 after the death of Sikandar Hayat Khan. About different candidates Bertrand Glancy wrote to Linlithgow on January 2nd, 1943 that it appeared to him that there were only two candidates namely Khizar and Firoz, whose claims needed be seriously considered. The Khattar's faction, to whom Sikandar himself belonged, wanted his successor from the same tribe. They nominated Liaquat Hayat Khan (his elder brother) and Muzaffar Khan (a close relative). The first person to meet Glancy was Manohar Lal, the Finance Minister who along with Abdul Haye and Baldev Singh strongly supported Khizar. Chhotu Ram, the Revenue Minister, was the strongest candidate on seniority basis but he did not consider himself a candidate for the post. But Chhotu Ram refused to become the Premier as he maintained that the Premier should be from the majority population- the Muslims. Therefore, he recommended the name of Khizar Tiwana as candidate from the Unionist Party for the premiership.

Similarly, Firoz Khan Noon who could be a strong candidate but in his interview with Glancy, Noon made it clear to the Governor that he had no desire to become the Premier of the province. Instead, he endorsed the name of Khizar. Then Glancy discussed the position with Khizar Hayat Tiwana and came to understand that he considered himself as the right man to succeed Sikanadar Hayat as premier. Glancy also had a conversation with Muzaffar Khan who was not interested but he thought that his kinsman Liaquat Hayat Khan was the best choice. Glancy wrote to Linlithgow that 'had he pressed him (Muzaffar), he would have modified his ambitions'.<sup>3</sup> But Glancy had no intention of doing that because he thought that a fair number of Unionists were against him. Glancy did not meet Liaquat because he thought that the latter had not a firm following. Thus after meeting and discussing the subject with various prominent Unionists he decided that Khizar was the right man for the appointment. The Cabinet confirmed their willingness to serve under Khizar. Glancy wrote to Linlithgow:

...I believe that Khizar will do well. He is a man of strong character and he has very considerable ability and is not afraid of work. He has not got all Sikandar's affability, but he is very obvious a man of good breeding and good address.<sup>4</sup>

With Sikandar Hayat's death it appeared that Jinnah assumed for himself new authority in Punjab affairs. He expressed anger when the Punjab Governor, B. Glancy, did not consult him over the choice of Khizar Hayat Tiwana, as the new premier, for Khizar was a member of All India Muslim League.<sup>5</sup> The provincial head of the Muslim Leaguers, the Nawab of Mamdot, asked Glancy for an interview but he was not granted. Glancy believed that Mamdot was acting under the guidance of Mr. Jinnah. So he did not get approval of the Muslim League in this matter.<sup>6</sup>

The new premier with the advice of his governor was not ready to accept and implement Jinnah's policies in the Punjab. But Khizar Tiwana realized and knew too well that he would be facing the greatest challenge not only from the Muslim League party but also one of the major problems for him was the pro-Pakistan movement in the Punjab. One problem, however, was that Khizar Tiwana did not have political skills or experience to deal with the leader of the Muslim League. Some critics believe that Khizar was appointed Chief Minister of Punjab because of his family's deep loyalty to the British but it will not be the proper analysis of the background of his appointment.<sup>7</sup> In fact, the Governor preferred inexperienced Khizar because he was expected to rely more on his advice. Khizar was only 42 and youngest Chief Minister of an Indian Province.<sup>8</sup>

Glancy's relationship with his Ministry became friendly and they developed better coordination. There were a number of reasons for this. Firstly, he was evidently more in sympathy with the new Premier, Malik Khizar Hayat Khan. There is no denying', Glancy wrote of Khizar in July 1943:

He lacks the experience and political agility of his predecessor, but he is in many respects a firmer character. He has a most attractive personality and he is very pleasant to work with. He is shrewd, even-tempered and blessed with a sense of humour. Though he is at heart an aristocrat and something of a reactionary, he keeps his prejudices in the background and is in my opinion essentially fair-minded. He has shown no signs of communal bias.<sup>9</sup>

Secondly, events forced Glancy to defend his Ministry. Jinnah was popularizing the Pakistan doctrine which was widely being taken up. Glancy was against the Pakistan Scheme and the Quaid-i-Azam was attempting to exercise his authority over Khizar.<sup>10</sup> After the appointment of Khizar as the new Premier of the Punjab, all the ministers first resigned and were reappointed by Khizar. One vacant ministry was filled in the following month by taking in Sikandar's eldest son, Major Shaukat Hayat.

Shaukat Hayat Khan was appointed a Minister only to honour Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan's family and their contribution to the British Raj. At this time he was not a member of the Assembly, but it was hoped that he would find a seat in due course. Glancy wrote to Linlithgow:

Major Shaukat Hayat Khan has been appointed to the Cabinet in the vacancy caused by the death of his father... It was largely a sentimental feeling on the part of those who had great admiration for his father that procured his inclusion in the cabinet..... in order to remain a Minister Major Shaukat Hayat Khan will have to obtain election to the Assembly within six months.<sup>11</sup> In May 1943 Shaukat contested election on a seat which was vacant by his father's death in Attock. The Unionist party and the Khizar Ministry supported him and as a result he was duly elected. When he was appointed the minister in the Khizar Ministry without consultation with the League High Command, the League opposed this appointment using the plea that it was an insult to democratic process.<sup>12</sup> Tiwana was asked to explain the reasons and circumstances of his appointment as the Chief Minister and the appointment of Shaukat Hayat Khan because Shaukat was not a member of the Provincial Assembly at that time. He was also asked to explain the reasons as to why the Muslim League party in the Punjab Assembly was not so far functional. Khizar Tiwana promised to make the Muslim League fully functional by making efforts to put a new life in it enabling it to serve the true interests of the Punjab Muslims.<sup>13</sup>

To some critics, Khizar was playing the same game as his predecessor Sikandar Hayat Khan had played with the League. He promised to reorganize the Muslim League in the Punjab while he did not do anything to make Muslim League functional in the province. However he could not stop the historical forces which were emerging in the shape of Pakistan movement. The third anniversary of the Lahore Resolution in the Punjab was celebrated with complete harmony in the Muslim community of the Punjab including the participation of Khizar Hayat Khan. Jinnah reminded Khizar that he had not fulfilled his commitments given from time to time to the Muslim League. He therefore, asked Khizar to comply with the promises made personally to the leader of the Muslim League.<sup>14</sup>

Unfortunately, despite his promises and assurances, the Punjab Premier was not in a position to act accordingly. Khizar Hayat Khan, encouraged by the British Government, refused to act upon the advice of Jinnah. Not to speak of ordinary British officials, Governor Glancy and Viceroy Lord Wavell did their utmost to encourage and dictate Khizar Hayat Khan to resist Jinnah.<sup>15</sup> Sir Chhottu Ram also very strongly opposed the idea of creating any Muslim League Party or for that matter even calling the existing coalition a 'Muslim League Coalition'.<sup>16</sup> Soon Khizar's problem multiplied when one of his ministers Sardar Shaukat Hayat

Khan also issued statements that the Muslim League demands were not unreasonable and that the formation of a League Ministry in the Punjab was in line with the Sikandar – Jinnah understanding and that the Unionist ministry should accept the League's discipline. The statements by Shaukat Hayat created a rift between the Muslim supporters of the Unionist ministry. Furthermore, Khizar's coalition partners like Baldev Singh and Sir Chhotu Ram were in no mood to accept any role by the Punjab Muslim League. It was generally believed that Khizar had been strictly following Chhottu Ram's advice

However, within the Unionist Party some 20 Muslim members of the Assembly, including Shaukat, had threatened the party with secession if the Premier refused to accommodate the League.<sup>17</sup> In a meeting between Jinnah and Khizar, the Premier warned of the Governor's rule in case of a split in the Unionist Party. The meeting lasted for several hours but nothing was resolved between the two. Glancy wrote to Linlithgow:

...From the account which Khizar has given me the meeting can scarcely be described as in any way conclusive, the conversations lasted for hours and hours....

...Jinnah is set on obtaining mastery for the League over the Punjab Ministry as soon as this can be achieved, and one interesting point that emerged was that Jinnah did not seem to be at all perturbed by the possibility of a section 93 administration in the Punjab; in fact he expressed the view that this might help to rally Muslims in the Punjab, as had been the experience in the North – West Frontier Province.<sup>18</sup>

In November again Jinnah held another lengthy meeting with Khizar but it too did not bring any fruitful results. However the League's working committee had now appointed a committee, consisting of Nawab Ismail Khan, Khaliqzaman and Nazimuddin to report on Punjab affairs but the old Sikandar – Jinnah Pact (1937) was the basis of agreement between the two parties. Before the report of the Committee, the Muslim League's session was held in Karachi and the interviews conducted by the Civil and Military Gazette revealed that all delegates supported the League's point of view on the Punjab affairs.<sup>19</sup> After few months, the committee sent some reports and according to these reports, Muslim League Assembly party was not functioning as it ought to be; Khizar's attitude towards the committee was also not cooperative. And Khizar's attitude was becoming hurdle in the Pakistan campaign.

When negotiations were held between Khizar Hayat Khan and Jinnah, the League leader insisted that the name of Punjab Ministry must be changed to Unionist-League coalition and also that this ministry must support the creation of Pakistan in its official capacity.<sup>20</sup> The Muslim League needed this commitment because the non-Muslim including Khizar's coalition partners were openly criticizing the Pakistan Scheme for the last four years in various ways. Therefore an ultimatum was given to Khizar Hayat by Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah.

It is very important to mention that the Punjab Premier at this point in time had accepted his defeat and was ready to give in to the League's demands. But an interview with the governor for his advice changed the whole situation

dramatically. It may be noted that Governor Glancy had calculated in 1943 that the major threat to Punjab's political stability will come from Muslim League and its leader, Mr. Jinnah.<sup>21</sup> During an interview Khizar told his Governor that Unionist Party has practically lost its power and position in many ways. It was, perhaps, existing in name only without any capacity to resist. Khizar knew that the Unionist Party will lose in the upcoming elections; that his supporter will join the Muslim League that the future belongs to only two major parties, Congress and The Muslim League. That if he stood up against Jinnah he will be relegated to the background and the best option for him was to retire from politics after the war ended in India.<sup>22</sup> The Premier was almost finished but the Governor of the Punjab wanted him to hold on.

Glancy thought that Chhotu Ram and Baldev Singh would refuse to serve under a Muslim League Government and Khizar, who would become dependent to Jinnah and would become unpopular among his own community.<sup>23</sup> Khizar's colleagues were of the opinion that he should have made his stand then or gone under the wave. The prevailing opinion was that numbers of Muslim M.L.As were likely to secede from the Unionist and Glancy was perturbed over the tranquility of the province whatever decision Khizar might take. On April 27, 1944, Jinnah – Khizar talks finally broke down on Khizar's insistence that the new coalition ministry which would be created after the establishment of a Muslim League Assembly Party should return the Unionist Party name.<sup>24</sup> A bitter dispute followed in which the League denied that it had ever recognized the Jinnah – Sikandar talks of 1937 as constituting a formal and a binding pact.<sup>25</sup> Glancy wrote to Wavell on 8th May, 1944:

... Jinnah flatly declined to accept any compromise that Khizar suggested, and Khizar decided to be the first to get his version to the Press; his account was on the whole an effective exposition and gave people to think. Jinnah was furious and charges and counter-charges, some of them apparently quite trivial, were interchanged.<sup>26</sup>

Glancy suggested that Khizar Hayat and his friends should be able to work up considerable support for the plea that Punjabis should be left free to manage their own affairs.<sup>27</sup> After the breakdown of Khizar – Jinnah talks, Glancy reported to Viceroy that Khizar had done great job in resisting Jinnah.<sup>28</sup>

By this time Shaukat Hayat was sacked. This action was, said by the Government to be, taken by reason of a serious case of injustice which had come to light in this exercise of Captain Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan's powers as a Minister. A meeting of the Punjab Cabinet presided over by the Governor of the Punjab was held at the Civil Secretariat from 11 to 12:30 and the announcement of Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan's dismissal was made immediately thereafter.<sup>29</sup>

In fact it was a political game, designed by the Governor of Punjab, Bertrand Glancy who leveled charges of corruption against Shaukat Hayat Khan for making speeches in favour of Pakistan scheme. And thus he sacked him. The immediate effect of Shaukat's dismissal was that the relations between the League and Unionist Party became highly strained and broke down. Soon after Shaukat's dismissal some 17 members of the Assembly, including some of the most vocal

and important Unionists like Ghazanfar Ali, Mir Maqbul, Begum Shahnawaz, Daultana and Mamdot resigned from the Unionist Party.<sup>30</sup>

In the meantime, Khizar Tiwana started explaining his position in the national press about the Muslim League – Unionist relationship from 1937 onwards. Consequently heated debate ensued and arguments were exchanged between the Unionist and the Muslim League supporters. Jinnah described Khizar's attitude as 'childish' declaring that battle against the Unionist party had begun and he would soon kill the name of Unionist and arrange its funeral. The annual session of the League was held at Sialkot and it was said that:

... Even the meanest subject of His Majesty is entitled to know the particulars of the charges and allegations or accusations against him and is entitled to a hearing and full facilities for his defence ... the general impression is that Shaukat has been dismissed and victimized because of certain political views that he holds ... If revenge can be taken against a person in this manner through the instrumentality of the Governor by his exceptional powers then this constitution becomes a force ... If the Governor is proved guilty of hearing victimized him then the Governor should be dismissed forthwith for marring the career of a man who has great family traditions and great status in life.<sup>31</sup>

Mr. M. H. Gazdar, Minister of Information, said that the dismissal of Captain Shaukat Hayat Khan from ministership in the Punjab for the reason given should immediately be considered by a joint meeting of the All India Muslim League working committee. He added that 'An interesting constitutional point' was involved in that matter and said that the dismissal was constitutionally untenable.<sup>32</sup> On 28th April Shaukat Hayat Khan gave the statement on his dismissal:

Impartial observers in touch with events as they must view my dismissal with the background of recent developments in the Punjab, i owe it, however to the public opinion, in and outside Punjab to state the facts. It is officially stated that my dismissal is due to very serious case of injustice which has come to light in the exercise of my powers as minister, i can not at this stage go into details of this case, which resulted in removal from service under my orders of a lady superintendent of Lahore corporation. I have requested the premier that in fairness either the whole record of this case may be published or I should be free to refer to its silent features. I can, however, state without divulging secret information that there were charges of corruption against this lady which was thoroughly enquired into ... I still believe that my order was 'bonafida' and just ... honest differences ... have not resulted into dismissal of ministers.<sup>33</sup>

The Governor and Tiwana's treatment to the Muslim League in the Punjab was widely deplored and the unjustifiable action of the Governor created a deep stir and resentment.<sup>34</sup>

Before the League could recommend any action against Khizar or make further efforts to undermine the Unionist Party, steps had been taken by the government to cope with the situation. It is noticed from secret reports that from this time forward, Khizar Tiwana began to rely more and more heavily on the Punjab governor for advice and support for his efforts to hold on against the Muslim League and Governor was working behind all decisions of Punjab Governments'

policies.<sup>35</sup> In order to reduce the number of secessionists from The Unionist Party and to show the Muslims that their rights were not neglected by the Unionist ministry, the Punjab Government resolved to expand the Cabinet.

... What I particularly feared was the secession of certain influential landlords from the Unionist cause; this was imminent at one time and it was calculated to lead to a general stampede ... we may have to expand the cabinet by one additional Muslim minister in order to stabilize support, but this is a comparatively small price to pay, and the non-Muslim Ministers seem ready to reconcile themselves to the position.<sup>36</sup>

The Governor of the Punjab added two influential Muslims to his cabinet Jamal Khan Leghari and Nawab Ashiq Hussain, one in place of Shaukat and the other as Additional Minister.<sup>37</sup> But the situation was so charged that the induction of new ministers did not help Khizar Tiwana to gain any strength. On the contrary the Muslim League now declared that the battle against the Unionist Party had begun. Now onwards Shaukat Hayat Khan won a great deal of support and a considerable wave of sympathy for him spread in various quarters. He now began to address Muslim League rallies and functions.

The League leader, Jinnah, openly declared that Khizar had gone under the joint control of Governor Punjab and Chhotu Ram and in fact the Unionist Party was now controlled by Governor and his allies. The Muslim supporters of Unionist Party were therefore advised by the Muslim League to divorce themselves from the Unionist Party and join the Muslim League ranks as early as possible.<sup>38</sup> Jinnah had referred Khizar Hayat's case to the League's Action Committee, a body that was formed to take disciplinary action against those who defied its authority. Khizar was called upon to explain certain points in connection with his behaviour towards the League. His explanation failed to satisfy the committee, which met in Lahore, on 27 May 1944.<sup>39</sup> His request to send his case to a Muslim Judge for arbitration was also rejected by the League. On May 28, the council of the Punjab League endorsed the decision against Khizar.<sup>40</sup> This was a great blow to Tiwana's political fortunes, as in response to the rising tide of Muslim nationalism all around them, Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab, on their part, led by Sir Chhotu Ram and Sardar Baldev Singh, respectively had also warned Khizar against any political compromise with the League; this placed him in a political kind thus severely limiting his political options.<sup>41</sup> Glancy was worried about this situation and he wrote to Wavell on 7th June, 1944.

... As was anticipated, the Premier has been expelled from the Muslim League. He has issued a detailed statement explaining the position, but I am afraid it is for too long and involved for the ordinary citizen to appreciate. The Unionist Party is now in the anomalous position of having its leader no longer a member of the League while the rest of the Muslim Ministers and the rank and file still owe formal allegiance to this organization ....<sup>42</sup>

Khizar's expulsion was applauded by Liaquat Ali, Qazi Isa and many others. Thus due to the unconstitutional step of Glancy of dismissing Shaukat Hayat Khan and then the statements and policies of Khizar, who was working under the dictations of his Governor, there opened the rift in the Muslim ranks which Sikandar had

always dreaded and the Unionist Party, which had dominated Punjab Politics for over twenty years and governed the Province since 1937, began to disintegrate.

Now through speeches, conferences and meetings the Punjab League was involved in the activities for the revival of its organization. Prominent leaders' visits to Punjab, new appointments of organization secretaries, conveners and divisional supervisors enhanced the propaganda of the Pakistan scheme. Funds were also collected to be spent in propaganda of various kinds. The Muslim Leaguers were busy in the organization of their 'National Guard'.<sup>43</sup> In November, the Punjab League published its manifesto, promising to safeguard the religious, cultural and spiritual rights of each community.

Meanwhile, the political interest was focused on the coming developments like Rajagopalachari Formula and Gandhi – Jinnah talks, which accepted the principle of Pakistan and greatly alarmed the minority communities in the Punjab. But they enhanced the League's prestige.<sup>44</sup> After the breakdown of Gandhi Jinnah talks, Jinnah was applauded for his steadfastness in failing to agree to Gandhi's proposals. *Dawn* observed:

... It's yet another clever attempt of the ex-Premier of Madras to put Quaid-i-Azam in an awkward position. His first attempt was some three years back when he threw the bait to Mr. Jinnah of becoming the first Premier of India, if he had but agreed to his terms to throw the Muslims overboard ... a careful reading of the whole correspondence makes it clear ... an attempt to torpedo the Muslim demand of self-de-termination ... Congress leaders were never serious about the proposals, hence the release of the correspondence on one hand Gandhi anxious for the settlement of the Hindu – Muslim question, while on the other, he flirts with the government and wants to make a settlement over the head of the Muslim League. Mr. Jinnah's stand has very much been appreciated not only by the Muslims here, but also by those sane non-Muslims, who consider Quaid-i-Azam's reply to "C.R" perfectly constitutional.<sup>45</sup>

Punjab Government was deeply concerned about the growth of the Pakistan scheme in the province; it believed that if the Punjab fell to the Muslim League, it would be hard to prevent the creation of Pakistan.<sup>46</sup> The Governor Bertrand Glancy wanted to resist the League and Pakistan as long as he could. He had allied Khizar with him and opposed to all moves to settle the Congress - League differences, which could give the latter a commanding position or a substantial share at the Centre.

With the collapse of Jinnah–Khizar and Gandhi – Jinnah talks, the Muslim League accelerated its propaganda and prestige of the party. While the Unionist Party merely mirrored the image of the British Government, now the Muslim Leaguers were determined to develop a fully conscious Muslim Punjab and they could not wait this long as the elections of 1945-46 were approaching rapidly.

**Conclusion:**

Following the Lahore Resolution 1940, Muslims Hindus and Sikhs, all were experiencing the germs of nationalism. And the Pakistan movement had got momentum when Bertrand Glancy became the governor of the Punjab. Jinnah, who was mobilizing and organizing the Muslim League, appointed Sikandar Hayat Khan as the member of the League working committee. But Glancy strongly disliked the Premier's surrenders to Jinnah. In 1942 Glancy warned the British government of the Cripps Mission's proposals and its likely repercussions because he was against the Pakistan scheme. Sikandar Hayat died on December 26, 1942 and Khizar Hayat Tiwana became the new Premier of Punjab in 1943 with the support of the British government. Glancy did not grant the Muslim League even an interview in the selection of the candidate for the premiership and Jinnah was not consulted over this choice for the Premier because Khizar suited the British governorship. Khizar - Jinnah talks (28 March to 27 April, 1944) failed due to the interference of Glancy. The power of British imperialism was also shown by sacking Shaukat Hayat Khan (26 April, 1944) from his office of Minister because he had favoured the League stance on the Sikandar – Jinnah Pact (1937). Glancy was also perturbed over the Gandhi – Jinnah talks and the Acharia Formula (1944) because it accepted the demand for Pakistan.

## References

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- <sup>1</sup> Glancy to Linlithgow, 28 December 1942, in Carter, ed., *Punjab Politics 1940 – 1943*, 337.
  - <sup>2</sup> Glancy to Linlithgow, 29 December, 1942, *ibid*; 338.
  - <sup>3</sup> Governor to Viceroy, 2 January 1943, *Ibid*, 348-351.
  - <sup>4</sup> *Ibid*.
  - <sup>5</sup> Imran Ali, *Punjab Politics in the Decade Before Partition*, 37.
  - <sup>6</sup> Glancy to Linlithgow, 2 January 1943, in Carter, ed., *Punjab Politics 1940-1943*, 351.
  - <sup>7</sup> Raghuvendra Tanwar, *Politics of Sharing Power: The Punjab Unionist Party 1923 – 1947* (New Delhi: Manohar Publisher, 1999), 133.
  - <sup>8</sup> Mussarat Abid and Qalb-i-Abid, “Unionist – Muslim League Relations and The Punjab Administration,” in *History, Politics and Society: The Punjab* (Lahore: Pakistan Study Centre, 2009), 186.
  - <sup>9</sup> Note by Glancy, 21 July 1943, in Carter, ed., *Punjab Politics 1940-1943*, 382-383.
  - <sup>10</sup> Glancy to Linlithgow, 16 September 1943, in Mansergh, ed., *The Transfer of Power*, Vol. IV, 269-270.
  - <sup>11</sup> Glancy to Linlithgow, 17 April 1943, in Carter, ed., *Punjab Politics 1940-43*, 360.
  - <sup>12</sup> Zaidi, ed., *Evolution of Muslim Political Thought in India*, Vol. 6 (Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 1978), 568-569.
  - <sup>13</sup> Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed., *Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol. II (Karachi: National Publishing House Ltd., 1970), 406.
  - <sup>14</sup> *Civil and Military Gazette* (Lahore), 29 April 1943.
  - <sup>15</sup> Sikandar Hayat, *The Charismatic Leader*, 232.
  - <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 4 June 1943.
  - <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*
  - <sup>18</sup> Glancy to Linlithgow, 16 September 1943, in Carter, ed., *Punjab Politics 1940-1943*, 394-395.
  - <sup>19</sup> *The Civil and Military Gazette* (Lahore), 21 March 1940.
  - <sup>20</sup> *Inqilab* (Lahore), 21 March 1940.
  - <sup>21</sup> Glancy to Linlithgow, 17 April 1943, in Carter, ed., *Punjab Politics 1940-43*, 360
  - <sup>22</sup> Glancy to Wavell, 14 April 1944, in Carter, ed., *Punjab Politics 1 January 1944-3 March 1947 : Last Years of the Ministries* (Delhi: Manohar, 2006), 62.
  - <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*
  - <sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 28 April 1944.
  - <sup>25</sup> Talbot, *Provincial Politics*, 94.
  - <sup>26</sup> Glancy to Wavell, 8 May 1944, in Carter, ed., *Punjab Politics 1 January 1944 – 3 March 1947*, 76.
  - <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*
  - <sup>28</sup> Glancy to Wavell, 23 May 1944, in Mansergh, ed., *Transfer of Power*, Vol. IV, 985.
  - <sup>29</sup> *Dawn* (Delhi), 27 April 1944.
  - <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 May 1944.

- <sup>31</sup> Muslim League's Annual Session at Sialkot, in Zaidi, ed., *Evolution*, Vol. VI, 350-54.
- <sup>32</sup> M. Gazdar, Minister of Information's statement, *Dawn* (Delhi), 28 April 1944.
- <sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 29 April 1944.
- <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 May 1944.
- <sup>35</sup> S. Qalib-i-Abid, *Punjab Politics*, 282.
- <sup>36</sup> Glancy to Wavell, 8 May 1944, in Carter, ed., *Punjab Politics 1 January 1944 – 3 March 1947*, 77.
- <sup>37</sup> Both these News Ministers – Jamal Khan Leghari, a Baluch Tumandar, and Nawab Ashiq Hussain of Multan, had a strong following in the Western Punjab, and by taking them into the Cabinet Khizar had probably reduced the number of desertions from the Unionist Party from 30 to 18. S. Qalib-i-Abid, *Punjab Politics*, 282.
- <sup>38</sup> Hummyun Adeeb, *Punjab Aur Mamdot* (Lahore: Society Books, 1987), 199-200.
- <sup>39</sup> *Inqilab* (Lahore), 28 May 1944.
- <sup>40</sup> *Dawn* (Delhi), 5 May 1944.
- <sup>41</sup> Mohammad Iqbal Chawla, "Wavell and Muslim Politics in Punjab – Expulsion of Khizar Hayat Tiwana from the Muslim League: 1944", 162.
- <sup>42</sup> Glancy to Wavell, 7 June 1944, in Carter, ed., *Punjab Politics 1 January 1944-3 March 1947*, 83.
- <sup>43</sup> Glancy to Wavell, 24 June 1944, *Ibid.*, 85.
- <sup>44</sup> Savepalli Gopal, *Jawahar Nehru: A Biography*, Vol. I (London: Harvard University Press, 1975), 302.
- <sup>45</sup> *Dawn* (Delhi) 11 July 1944.
- <sup>46</sup> Wavell to Amery, 8 November 1944, in Mansergh, ed., *Transfer of Power*, Vol. V, 188.