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## The Unionist Support for War Efforts

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The British India's military maneuverings and air raid exercises had been giving the impression of a forthcoming war. From April to August 1939, Indian troops had been involved in preparations for war at Aden, Singapore and Egypt. While all this was happening, the largest political party in India (and in the world), the Congress, which was ruling 8 of the 11 Indian provinces, had declared its opposition: 'India can be no party to such an imperialist war and will not permit her man power and resources to be exploited in the interests of British imperialism'.<sup>1</sup> Shortly afterwards the Punjab Congress started its campaign against recruiting in the Army.<sup>2</sup> The party violently denounced the Punjab ministry's Recruitment Bill in the Punjab Assembly.<sup>3</sup> The Congress Party also expressed its sharp disapproval of the dispatch of Indian troops to foreign countries against what it called 'the declared will of the Indian people'. Its Working Committee asked its ministries in power not to assist the preparations of the British Government, and to adhere to the Congress policy on the subject of war.<sup>4</sup> The Congress policy, however, did not shake the Punjab's loyalty in the least. The province was a home of the martial races. Most of its leading ruling families had been the strongest British allies in such crises as the annexation of the Punjab to the British India, The Indian 'Mutiny', and the First World War.<sup>5</sup> This bond of

friendship and co-operation was further strengthened by the creation of the Unionist Party, which served as a link between the leading families and the Punjab Administration. The party's leading members had been rewarded by the British with the various titles, grants of land, and honorary military ranks in the Army, after the First World War. Therefore, due to the Punjab's traditional loyalty to the Raj, it was anticipated that its leading families, which formed the backbone of the Unionist Party, would come to the aid of the British, no matter what the Congress said or did.

As soon as the war appeared to be certain, the Punjab Premier facilitated recruitment in the province by passing a Recruitment Bill in the Legislature.<sup>6</sup> Sir Sikandar also made a speech in the Assembly (on August 26) assuring the Punjab's fullest co-operation in the event of war — to stand by the British through thick and thin, with its manpower and all, its resources.<sup>7</sup> In another speech Sir Sikandar declared that the Punjab was well known for producing men for the Army; they were a martial race; and that the province would not only defend itself, but stand as a protector for the whole of India in the hour of need,<sup>8</sup> Commenting on the Congress' attitude, the Premier said: 'What possible satisfaction could they derive from Great Britain's difficulties, if they (the Indians) themselves were exposed to the danger of subjection by another power? ... The Punjab should look with suspicion and disfavor on the attempt to dissuade (the) Punjabi young men from joining the Army'.<sup>9</sup> The Punjab Premier was in touch with the Governor on the subject of war; both were convinced that the safety of India depended not on the attitude of the Congress, but on the loyalty of the Punjab.<sup>10</sup> In August 1938 Sikandar had assured his Governor that the Punjab would cooperate exactly as it had done during the First World War. He also informed the Governor that in fulfilling his pledges of support he did not anticipate any trouble within his province.<sup>11</sup> A similar message was sent to the Viceroy, through the Governor, in which Sir Sikandar repeated his promise

that the Punjab would live up to its old traditions of loyalty to the Raj.<sup>12</sup>

Meanwhile, with a view to increasing enthusiasm in the province for the war effort the Governor and Sikandar also made plans to bribe some professional agitators and pressmen in the province, with a sum of 2,000 rupees for a few months, to give publicity to the speeches and statements of loyalty to the British.<sup>13</sup> To supplement their efforts, Sikandar tried hard to get the Muslim League, the second largest political party in India, to commit itself, "unconditionally, to support the war effort. Although the League was yet undecided on the subject of war, a group within its organization was against Sikandar's making statements in support of the British, without securing the approval of the League. The subject of war had first come under discussion in the Patna session (December 1938) of the League. The League leader, as before, snubbed Sikandar opponents; the Premier himself also took a very strong line, warning his opponents that he could not tolerate any interference in his policy on the question of war. Sikandar reminded them that the League largely depended on the support of his party.<sup>14</sup> A few months later, in the Working Committee meeting of the League (July 1939) the Premier himself raised the question of war effort and suggested that should the war be declared the League at once announce its support for the British. He made it clear that he himself and his party were in any case committed to support the war effort.

The Premier once again warned that in case the League decided against cooperation, his party would resign from the League; he also insisted that the League should not use the outbreak of war in a bargaining spirit.<sup>15</sup> The majority of the Working Committee members were in favor of Sikandar's proposals. Although the League leader did not agree and did not promise support, he allowed the Premier to make statements on his own behalf, which he said, could be interpreted as the support

of Muslim India.<sup>16</sup> This decision was far from being satisfactory from the Punjab's point of view. However, the Unionist leader and his deputy both assured the government that the Punjab would remain firm in its commitments.<sup>17</sup> The Premier again told the press of his assurances of help in the event of war.<sup>18</sup> Meanwhile, another opportunity to press the League organization on these questions came in the form of its council's meeting, in August 1939. By that time it was widely known that the League's leadership and the Punjab Premier disagreed about the League's response to the war effort. It was therefore speculated that this meeting would bring about a rupture in the League.<sup>19</sup>

When the meeting started, the anti-Sikandar group in the council criticized his statement on the subject of war, and recommended an action against him. However, there was also a moderate element in the council which was against any such action. The League leader supported neither Sikandar nor his critics. Although he allowed the Premier to carry on his policy in his own province, it was made clear that Sikandar's views on the subject of war did not represent the views of the League.<sup>20</sup> The Premier could do little under the circumstances; but he was very angry, particularly with the League leader. Sikandar thought Jinnah had taken this decision on account of personal vanity rather than in the interests of the Muslim community or the country; and also that by doing so Jinnah had deliberately flouted the wishes and views of a large majority of Indian Muslims.<sup>21</sup> Sikandar was also apprehensive that the League leader might try to influence the Punjab press.<sup>22</sup> The League had refused to fall in line with the Punjab. The war was declared on 3 September 1939; on the same day the Viceroy declared India's participation in the war. As anticipated, the declaration was followed by a most powerful wave of loyalty and enthusiasm in the Punjab. The Premier sent a message to the Viceroy that the province would live up to its past traditions and that the Muslims were behind the British even if Jinnah was not with them.<sup>23</sup>

Sikandar also issued a statement explaining the just cause of the British, and calling upon the Punjabis to demonstrate their sympathy and solidarity with Britain, keeping up their old traditions. The Premier also requested the Punjab press to support the Punjabi point of view on the subject.<sup>24</sup> Shortly afterwards, the Sikhs followed Sikandar by announcing their co-operation with men and material resources.<sup>25</sup> The All Parties Sikh conference, called by the Akalis and the Chief Khalsa divan, also supported the British. Sir Sardar Jogendra Singh, a former minister, wrote several articles in the press in this sense.<sup>26</sup> With the help of the Sikh community, the Premier made a declaration in the Assembly against Nazi barbarism; and was also able to get approval of a handsome grant of Rs. 75,000, for war publicity.<sup>27</sup> These arrangements had wide-spread effect, on the Punjab. In a short time, the Punjab Administration was overwhelmed by the arrival of gifts and contributions.<sup>28</sup> The Governor received innumerable message of support<sup>29</sup> and soon the province was recruiting 10,000 men per day.<sup>30</sup> In November 1939, the Premier once again got the Punjab Assembly to pass a resolution (by 104 to 39 votes), confirming his previous assurances of loyalty and support. The main resolution was moved by a Sikh member, Gurbachan Singh. All leading Unionist personalities made speeches in support of the move. Nawab Nawab Muzzafar Khan called upon the Assembly members not to be misled by the opponents of the British Government.

He also declared that the Punjab as a whole was behind its Premier. Commenting on the Congress' attitude, the Premier said that India did not want bargaining: 'He would spur a friend who would like to take advantage of him in his difficulty ... Give Britain wholehearted, unconditional and unequivocal support ... The Congress was a big political organization but it did not command the confidence of the whole country'.<sup>31</sup> The Congress members in the Assembly tried to amend the resolution several times, with a view to blaming the government for the difference of opinion. Their attempts failed; a large majority of the

Assembly members endorsed the sentiments expressed by the Premier.<sup>32</sup> The Punjab Congress was simply following the policy of its parent body. In October, the Congress party had passed a resolution demanding that India should be declared independent.

Earlier, the British Government had also been asked to declare its war aims in regard to democracy and imperialism; and how these aims were going to apply to Indian people. The Viceroy had made a statement, but it was rejected by the Congress as a reiteration of the old imperialist policy'.<sup>33</sup> Therefore, the party, in accordance with its previous policy, called upon its ministries to tender their resignation. Their order was obeyed and soon the most powerful political party in India had left office.<sup>34</sup> This decision to resign was not welcome to the Punjab Congress; however, the Hindu community in the Punjab, being a minority, had always been opposed to moves by the Congress which might give their opponents a free hand in Punjab politics. Although the Punjab Congress leaders tried to justify the Congress policy, putting all the blame on the Viceroy for not conceding 'the most justified demands of the great organization',<sup>35</sup> there existed a great deal of dissatisfaction amongst the Punjab Hindus over Congress' resignation policy.<sup>36</sup>

*The Pratap*, an influential Hindu daily of the Punjab, criticized equally the Muslims for their support to the British and the Congress' decision.<sup>37</sup> Similarly, the rest of the Hindu press and the Hindu Mahasabha expressed their apprehensions. It was generally thought that the course followed by the Congress would harm Hindu interests in the Punjab, and that the Congress had surrendered the Hindus to the Muslims.<sup>38</sup> As a mark of protest the Mianwali Congress Committee actually resigned from the Congress Party, eliminating the Congress altogether from that district.<sup>39</sup> The Punjab Muslims were jubilant at the Congress resignations, while their Hindu opponents were raising a hue and cry. The Muslims, although never subjected to

Congress rule, were terrified due to its behavior<sup>40</sup> in the Muslims minority provinces. The Punjab's Muslim ministry had been under constant threat while the Congress was in power. The Muslims, therefore, thought that this was perhaps the best opportunity for them to air their grievances against the Congress — feeling safe from a political agitation by the Congress ministries.<sup>41</sup> Soon after the Congress resignation, in 8 out of the 11 Indian provinces, the administration was taken over by the Governors under the Section 93 of the 1935 Act. The Muslims were relieved, for they believed that after the Congress departure from power there would be no strong force to create obstacles to the war effort. Most important of all other reasons, however, was that the Muslims believed that their interests were safer in the hands of the British than of the Hindus.<sup>42</sup> A Muslim daily, *The Inqilab*, critically discussed the 'independence of India' as preached by the Congress Party. The paper commented that the freedom of India did not mean that the Hindus should get freedom while the Muslim community whose numerical strength exceeded the total population of Britain and France should be made subservient. The paper suggested that Britain not leave India without deciding the fate of 90 million Muslims.<sup>43</sup> The Congress was blamed for not accepting the compromise offered by the Viceroy,<sup>44</sup> promising that at the end of the war the government would consult the various parties in framing the future Constitution of India. Thus the Congress was practically at war with the Government of India; the League, on the other hand, had been trying to take advantage of the situation.<sup>45</sup>

The latter demanded a veto power over future constitutional advance in India; an equal share in the future government; and also to be recognized as the sole representative of the Muslim opinion.<sup>46</sup> But the Punjab Premier passionately believed in unconditional support of the war effort.<sup>47</sup> Sir Sikandar neither liked the League's attitude of bargaining with the government in its difficult times, nor Congress' outright opposition. He repeatedly appealed to both the parties to resolve

their mutual differences and give maximum support to the government.<sup>48</sup> The Premier thought that if he could mediate to get a settlement between the Congress and the Muslims, both the parties might come in on the British side.

On this assumption, in May 1939, Sikandar had written to K.T. Shah, a famous Muslim Congressman of Bombay,<sup>49</sup> and suggested that the Congress abandon its Mass-Contact movement, exclude the Congress flag and the Congress song (Bande Matrum) from all common gatherings and educational institutions, and guarantee the Muslim proportion in the Army.<sup>50</sup> After the declaration of war, the Punjab Premier showed his willingness to appoint two of his Congress critics (Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din and Gopi Chand Bhargava) as ministers in his Cabinet, if the Congress gave whole-hearted support to the war effort.<sup>51</sup> The Governor of the Punjab, however, thought that their inclusion in the Cabinet would not help the war effort.<sup>52</sup> The Congress did not respond positively, with the result that this idea had to be the Premier also appealed to Gandhi and Jinnah to make efforts to bring about an amicable agreement between the Hindus and the Muslims;<sup>53</sup> although he knew that Jinnah was trying to take advantage of the strained relations between the Congress and the government, and therefore was hardly interested in any rapprochement with the Congress Party.<sup>54</sup> In October 1939, Sikandar issued a statement expressing his fears that there would be no constitutional advance unless the League and the Congress agreed on certain principles. He suggested that the Congress invite Jinnah for negotiations.<sup>55</sup> The Premier also telephoned Maulana Azad and suggested that the Congress acknowledge the Muslim League as an important organization,<sup>56</sup> before starting negotiations with it. Soon negotiations were held between the Congress and the League; Jinnah asked the Congress to accept the League as the sole representative of the Muslim opinion in India. The Congress, as was expected, refused, and the talks broke down.



Meanwhile the League leader issued a statement, directing provincial League branches to celebrate December 22 as 'the day of deliverance and thanksgiving'<sup>1</sup>, as a sign of relief that the Congress rule had come to an end.<sup>57</sup> The Punjab Muslims were very pleased at the League's decision.<sup>58</sup> But they were not allowed to show any enthusiasm, for the Premier still desired the League and the Congress to settle their differences and jointly support the war effort. Sikandar had advised the Punjab League not to show any eagerness and favor while celebrating that day; instead the Muslims were asked to confine their meetings only to passing resolutions in mosques with no speeches or public statements.<sup>59</sup> A little later, Sikandar proposed to the Congress that 'a dozen' Indian political leaders should be given the task of making recommendations for a Hindu-Muslim agreement, as well as for future constitutional advance in India.<sup>60</sup> He discussed his new proposal with Nehru while he was on a tour of the Punjab.<sup>61</sup> Unfortunately the Premier's initiative was rejected by Nehru on the assumption that this suggestion was 'the Viceroy's move'.<sup>62</sup>

Nehru also stated that Sir Sikandar's proposal was unacceptable to the Congress because the task of planning future Indian constitutional advance could not be assigned to 'Sikandar's twelve men'<sup>1</sup>; it could only be done by a constituent Assembly representative of the Indian people.<sup>63</sup> Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan was greatly discouraged, but did not cease his efforts. A few months later (In June 1940), Sikandar, along with other Muslim Premiers met the Congress President Maulana Azad. But this encounter failed to make any progress and created some misunderstanding within League circles. It was thought that Sir Sikandar was bypassing the League organization. As a result, the Working Committee of the League made it clear that Sikandar's meeting with Azad was only an individual initiative which had nothing to do with the League. Now the League resolved that no member of the Working Committee should enter into any (negotiations or discussions with the Congress leader,

regarding the, question of Hindu-Muslim settlement, or any other matter which requires adjustments between the League and the Congress, without the permission of the President.<sup>64</sup> Sikandar, however, did not comply with the instruction.

Only a few days after the League's decision, he met the Hindu Mahasabha leader, Dr. Savarkar. Mian Bashir of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation sent complaints to Jinnah to that effect<sup>65</sup> realizing this, a few days later, Sikandar himself asked Jinnah to grant him permission to carry on with his negotiations with Savarkar. But the League leader refused and hotly-worded letters were exchanged between the two.<sup>66</sup> The Punjab Premier accused Jinnah of not desiring any rapprochement with the Congress.<sup>67</sup> Sikandar did not stop here, but continued his efforts secretly. He made contacts with Shiva Rao, a senior correspondent of *The Hindu*, who was closely in touch with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. Several proposals were exchanged, including the formation of war cabinet to pursue the war efforts.<sup>68</sup> These proposals also failed to materialize due to the lack of support from the two principal political parties in India. Side by side with these efforts to encourage a Hindu-Muslim accord, the Punjab Premier made hectic efforts to get an agreement between the Government of India and the League so that the League could give its fullest support to war effort. Sir Sikandar several times suggested to the Governor of the Punjab and the Viceroy that they accommodate the) Leagues' demands.<sup>69</sup> However, the Premier also strongly opposed Jinnah's political strategy of taking advantage of the Congress' 'mistakes' and the government's difficulties. He frequently complained against the League leader's hard attitude and his lack of interest in any reconciliation with the Congress.<sup>70</sup>

It was generally believed that Jinnah, being an astute politician, was fully exploiting the political deadlock to the League-s advantage, as well as trying to bargain with

the government.<sup>71</sup> Since Sikandar disliked Jinnah's tactics, he continuously threatened the League with a withdrawal of the Punjab's support, which would make its claim to be the sole representative of Indian Muslim opinion a false one.<sup>72</sup> Sikandar got Sir Fazlul Haq, the Bengal Premier, on his side, and together they sent letters to the League leader suggesting that he modify his attitude and threatening to withdraw the support of their respective provinces.<sup>73</sup> These threats, however, failed to change Jinnah's mind. Meanwhile it was thought by the government that Jinnah would be replaced by Sikandar as the Muslim leader. This proposition was also backed by a Punjabi Muslim Unionist member of the Viceroy's Council, Sir Zafrullah Khan,<sup>74</sup> but the political situation made it impossible. Sikandar was not sufficiently strong or capable to stand against the experienced leadership of Jinnah,<sup>75</sup> who was in full control of the situation.<sup>76</sup> Similarly, the Punjab Premier also failed to break away from the League because any disintegration of the League was not in the government's interest:

The Congress was non-cooperating and in order to counter its demands the Viceroy thought it necessary to have a powerful Muslim League as a counter-weight.<sup>77</sup> The British War Cabinet also held the same opinion.<sup>78</sup> Under the circumstances only the status quo was required. The Premier, therefore, could not split with the League, but nevertheless kept on pressing it to review and re-examine its attitude.<sup>79</sup> The League did not give in. Meanwhile the Punjab and particularly its Premier inevitably became involved in such crucial issues as the Khaksar issue, the Pakistan Resolution, the Defence Council Issue, the Cripps Offer and the Rajgopal Acharia group's view on the Pakistan Scheme. The Premier came under tremendous pressures from all sides. The exigencies of the war and imperial policy demanded the status quo, in order to avoid any rupture in the League organization.<sup>80</sup> On the other hand, the non-Muslims put pressures on Sikandar to dissociate himself from the League's campaign for the achievement of Pakistan; whereas under the

Sikandar-Jinnah agreement, the League demanded that he be fully loyal to its cause. Under these peculiar circumstances, Sikandar was obliged to follow a policy of trying to please Muslims and non-Muslims alike — sometimes expressing his loyalty to the League and sometimes defying its authority. Such a course failed to satisfy either party. Sikandar was embarrassed many times; and perhaps the exceptionally strained situation during this period led to the Premier's premature death) in 1942.<sup>81</sup> We shall first of all discuss the Khaksar problem. In 1939-40, the Punjab ministry and the peace and tranquility of the province had been seriously threatened by a militant Muslim political organization, known as the Khaksars.<sup>82</sup> Based in Ichra, (seven miles from the Punjab's capital, Lahore), the party was organized by a former member of the Indian Education Service, Allama Mashriqi,<sup>83</sup> who had met Hitler when the latter was organizing the Nazi Party in Germany. It was commonly believed that the Khaksars drew their inspiration from Nazi sources, for the outlook of their party was similar to that of the Nazi Party.<sup>84</sup>

The Khaksar movement was also characterized by fanaticism; it had a private army, carrying "belchas" (spades), drilling through the streets in military uniforms. To back their movement they had a weekly newspaper, *Al-Islah*. Among other things the Khaksars were committed to eliminate the Indian leaders who they thought had harmed the cause of Indian independence.<sup>85</sup> In 1939, they demanded from the Punjab Government that they should be allowed to install a radio transmitter at Lahore. In the same year they had shown their strength by interfering in the U.P. in a dispute between Shia and Sunni Muslims; the government had prohibited their entry into the province, but somehow they had managed to defy the orders.<sup>86</sup> The non-Muslims feared the growing strength of the Khaksars who they believed were committed to establish the Muslim Raj in India.<sup>87</sup>

The Punjab Government, fearing the implications of the militant tendency of the Khaksars, issued an order banning military drill or processions of all volunteer bodies.<sup>88</sup> The Khaksars had not yet tested their strength in the Punjab. They were not willing to be cowed by Sir Sikandar.<sup>89</sup> Earlier Allama Mashriqi had been arguing that the Khaksars carried only spades and not rifles, and therefore their organization should not be treated as a military one.<sup>90</sup>

After the Punjab government's orders, the Khaksar leader decided that he should fight against the Sikandar ministry. In order to avoid any action against *Al-Islah*, arrangements were made by Allama Mashriqi to publish it from Delhi, instead of Lahore. In its double number (8-15 March 1940), the paper made a lengthy attack on the Punjab Premier, criticizing his orders banning parades and drills. The paper appealed to its supporters to muster at least 30,000 men to meet the 'challenge' of the Punjab Government. In case of a clash, the Khaksars were asked to put up a great fight. The predominantly Muslim police<sup>91</sup> were asked not to interfere in their assembly in the Punjab.<sup>92</sup> Several plans were made to give the impression to the Punjabi Muslims that the Punjab Government was interfering with their normal religious experiences.<sup>93</sup> On 19 March 1940, a huge gathering of Khaksars assembled near 'Uchi Mosque' to violate the government's orders.

The police asked them to disperse, but the Khaksars refused and attacked the police with their spades; the police were obliged to retaliate. This episode brought heavy casualties; 32 Khaksars were killed, one high-ranking police officer died and several were injured.<sup>94</sup> The government thereupon declared the Khaksar organization an unlawful body, arresting all its ring-leaders, locking its offices and seizing all its records.<sup>95</sup> The Khaksars refused to comply with the orders and continued their agitation, criticizing the Premier and demanding the removal of the ban and the release of all prisoners; they were now using mosques

(to avoid being arrested), inciting the Muslims to resort to violence, describing their movement as purely Islamic and describing their members killed in the clash as martyrs.<sup>96</sup> 19 May was commemorated as 'The Khaksar Day'; speeches were made, repeating old demands and appeals were made to the Punjab Muslims to support them against the Punjab Government in the name of Islam.<sup>97</sup> The dispute had nearly become a communal issue and for this reason the Premier came under pressure from all sides. The Khaksars' heavy loss of lives and their appeals to the Muslim community helped to generate sympathy and support for them among the Muslims.<sup>98</sup>

On the other hand, the non-Muslims were greatly alarmed. The Hindu and the Sikh press had been denouncing the use of violence and holding the Khaksars responsible for the whole trouble. Both communities had been urging the government not to withdraw its orders, or to compromise with the Khaksar organization;<sup>99</sup> they favored a stronger action and more stringent measures to suppress the Khaksar movement.<sup>100</sup> The Sikhs much over-reacted; they enlisted 6,000 more volunteers in the Akali Sena (Sikh Army), a counterpart of the Khaksars, to deal with the situation, in case the Khaksars revived their organization.<sup>101</sup> In order to deal with the situation effectively and stop it from deteriorating, the Punjab Premier needed the Muslim League's support; only thus could the Punjab Muslims be prevented from falling into line with the Khaksars.

When this problem was at its height, the League was making preparations to hold its session in Lahore. The Punjab Premier feared that the proposed session might be used by the Khaksar supporters to blame his ministry for taking such a stern action against a Muslim organization.<sup>102</sup> He therefore tried to get this session postponed through Sir Zafrullah Khan, Ali Kuli Khan and Nawab Mamdot<sup>103</sup> (the P.M.L. President). Although 'the League leader refused, Sikandar met Jinnah before his arrival in the Punjab.<sup>104</sup> As the Premier had anticipated the

situation was very tense; the Khaksar supporters desperately wanted the League to support them against the Sikandar Ministry.

Some mischief-mongers had displayed posters and placards, reading 'Sikandar Muradabad' (death to Sikandar).<sup>105</sup> Furthermore, the League itself had a good number of supporters in the Khaksar Party; at the time some of them were actually associated with its session.<sup>106</sup> Here was a major trial of Jinnah's leadership. Being a seasoned politician he succeeded in handling the situation to the satisfaction of both parties. Jinnah promised full justice to the Khaksars, but advised them to use constitutional means, and co-operate with the investigation by the Committee of Enquiry. A resolution to this effect was put from the chair.<sup>107</sup> The League had thus once again given its support to the Punjab Government in bringing the situation under control. It had also discouraged the trend of agitation politics in the province. It was widely believed that Jinnah had helped the Punjab Premier over a difficult fence.<sup>108</sup> The government also felt greatly relieved that the situation would not run out of control. The Viceroy commended the political skills and courage of the League leader.<sup>109</sup> The Punjab Governor also thought that Jinnah had done a great favor to Sir Sikandar, for which he should be grateful for a long time.<sup>110</sup> Anyhow the Premier fully utilized the League's support to restore law and order in the Punjab. Some fanatic Khaksars who were hiding in mosques, making speeches to arouse Muslim opinion against Sikandar, were arrested by the Police.<sup>111</sup> Soon, left with no alternative, the Khaksars showed willingness to negotiate with the Premier; Jinnah was also giving them advice.<sup>112</sup> Ismail and A. Shah on behalf of Khaksars negotiated with Sikandar, hence the ban was lifted and their members were released.<sup>113</sup> After this settlement, whenever the Khaksars challenged the Sikandar Ministry they had in the end to accept his terms.<sup>114</sup>

## Sikandandar and The Lahore Resolution

This part of the book will discuss the Muslim League's Scheme of which Sikandar called the dismemberment of his Punjab. Sir Sikandar passionately believed in the unity of the Punjab and a prosperous and peaceful Punjab. Although the Khaksars bowed before Sikandar because of the League's help and the policy pursued by it in the following years, at the same time the League had added to the Punjab Premier's troubles by passing a resolution demanding the creation of 'Pakistan'<sup>115</sup> for the Indian Muslims. This 'Pakistan Resolution' entailed the dismemberment of the Punjab, and the division of India into Hindu and Muslim states. This demand, inevitably, was followed by a Pakistan and anti-Pakistan movement in the Punjab, which continuously threatened the position of the Punjab Premier. Sir Sikandar did everything possible to prevent the, Pakistan Scheme from establishing its roots in the Punjab, but failed in owing to the rapid growth of the League during the war. So far as the Punjab was concerned several schemes for the redrawing of its boundaries were presented from time to time through the press and at the Round-Table Conference. While these provincial schemes were being discussed, some eminent Muslim leaders were also expressing their approval of a partition of India into Hindu and Muslim zones or states, as a solution of the chronic communal problems in India.<sup>116</sup> However, it was during the early years of the Second World War that the idea of an independent state finally developed in the Muslim mind. To almost every scheme which came forward during this period the word 'Pakistan' was eventually attached.<sup>117</sup> Due to the Congress' maltreatment of the Muslims in the predominantly Hindu provinces, the communal problem in India had become more difficult to solve.

The Muslims had unequivocally rejected the All-India Federal scheme as embodied in the Government of India Act 1935.<sup>118</sup> Under the circumstances it was thought in certain quarters that a successful movement might lead to the creation of a new country



for the Muslims.<sup>119</sup> Some eminent Muslim leaders who were interviewed by the viceroy during the early years of the war were not happy with the situation. Sir Ziauddin, Sir Yaqub, Sir Muhammad Yamin and Nawab Chattari thought that the communal problem was so acute that no solution was possible;<sup>120</sup> they had no alternative to replace the rejected Federation Scheme. But Abdullah Haroon and the League leader, Jinnah, now clearly demanded the partition of India.<sup>121</sup> Meanwhile the League's Committee (appointed in March 1939), with Jinnah as its President and the Punjab Premier as one of its important members, was also exploring the possibility of proposing a suitable arrangement as an alternative to the Federation Scheme.<sup>122</sup> Sir Sikandar was too worried. Being a very important member of the League and the Premier of the most important Indian province, Sikandar was in touch with all the currents and cross-currents of Muslim politics; and therefore was anxiously watching the development of the concept of an independent Muslim State. He was aware of the fact that if any such idea matured it would have disastrous effects on his province. Sikandar therefore decided to prepare a scheme<sup>123</sup> by himself and publicize it in due course, with the intention of diverting the Muslims from backing any scheme for an independent Muslim country. At a time when the League was looking at different schemes and when the Pakistan idea was gaining strength, the Viceroy asked Sikandar to ventilate his own scheme.<sup>124</sup> But the Punjab Governor informed the Viceroy that it was not yet ready.<sup>125</sup> The Governor asked his secretary to assist Sir Sikandar.<sup>126</sup> By the end of June 1939, a scheme for a United Indian Federation with full retention of British connection was prepared and submitted by Sikandar to the Viceroy.<sup>127</sup> The scheme gave maximum powers to the provinces and minimum to the Centre.

It recommended the demarcation of India into two loose Federal Units, each representing the strength of the two major communities.<sup>128</sup> India would be divided into 7 zones; each zone

would have its own regional legislature, representing its British Indian and State Units.<sup>129</sup> The Premier sent his scheme to the League leader, by whom it was not welcomed.<sup>130</sup> Nevertheless, Sikandar was very keen and got it published in early August.<sup>131</sup> But to Sikandar's great surprise, his scheme met with a great deal of criticism. The Hindus described it 'harmful and unworkable'.<sup>132</sup> The pro-Unionist paper, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, called it 'crude and reactionary'.<sup>133</sup> As the League had not yet announced its final decision on the subject of future constitutional advance, and the Punjab Premier was a member of its committee which was to give a verdict on the aforesaid subject, the Punjab League was very critical of Sikandar's scheme.

On its behalf Dr. Batalvi suggested a disciplinary action against the Premier.<sup>134</sup> The Muslim press was disappointed by Sikandar's action; it too criticized his scheme.<sup>135</sup> Quaid-i-Azam, Muhammad Ali Jinnah and the League neither took any action against Sikandar nor gave any prominence to his scheme; but it certainly made clear its vehement opposition to every Federal scheme because it must result in a Hindu India.<sup>136</sup> The League therefore went ahead with the meetings of its Working Committee and council, looking into the idea of a separate homeland for the Indian Muslims.<sup>137</sup> In early March it sent a deputation under Raja Mehmudabad to make arrangements for its forthcoming conference in the Punjab.<sup>138</sup> This time the League had made elaborate preparations;<sup>139</sup> the press speculated that the session would prove a landmark in the history of India.<sup>140</sup> These speculations and Sikandar's fears soon proved correct. The League at its Lahore session adopted a resolution which demanded the creation of an independent Muslim homeland,<sup>141</sup> and also declared that the advocacy of a united India was a dream.<sup>142</sup>

This resolution put a seal of confirmation on the non-Muslims' long held apprehensions that the Muslims wanted to rule over the Punjab. The demand for an independent Muslim country with the

Punjab as its heart came as a blow to the non-Muslims of the province. The Hindu-Sikh communities had been every opposed to the Muslims' getting ministries or improving their position in certain departments of the local government. The Communal Award which gave less than 50% of representation to the Punjab Muslims with a population of 56%, had been contested by the non-Muslims; even a modest improvement in the Muslim position had led to talk of 'The Muslim Raj'. These communities had also fought hard against all proposals calculated to redistribute the boundaries of the Punjab to the Muslim advantage. The recent resolution of the League demanding an independent Muslim state seemed to mean Muslim rule in the Punjab. The League's resolution was therefore followed by an intensive campaign in the Punjab against the proposed division of India, and the creation of a Muslim country. Lengthy statements and criticism appeared against the proposal for 'Pakistan'.<sup>1</sup> We should notice that the word 'Pakistan' was not used by the League in its Resolution, but whilst criticizing this Resolution the non-Muslims called it 'The Pakistan Resolution'. But even before this, the non-Muslims had used the word 'Pakistan' in connection with almost every scheme of partition.<sup>143</sup>

Sir Sikandar, being an ally of the League, was also criticized for 'riding on two horses'.<sup>144</sup> Articles appeared in the press by some eminent Hindu writers, such as M.L. Shawla, condemning the Muslim 'cry' for homeland.<sup>145</sup> The Punjab's non-Muslims also supported Gandhi's announcement to combat 'Pakistan' by every non-violent means.<sup>146</sup> A few days after the League's Resolution, the Khalsa National Party met under the Sikh minister and threatened the Unionist Party with secession; the Punjab was described as the home, as well as the holy land, of the Sikhs. It was declared that the Sikhs would fight the Pakistan Scheme to the 'last ditch'. The Khalsa Party passed a resolution, warning that the Sikhs would not tolerate 'The Muslim Raj' even for a single day. It demanded that the Punjab should be given back to the Sikhs.<sup>147</sup> A little later, Tara Singh, the Akali leader,

warned the Punjab Muslims that if they supported the League's Scheme they would have to bear all the consequences. The Sikh leader declared that Jinnah had thrown a "bomb-shell" at the Sikh community.<sup>148</sup> In April, the Akali Conference was held at Hasanabdal. Here too the Sikhs were in a very bad mood. Speeches were made against the Muslim 'cry of a national homeland'; the League's Resolution was termed as 'anti-national, historically groundless, a grave menace to the peace and tranquility of the Punjab and India, and as an attempt to vivisect the United India. This conference expressed apprehensions that the advocacy of such a claim on the part of the Muslims would give a fresh lease of life to the British rule in India.<sup>149</sup> Similar fears were expressed in a joint statement signed by 10 prominent Sikh leaders.<sup>150</sup> A few days later, Tara Singh declared that Pakistan would only be established in a sea of blood; he issued fiery statements calling upon the Sikh semi-military organizations to prepare themselves to oppose the League's Scheme.<sup>151</sup> These anti-Pakistan statements expressed by the prominent Sikh leaders and parties were fully backed by the various Sikh associations of the Punjab. The official reports suggested that these associations wanted the Sikh community to do everything possible to resist the application of the principle of self-determination as demanded for the Muslims by the League.<sup>152</sup>

The reports, added that the Sikh community had started the purchase of arms and ammunition; Kirpans and axes were being purchased in large numbers in case the need arose.<sup>153</sup> These conferences and public meetings continued. The All-India Sikh League and the Akali political conference were held in late September and October 1940, at Lahore and Murree respectively. On both occasions the Pakistan Scheme came under fierce attack; speech after speech described it as 'anti-national, dangerous and disastrous' to the best interests of a United India. Some prominent Sikh leaders, such as Ajit Singh, condemned the principle of self-determination advocated by the League.<sup>154</sup> In December, the Anti-Pakistan Conference was

held at Lahore. A crowd of some 20,000 non-Muslims gathered with the object of devising methods to form a united front, and to offer resistance to the Pakistan demand. The conference was presided over by Mr. Anney of the Hindu Mahasabha Party; Tara Singh Sing was among its most prominent speakers. Anney (in the course of his presidential address) commenting on the Pakistan demand, stated that the League actually wanted to conquer India without a fight.

He demanded that the British declare that they would not entertain any such Scheme, which struck at the very integrity of India; India was an indivisible nation, he emphasized. This Conference also passed resolutions in condemnation of the League's 'plans' to divide India; the Pakistan Scheme was characterized as 'impracticable, unpatriotic, vicious, and fraught with grave consequences to the political, social and economic advancement of India as a whole'.<sup>155</sup> The president of the conference was empowered to carry out a vigorous opposition to the Pakistan movement.<sup>156</sup> Meanwhile, the Hindu Mahasabha sent its resolutions to the Viceroy describing the sentiments of the non-Muslims against the Pakistan Scheme. The government was asked to denounce the League's Scheme.<sup>157</sup> This was followed by the Hindu League's meetings passing similar resolutions, under the leadership of M.S. Anney. The Hindu League demanded from the government an unequivocal declaration, rejecting all the Schemes calculated to impair the solidarity, integrity, security, and unity of India. Speaker after speaker expressed apprehensions against 'the sword of Pakistan hanging over their heads'; speeches were also made against the Communal Award and separate electorates — the seeds of the separatist tendencies.<sup>158</sup> The Working Committee of the Hindu League, a little later, described the Pakistan movement as an outcome of the Communal Award and the separate electorates; the committee declared that the Pakistan scheme would be an invitation to commit suicide'. The Committee also believed that the anti-Pakistan movement would help unite the nationalists of all

shades of opinion.<sup>159</sup> The anti-Pakistan movement gathered momentum when the Government declined to denounce the Pakistan Scheme. Due to the exigencies of war the government could not afford to estrange the League.<sup>160</sup>

In March 1941, at Lahore, a big conference was held by the Hindus of the Punjab, Sind, and the Frontier Province; Mukerji of the Mahasabha Party presided. The Sikhs participated with enthusiasm. Dr. Mukerji proudly declared that the Pakistan Scheme would remain embodied in various pamphlets and reports, and so long as the 280 million Hindus were alive it would not become a reality in any part of India. He described the Pakistan Scheme as 'an Anglo-Muslim conspiracy'.<sup>161</sup> Mukerji appealed to all the non-Muslims, particularly the Sikhs, to support the Mahasabha in frustrating the League's Scheme, which he said was crushing the liberties of the Hindus and retarding the freedom of India. He also criticized the Communal Award as a 'hindrance' to the solution of the communal problem in India.<sup>162</sup> The Sikhs, Narendra Raja Narendra Nath, M.C. Khanna (the leader of Hindu-Sikh Nationalist Party in the Frontier Assembly) and Bhai Parmanand (President of the Punjab Hindu Mahasabha) voiced their opposition to the League's Scheme.<sup>163</sup> Parmanand, a little later, suggested the militarization of the Hindu community to oppose Pakistan, if necessary with violent means.<sup>164</sup>

On 19 March 1941, an anti-communal conference was held at Lahore, presided over by a Muslim Congressman, Ghafar Khan; Diwan Chaman Lal, a veteran Punjabi Hindu leader, was the chairman of the reception committee. This conference was arranged to 'confirm, establish and evoke the sense of National Unity among the different classes belonging to the Punjab'.<sup>165</sup> The Two-Nation Theory advanced by the Muslims was described as 'absurd' on the plea that most of the Muslim population was converted from Hinduism. The conference also passed several resolutions, condemning the principle of communal

representation and the Pakistan Scheme as highly unpatriotic, anti-national and a serious obstacle in the path of the Independence of India.<sup>166</sup> Before the League could answer this wholesale criticism of its scheme; Sikandar made some attempts to reduce the communal tension in the Punjab. The Premier had been in a very awkward position ever since the Pakistan Resolution had been passed by the League. Being an ally of the League, he was blamed by the non-Muslims for the League's demand for the division of India. Statements by certain Hindu leaders appeared frequently in the press, blaming Sikandar for his allegiance to the League.<sup>167</sup> However, the Premier did not see eye to eye with the League on the question of Pakistan; and on this account he could hardly have a cordial relationship with the League.<sup>168</sup>

Keeping in view the intense anti-Pakistan campaign in the Punjab, the Premier in December 1940, without the backing of his Muslim supporters, issued a statement implying that if the League's Resolution meant domination by the Muslim community of the Punjab then he did not stand by it.<sup>169</sup> His statement, however, did not change the situation and the anti-Pakistan movement continued; the Sikh community in particular was putting pressure on Sikandar and organizing itself against the Pakistan Scheme. The Premier was told that the Sikhs would insist on having a Sikh State.<sup>170</sup> Meanwhile, with a view to popularizing the Pakistan Scheme, Jinnah had planned to visit the Punjab. Sir Sikandar thus anticipated a very precarious situation. He feared that any intensification of the agitation on the issue of Pakistan might lead to very serious communal trouble in the Punjab. But to prevent either party from pursuing its plans was very difficult. In the immediate aftermath of the Pakistan Resolution, many thought that Jinnah was using the Pakistan slogan only as bargaining counter and more importantly, to upset the Congress.<sup>171</sup> But as the time passed the Premier realized that the Leave leader meant to stand by the Pakistan Scheme as a definite demand.<sup>172</sup> This made Sikandar's position

more difficult. He thought if he created obstacles to pro-Pakistan propaganda in the Punjab, his own position in the League, and as a Muslim leader, would be in serious danger.

Similarly, if he allowed the Pakistan movement to grow unchecked, he might face trouble from the Punjab's non-Muslims. Therefore the best solution, the Premier once more thought, was to bring about some reconciliation between the Muslims and the non-Muslims. For that reason he sent his proposals to Sapru to end the existing political deadlock.<sup>173</sup> But due to the complex political situation at the time this move did not bring the desired result. The Viceroy thought that unity between the Congress and the League might prove dangerous for the British, as it had done over the Khilafat issue.<sup>174</sup> Thus whether Sikandar and the Unionists liked it or not, it was the League's turn to revive enthusiasm for the Pakistan movement,<sup>175</sup> and to answer the criticism leveled against the scheme. However, in doing so Jinnah adopted a very cautious approach to deal with the Unionists, despite the fact that they were the League's allies, and under the provisions of Sikandar-Jinnah Pact they were supposed to help the League. Contrary to Sikandar's expectations, Jinnah did not pressurize them yet on this issue. For the time being it was thought that the services of the Punjab Muslim Student Federation (P.M.S.F.) should be utilized, the P.M.S.F. were therefore given the task of taking the League's advocacy of Pakistan to remote areas, collecting funds and holding conferences to popularize the Scheme.<sup>176</sup> The League's leader's visit to the Punjab (March 1941) included his presiding over a Pakistan \_conference organized by the P.M.S.F., in response to the anti-Pakistan propaganda in the Punjab. The Unionist Muslims, as expected, did not participate in this conference, but the Punjab Muslims and a large number of Muslim delegates from outside the province attended and showed the keenest interest.<sup>177</sup> The League leader was given a rousing reception at Lahore; a huge crowd of nearly 20,000 listened to



his speech.<sup>178</sup> Jinnah insisted on the Pakistan Scheme as a definite demand.

He repeated that the achievement of Pakistan was a matter of life and death for the Muslims, and demanded that it should be created immediately the war was over as the only feasible solution of the communal problem in India. Answering 'the Champions of the Unity of India', the League leader argued that India was never united before the advent of the British Raj, and that it was nonsense to assume that Hindustan belonged to the Hindus only.<sup>179</sup> Coming to the Sikh community's leading role in the anti-Pakistan movement, Jinnah reassured them,<sup>180</sup> that their interests would be better guarded in Pakistan than under a federal Indian constitution.<sup>181</sup> He also stated confidently that the Sikhs would be much safer in Pakistan; there they would form an important community, whereas in United India they would be a drop in the ocean. In the Punjab, the Sikhs would occupy an important position in the Legislature, he added.<sup>182</sup> These statements failed to satisfy the Sikh community — which did not cease its anti-Pakistan movement. A few days after Jinnah's visit, the Akali Conference was held; Kartar Singh and Ajit Singh attacked the League's policy of Pakistan being a 'spoilt child of the Communal Award'.<sup>183</sup>

Tara Singh called upon the Sikhs to become united and ready to make sacrifices; they should form a united front with the Hindus against Pakistan. The Punjab Premier was criticized for yielding to the League.<sup>184</sup> In April, at the Daska Akali Conference, Sant Singh (M.L.A.) called Jinnah a political 'juggler'; the Pakistan Scheme was described as a 'stunt'; and he declared that Pakistan could not become a reality without bloodshed.<sup>185</sup> Similarly, Harnam Singh, at the Punjab Akali Conference (April) called the Pakistan Scheme 'reactionary and anti-national', and appealed to the Sikhs to offer a tough and united opposition against it.<sup>186</sup> Next came the Sind Akali Conference which was also attended by Hindus. The League's Resolution was called highly communal and

anti-India; the League organization was blamed for creating chaos and anarchy; pledges were made to resist its Scheme even at the sacrifice of life. Tara Singh Sing described the future as 'full of dangers', and thought that Pakistan had united the Sikhs and the Hindus.<sup>187</sup> Similar conference and meetings continued throughout the rest of the year.<sup>188</sup> In their annual fair at Nankana, nearly 60,000 Sikhs attacked the League, Pakistan Scheme, and the Unionist Party.

A decision was taken that pressure would be put on the Khalsa National Party to withdraw its support from the Unionist Party.<sup>189</sup> The Hindus also held similar meetings and conferences.<sup>190</sup> Seeing the continuous agitation against Pakistan, official reports commented that the anti-Pakistan campaign had become a regular feature of Punjab politics.<sup>191</sup> Nevertheless, the Punjab Muslims, under the auspices of Punjab Muslim Students Federation, were also active with their propaganda in favor of Pakistan. A few days after Jinnah's visit, Pakistan Day was celebrated (23 March 1941), and resolutions were passed in support of the creation of Pakistan.<sup>192</sup> Thereafter Pakistan conferences were held in the various districts of the province.<sup>193</sup> A big conference was convened at Lyallpur (July 20) under the auspices of the Lyallpur Muslim Students Federation to popularize the objects of Pakistan. Barkat Ali in his presidential address discussed the circumstances which compelled the Muslims to ask for an independent country. He also tried to answer the various objections raised against the Muslim demand. Malik Barkat Ali assured the non-Muslims that they had nothing to fear; they would be treated by the Muslims as their brothers and sisters, and be securing in Pakistan.

He implied that there would be no restriction on those non-Muslims who would wish to migrate to live under the Hindu Government.<sup>194</sup> The conference passed resolutions, expressing confidence in the leadership of Jinnah. Criticizing Sir Sikandar's negotiations with the Hindus, the conference also resolved that

in seeking a Hindu-Muslim accord, the interested parties should negotiate only with the League leader, Jinnah.<sup>195</sup> In November, Nawab Mamdot, the P.M.L. President, presided over the Lucknow Pakistan Conference. He argued that the Punjab, the Frontier, Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan had been inhabited by Muslims for a very long time, and therefore it was already their home — Pakistan.

The people of these areas had no cultural or social affinities with the inhabitants of the Hindu India, the Nawab further argued.<sup>196</sup> In short, the Muslims, without the Unionist Party's help, also continued their pro-Pakistan campaign. At this stage, it seems appropriate to discuss more fully the position of the Punjab Premier, on the problem of Pakistan in the Punjab. The pro-Pakistan and the anti-Pakistan movement was tremendously irritating to the ruling non-communal Unionist Party. Although the party was bound to support the League under the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact, a strong non-Muslim element in the province, and some eminent non-Muslims within the Unionist fold such as Sir Chottu Ram, were strongly opposed to the idea of Pakistan.<sup>197</sup> This element favored the strongest possible resistance to the League's scheme.<sup>198</sup> On the other hand, the Premier was equally pressurized by the League; on one occasion Muslim students forced him to donate money for a Pakistan conference, so as to commit him to the Pakistan idea.<sup>199</sup> The Premier was so much embarrassed that a few days before Jinnah's visit to the Punjab he had asked the League (during its Working Committee meeting) to drop its Pakistan Scheme. But his was a voice crying in the wilderness; and due to his ineffectiveness Sikandar decided that he should dissociate himself from the League by resigning from its Working Committee.<sup>200</sup>

In an effort to save his political skin, the Premier expressed a desire to be relieved from the Premiership of Punjab and to be appointed instead to the Viceroy's Council. Later he had to drop his idea because there was no alternative candidate who could

cope with the complex situation in the Punjab.<sup>201</sup> Thus there was no chance for a reasonable escape for Sikandar. In the meantime Jinnah's visit to the Punjab had also added fuel to the existing communal fire in the province. In order to placate the non-Muslims, Sikandar delivered a speech in the Punjab Assembly, denouncing the Pakistan Scheme: 'A Muslim Raj here and a Hindu Raj elsewhere ... if that is what Pakistan means I will have I nothing to do with it'.<sup>202</sup> After this the Premier avoided close association with the League's meetings. Following Jinnah's visit to the Punjab, Sikandar had been invited to attend the League's annual meeting at Madras, but had refused to go, saying that he was very busy in his own 1 province.<sup>203</sup> This was as well, because the Madras session expressed even more precisely than before its determination to fight for the achievement of Pakistan.<sup>204</sup> However despite his lack of interest in the League's affairs, the Premier did not resign his seat on the League's Working Committee. He thought that if he resigned, his place would be filled by a person hostile to the British.<sup>205</sup> And although Sikandar was considered an opponent of the Pakistan Scheme, the League leader reappointed him as a member of the Working Committee.<sup>206</sup> It looked as if there was no alternative for both of them, but to maintain the status quo, at least for the time being.

### **Punjab Chief Minister and war effort**

The above mentioned events clearly revealed that practically Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan had thus proved ineffective in trying to prevent the League from preaching its message in the Punjab. The campaign for and against Pakistan continued as before. In the meantime, however, a showdown took place between Sikandar and the League over the membership of the newly-formed Defence Council. As we shall see, the result of this showdown tipped the scales in favor of the League. The Premier surrendered to the League's high command, damaging his own and his party's future credibility, and losing the confidence of the non-Muslim communities.<sup>207</sup>

With a view to establishing a closer link between the central and provincial war efforts, the Viceroy proposed to form a Defence Council.<sup>208</sup> Because of the enthusiastic support of the Indian Muslims for the war, the proposed council needed a good deal of Muslim backing. In order to get a good start<sup>209</sup> the Viceroy first of all made contact with the Punjab Premier. Sir Sikandar was asked to become a member of the Council without consulting the Muslim League. The Premier thought that such a course would lead to a clash with the League, but showed his willingness to join;<sup>210</sup> a decision most welcome to the government.<sup>211</sup> Shortly after this the other arrangements were completed, and the council was formed with a total of 8 Muslim members; of these two belonged to the Punjab, Sir Sikandar, and Begum Shahnawaz.<sup>212</sup> The Muslim League was informed only when the arrangements were completed.<sup>213</sup> As anticipated by Sikandar, the League at once condemned the government for by-passing the League; and at the same time it threatened the Muslims "who had joined the council without its prior approval."<sup>214</sup> Sir Sikandar greatly resented these threats. He directed his senior Parliamentary Secretary, M. Maqbul, to telephone Jinnah asking him to arrange an early meeting of the M.L. Working Committee to settle the issue. The Premier also conveyed to Jinnah that he was appointed to represent his province (as its Premier) on the council, and not as a Muslim; if the League did not accept his point of view on the subject, the Muslim Unionist group would resign from the League.<sup>215</sup> However, within the Punjab Muslim opinion on the issue was very much concerned. The vanguard of the Pakistan movement, the Punjab Muslim Students Federation, strongly opposed Sikandar's decision and supported the line taken by the League.<sup>216</sup> Maulana Abdul Sattar Niazi of the P.M.S.F. described the Premier's action as 'treachery', assuring the League that the Punjab's Muslim Youth were behind them. He suggested a disciplinary action against all those who had defied the League's authority.<sup>217</sup>

A big demonstration was held by the Muslims at Lahore; Niazi was among those who addressed it and advocated action against Sikandar and Begum Shahnawaz.<sup>218</sup> The Multan district Muslim League recommended similar action.<sup>219</sup> But there was also a moderate opinion among the Muslims, such as the Anjamane Islamia, Amritsar, and the Ahmadiya opinion represented by their weekly, *Al-Islah*, who, although they disliked Sir, Sikandar's action, nevertheless opposed any severe action against him on ) the plea that such a course could disrupt the Muslim ranks.<sup>220</sup> Seeing the "seriousness of the situation, Sir Abdullah Haroon was assigned the task of mediating between Sikandar and the League.<sup>221</sup> This move finally resulted in a statement by the Punjab Premier, implying that he would do everything possible to avoid any rupture with the League,<sup>222</sup> This course was extremely difficult to follow. On 24 August 1941, the League's Working Committee held its meeting amidst confusion and speculation about membership of the Defence Council.<sup>223</sup> The Council members took the view that they were appointed to represent their respective provinces as Premiers, and not as the representatives of the Muslim community. This point of view enraged the League leader who managed to produce a letter from Sir Roger Lumley, the Governor of Bombay, to prove that the reverse was the case. Now a great deal depended on Sikandar's move.<sup>224</sup> But the Premier proved to be very weak, and without offering much resistance agreed to submit his resignation from the council.<sup>225</sup> Sir Nazimuddin played a big role in persuading Sikandar to resign.<sup>226</sup> Soon afterwards, all the Muslim members, except Begum and Sir Sultan, also tendered their resignations. These two were, therefore, sentenced to 5 years' expulsion from the League.<sup>227</sup> The Begum was of the view that she was appointed on the council to represent Indian women, and not as a Muslim representative.<sup>228</sup>

For her action, however, she was strongly criticized even by the women's sub-committee of the League.<sup>229</sup> The ban

on her membership of the League continued till October 1945, (a few months before the elections of 1946) and was only removed when she tendered an apology, and requested the League leader to lift the ban against her, also promising to serve selflessly and loyally to the League and the Muslim nation.<sup>230</sup> However, the truth of the matter is that Begum was advised by the Viceroy and Sikandar to defy the League and stick to her membership; because of this, she was told that her position in the government would improve.<sup>231</sup> Now it is most important to discuss the reasons for Sir Sikandar's decision and its effects, particularly on the non-Muslims of the Punjab. Apparently, the Premier had resigned as an act of solidarity with Muslim opinion, stating to the press that he would have been guilty of treachery if he had remained a member of the Defence Council.<sup>232</sup> But in fact the Premier was most unhappy at what he had been obliged to do.<sup>233</sup> Shortly after his resignation from the Defence Council, he once again thought that he should resign from the League's executive and quit the Punjab Premiership in favor of Sir Chottu Ram.<sup>234</sup> As Sir Chottu Ram was very un-popular<sup>235</sup> in the Punjab, and was not acceptable to the government, Sikandar found he had no choice but to remain in office. Despite his feelings of resentment, Sikandar did not publicly oppose the League. Because of his diplomatic handling, enthusiastic praise was given in recognition of 'his services' to his community, by various Muslim associations in Ludhiana and Amritsar. Well-attended meetings were also held in his honor, and his resignation was very much appreciated by the Punjab Muslims.<sup>236</sup> On the other hand, the Bengal Premier, who resigned from the Defence Council but challenged the League leadership, soon found himself in dire trouble. He was defamed and was received by the Muslim students with black flags.<sup>237</sup> Thereafter, Fazlul Haq felt very uncomfortable as the Premier and the Muslim leader in Bengal. Fazlul Haq frequently expressed his desire to leave Bengal and politics, if he could be appointed to the Viceroy's Council or sent as an ambassador to Arabia.<sup>238</sup> But the Viceroy did not pay any heed because Sir Fazlul Haq was no longer in

command of the Muslim following in his own province. Being a modest person, Sikandar would never have liked to make the issue of his membership of the Defence Council a matter of pride and thereby become a highly controversial personality among the Muslims. This perhaps explains why, despite his resentment, he chose to side with the League.

As for the effects of Sikandar's decision in the Punjab, his action was highly commended by Muslims; but in the Punjab politics, as a general rule, appreciation from one community brought displeasure from the other. For the non-Muslims the main topic of discussion in those days was Sir Sikandar's act of solidarity with the League. Hindu-Sikh opinion regarded his action as another proof of his loyalty to his community; they thought that the Premier had lost the confidence of the non-Muslims. The Hindu press tried to make view that communal considerations had taken precedence over the interests of the country.<sup>239</sup> Sikandar's 'humiliating surrender' to the League and his weakness on the Defence Council issue was treated as a triumph for the League and its Pakistan Scheme.<sup>240</sup> It was speculated that the Scheme had now the support of the Unionist Party's parliamentary group.<sup>241</sup> The Akali Sikhs termed the Unionist Party 'an embodiment of the Muslim rule'. The Akali Party held a well-attended meeting at Jhelum — speeches were made expressing lack of confidence in the ruling party, and the demands were made for the Sikh representation in the Viceroy's Council to safeguard their interests.<sup>242</sup> The Premier's weakness not only discredited his leadership among the non-Muslims, but his colleagues and the government also lost faith in his commitments.<sup>243</sup> After resigning from the council, Sikandar showed his willingness to rejoin provided he was asked to join as Premier of the Punjab. But the Viceroy did not agree and left the position vacant instead.<sup>244</sup> Furthermore, there emerged fissure within the Unionist Party. The pro-Unionist daily, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, indicated that there had been an argument within the party between its Muslim and non-Muslim



members, after Sir Sikandar's 'surrender' to the League. Sir Chottu Ram, the deputy leader of the party, was reported to be involved in negotiations with the Sikhs against Sikandar. The paper suggested that in future the Unionist Party not play a double game — either it should identify themselves as Unionist or desert their party to join the league fold.<sup>245</sup>

## **Punjab in the Pakistan Idea**

Sir Sikandar's speeches and statements reveal that his province was very dear to him but unfortunately he was dragged in various opposite directions by his dear ones and near ones. The Punjab Premier obviously could not afford to follow the advice to desert either party. Had he parted with the non-communal claims of his Party, he would have come under massive criticism from the Hindu and Sikhs. On the other hand, if Sikandar had defied the League he would have been in great trouble. Therefore, inevitably the Premier continued as 'I before. But only a few months later the non-Muslims were further dismayed; this time not by Sikandar but on account of new developments in Indian politics in the shape of the Cripps proposals and the role of Rajagopalacharis'<sup>246</sup> group on 'Pakistan' — both meant a virtual (acceptance of the much-hated Pakistan Scheme. In early 1942, the British Government, due to the pressure of the Labour Party and the United States continued with their efforts to find a way out of the political deadlock in India resulting from the Congress resignations.<sup>247</sup> Sir Stafford Cripps, who had joined the new Cabinet a few months before the fall of Singapore (February 1942), offered his services for this mission. The appointment of the mission was important for the Punjab. As noted in chapter four, the Punjab's position in the negotiations for constitutional advance had always been significant. Besides this, the introduction of the Pakistan Scheme and the anti-Pakistan movement had also greatly increased its importance. Furthermore, India was still in the middle of a war in which the Punjab held a key position. Thus, acknowledging this importance, the Viceroy suggested to Cripps that he get in touch

with the Punjab Premier and give him early information regarding his proposals, before meeting the Congress or the League leaders.<sup>248</sup> Sir Stafford was reluctant to meet Sikandar, before seeing the principal parties' deputations; but later agreed to meet him 'casually'.<sup>249</sup>

The Premier was to be informed 'privately of reasons for not sending him an advance invitation'.<sup>250</sup> The meeting was arranged tactfully; it was settled that Sikandar should come to the Viceroy's house ostensibly to visit Sir Bertrand Glancy, the Governor of the Punjab, and in this way Sir Stafford would meet him before he saw any of the Indian leaders officially.<sup>251</sup> The meeting took place as planned. The Premier was shown the draft declaration; his opinion on the draft was satisfactory and so far as the Punjab was concerned, the Premier did not anticipate any serious trouble.<sup>252</sup> However, the Punjab Governor, in the light of his past experience with Sikandar, warned Sir Stafford that the Premier's opinion could not be depended upon.<sup>253</sup> The British administrators knew the capabilities of each and every politician with whom they had close dealings. The Governor's estimate of Sir Sikandar's opinion as unreliable proved correct. One of the clauses in the draft declaration apparently gave an option to any province to refuse to join the proposed Indian Union, if it so desired. Furthermore, the non-acceding provinces could form a union of their own. This 'option' clause was interpreted by the Hindus and the Sikhs as a virtual acceptance of the League's Pakistan Scheme,<sup>254</sup> which had been a bone of contention in the province for the last two years. The non-Muslims believed that the Punjab Muslims would take advantage of the right to secede from the Indian Union under the Cripps proposals, and therefore both the Hindus and the Sikhs would become a permanent minority under Muslim rule.<sup>255</sup>

Hence the Cripps proposals again revived a heated controversy about the Pakistan Scheme.<sup>256</sup> The Sikhs seemed to be the most aggrieved party in this whole episode. After the

announcement of the Cripps Mission, the All Parties Sikh Conference, in a resolution of 16 March 1942, whilst approving the appointment of the Mission, had expressed the hope that Sir Stafford's initiative should lead to communal harmony. A committee was formed to negotiate on behalf of the Sikhs.<sup>257</sup> When Cripps arrived in India a delegation consisting of Baldev, Tara, Sardar Ujjal Singh and Sardar Jogendra Singh met him and Mr. Ogilive (Secretary Defence Department, Government of India), explained their point of view and handed over a letter and a memorandum. The Sikhs argued that the option provision had been put in by the British Government for the separation of the various provinces, and thus to facilitate the creation of Pakistan. They expressed their strongest disapproval to any proposal involving the division of India into various States, as contemplated in the Cripps proposals. Once again the Sikhs warned that they would not submit to the domination of the Muslim community over the Punjab. They also made several demands, on the ground of their historical background, their role in the defence of India, and their contribution to the welfare of the Punjab. Their main demands were: (a) a redistribution of the provincial boundaries — to set up a semi-autonomous Sikh province; (b) representation for the Sikhs in the Viceroy's Council.<sup>258</sup> Meanwhile, rumors about the Hindu-Muslim negotiations on the subject of the Cripps Offer worried the Sikhs. In the past the Sikhs had been, more or less, ignored when the negotiations between the two major India communities took place. The Sikh leaders, had often in the past, blamed the Congress for ignoring them.<sup>259</sup>

The Akali leader, therefore, constantly reminded the Congress' Muslim President, Azad, that the Sikhs should not accept any constitutional advance if they were not included in the negotiations with the Muslim League.<sup>260</sup> The Hindu Mahasabha leadership also told the Congress that the Sikhs would not agree to the creation of Pakistan, in any form.<sup>261</sup> The Sikhs were relieved for a while when the Congress and the League also

rejected the Cripps Offer. The Congress chiefly rejected it on the same basis as the Sikhs that the unity of India was under threat. The League welcomed the recognition of Pakistan principle but demanded a definite declaration in favor of Pakistan.<sup>262</sup> But soon another blow for the Sikhs and the Punjab Hindus came in the form of the Rajaji group's acceptance of the Pakistan Scheme. Acharia (an ex-Premier of Madras) had been a member of the Congress Working Committee for the last two decades and also enjoyed a close friendship with Gandhi. On 23 April 1942, the Madras Congress Party under his leadership recommended overwhelmingly that the Congress acknowledge the Pakistan claim of the League,<sup>263</sup> as a last resort.<sup>264</sup> In the Punjab, the Acharia group was fully backed by the Punjab Congress President, Mian Iftikharuddin's group.<sup>265</sup> Iftikhar considered the Pakistan demand democratic. On May 9 1942, he argued that no community could be forced to remain in the Indian Union against its wishes.<sup>266</sup> But the Congress was not prepared to give in. The Congress Working Committee rejected Acharia's initiative; shortly afterwards Rajaji resigned from the committee. In the Punjab, Iftikharuddin came under attack on account of his views on Pakistan'; he was opposed by the non-Muslims when he visited various districts of the Punjab.<sup>267</sup>

However, he was allowed by Nehru to continue as the President of the Punjab Congress Committee on the plea that he was not actively working for the Pakistan movement<sup>268</sup> Mian Iftikhar-uddin worked for a few years but at last had to resign from the Congress on account of pressure from its leadership.<sup>269</sup> He later joined the Muslim League and openly worked for the Pakistan movement in the Punjab.<sup>270</sup> The Muslim press applauded the Acharia group's efforts as gestures of good-will towards the Muslim community and praised Rajaji for his farsightedness. But the non-Muslims made lengthy statements, criticizing the group for yielding to the League.<sup>271</sup> The Sikhs in particular were greatly perturbed. A meeting was called by Kirpal Singh, to be presided over by the Principal of Khalsa College, and attended by

the 150 leading Sikh leaders of the Punjab. Tara Singh, the Akali leader, declared that the Sikh public knew that Pakistan was being imposed upon their community; he asked the Sikhs to prepare for what he called a big fight. It was revealed that 'some arrangements' had already been made by the Sikhs ('on an emergency basis') to combat the Pakistan Scheme.<sup>272</sup> Similarly, the Akali Conference at Amritsar interpreted Acharia's proposals as a virtual recognition of the League's Pakistan demand; speeches were also made against the 'activities' of the pro-Pakistan element in the Congress Party.<sup>273</sup> Some speakers emphasized the need for (Jhatha Bandi) organized bands in order to prevent the Pakistan Scheme from becoming a reality.<sup>274</sup> A meeting of the 'Anti-Pakistan Front' was also held; Dr. Monjee, a leader of the Hindu Mahasabha, declared that the non-Muslims would not compromise on the issue of Pakistan. He argued that 60 million Muslims were converted from Hinduism, and therefore this did not entitle them to pretend that they were a nation. This meeting resolved to fight the Pakistan Scheme, using every available weapon, including direct action.<sup>275</sup> Both Hindus and Sikhs were so determined to oppose the creation of Pakistan that they were even thinking of seeking Japanese aid for this purpose.<sup>276</sup> To sum up, this anti-Pakistan campaign continued in one form or the other in the Punjab, provoking the Punjab Muslims,<sup>277</sup> and demanding that the Government of India should denounce the Pakistan Scheme.

### **The Unionist Party and the Sikhs**

Although the Sikh community was not more than eleven percent of the Punjab's population, their importance as martial race and their contribution for the strength of the British Empire could not be ignored. Despite massive criticism of the Pakistan Scheme, the most concerned party, the Sikhs, were to in a position to prevent the League from preaching its doctrine; for the Sikhs stood almost isolated. A majority of the Sikhs was anti-Unionist, and they did not have good relations with the government or the Congress Party. They

had parted with the latter due to their difference of opinion on the subject of the war effort. The Congress expected them not to help the British war effort, whereas the Sikhs refused to accept this on the plea that by doing so they would damage their own position in the Indian Army. On this issue, the Akali leader, Tara Singh, had resigned from his congress membership.<sup>278</sup> Furthermore, the Akali Sikhs were strongly opposed to all moves by some leading Congress men from time to time after the war, to approach the Muslim League for a Hindu-Muslim settlement, by-passing the Sikhs.

They argued that by doing so the Congress had torn up the pledges given to the Sikh community. The Mahasabha, an anti-Congress Hindu political party had also encouraged the Sikhs to desert the Congress on this issue.<sup>279</sup> The Congress-Sikh split gradually deepened. Following the failure of the Cripps Mission the Congress decided to launch 'The Quit India' movement against the British. By the time this movement was started by Congress in the Punjab the Sikhs were completely out of its fold.<sup>280</sup> The strained relations between the Sikhs and the Congress Party demanded a Unionist-Sikh rapprochement; cordial relations between the two suited three parties, namely the Sikhs, the government and the Unionists. Although the Akalis were against the Congress, they were not pro-government but anti-Unionist, and not yet a part of the Punjab ministry. The government and the Unionist might have thought that by affecting a compromise between the ruling party and the Sikhs, at least two objects could be achieved. The Sikhs would wholeheartedly support the war effort, and the Sikh-Unionist accord would prevent the Sikhs and the Congress from making fresh efforts at reconciliation with each other.<sup>281</sup> Quite apart from this, both the Punjab Government and the Unionists had been in favor of removing the Sikh distrust of Sikandar, especially after his 'surrender' to the League on the Defence Council Issue.<sup>282</sup> On the other hand, even though the Sikhs were vehemently opposed to the Unionist Party due to the latter's alignment with the

League; they knew that the Unionist hierarchy was privately opposed to the Pakistan movement in the Punjab. It was widely known that the Punjab Premier did not anticipate that his province would decide its future on communal lines, as envisaged in League circles. The Sikhs, therefore, might have reasoned that it was an appropriate time to get the Unionist Party on their side and then try to isolate the League from the ruling party, thereby reducing the effects of pro-Pakistani propaganda in the Punjab.<sup>283</sup> Major Billy Short, a British officer, who was famous for his influence upon the Sikh community,<sup>284</sup> was assigned the task of mediation between the Sikhs and the Unionist Party.<sup>285</sup> Baldev Singh, a nominee of the Akali leader, Tara Singh, started negotiations with Sikandar. It was not until June 1942 that any reconciliation seemed possible.

In early June, Tara Singh broke the ice by hinting that a pact was being negotiated between the Sikhs and the Unionist Party. He assured his supporters that the proposed alliance would be in Sikh interests.<sup>286</sup> The pro-government daily, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, also pointed out that under the proposed deal, the ruling party would not use its strength in the Assembly to propose any legislation which might harm Sikh interests in the Punjab. The paper remarked that Baldev Singh would be appointed a minister in the Punjab Cabinet.<sup>287</sup> Soon afterwards both Baldev and Sikandar confirmed these arrangements. The Premier declared that he would support the Sikh demands including their share in services and certain concessions at the Centre, while Baldev stated that the government was willing to concede the Sikh demands of 'Jhatka meat', Gurmukhi as a second language in schools where an adequate number of students desired, Sikh representation in services at 20%, and their due share at the Centre.<sup>288</sup> For a long time the Sikhs had been demanding certain concessions in the Punjab as well as at the Centre.<sup>289</sup> The Governor of the Punjab and the Viceroy had long been in favor of conceding these demands, such as appointing their representative to the Viceroy's

Council and the provision of 'Sikh meat'.<sup>290</sup> As far as their representation in the Viceroy's Council was concerned it was widely known that the reconstituted Council would not be without a Sikh representative.<sup>291</sup> Eventually, as a result of the Unionist-Sikh Pact, Baldev Singh assumed office in late June as the Minister for Development,<sup>292</sup> he was the youngest minister in the Cabinet, only 39 years old.<sup>293</sup>

Shortly after that (on July 2, 1942) another Sikh representative, Sir Sardar Jogendra Singh, was appointed to the Viceroy's Council to assume the portfolio of education, health and lands<sup>294</sup> — previously held by Fazl-i-Husain. This was the first occasion when a Sikh representative was taken into the Viceroy's Council.<sup>295</sup> Let us now consider the reactions of the Punjab Hindus and a section of the Sikh community towards the Unionist-Sikh rapprochement. Notwithstanding the Sikandar-Baldev Pact, the Punjab Hindus and a good number of Sikhs had been hostile to the idea of Sikh-Muslim reconciliation. The Hindu were apprehensive of the proposed alliance on the ground that their traditional allies (the Sikhs) would be compelled to leave them alone, and in future would side with their political enemy, the Unionists. In spite of the Akali assurance that this Pact with the Muslims would not damage Hindu interests, the Congress Party tried hard to prevent the conclusion of the negotiations.<sup>296</sup> A little later the services of a Hindu leader were acquired to sabotage the whole agreement.<sup>297</sup> These efforts, however, were not successful. Similarly, a majority of Sikhs due to their religious and political compatibility with the Hindus preferred to make a deal with the Hindus rather than Muslims. On hearing of the progress of the Sikandar-Baldev negotiations certain Sikh political factions, such as the Akali Congress, the Akali Dal and the All Parties Sikh Conference expressed their opposition to the proposal.<sup>298</sup> When the deal was officially announced, Baba Kharak Singh, the President of the Central Akali Dal, held a meeting of his party, which resolved to start a campaign against the Sikandar-Baldev agreement.<sup>299</sup> A little later, in a press conference, Kharak Singh



attacked the agreement, arguing that the deal had strengthened the hands of the Unionist Party; he called the Pact a Sikh betrayal. The Sikh leader criticized the Punjab Premier and called him unreliable. Baldev Singh also came under fire and was described as Tara Singh's own man; Tara Singh was attacked for playing a 'game' with the Sikhs.<sup>300</sup> The Akali Dal leader continued his campaign to nullify what he thought was an unholy alliance.<sup>301</sup> The Communist group of Sikhs also opposed the pact.

Under the leadership of Sohan Singh Josh, (leader of the Punjab Communist Party) the Sikh Communist group in the Punjab Assembly issued a challenge to the leaders of the Akali Party to resign their Assembly seats and see if they could recapture them on the subject of their role in the Sikandar-Baldev Pact. The Akalis did not accept this challenge but kept quiet.<sup>302</sup> However, a little later Tara Singh tried to reassert his position among the Sikh community is side-tracking the main issue and once again raising the demands for the creation of a Sikh state. Here he was strongly opposed by the Punjab Sabha leader, Parmanand. The Sabha resolved that the Hindus were against the division of India on principle, and therefore would not allow the Sikh dream to be fulfilled.<sup>303</sup> Meanwhile, Tara Singh reviewed his stand on the Unionist-Sikh Pact and decided to withdraw some of his blessings upon the pact. Speaking at the Akali Conference at Uddowal (Lyallpur), he said: 'The Pact is purely a communal agreement and it does not in any way commit the Akali Dal. I supported this pact as a communal one in the hope that it will improve the communal situation in the Punjab ... the pact itself cannot do much good unless the mentality of the responsible government (Sikandar's ministry) changes ... This pact has no political significance ... Sir Sikandar has his own politics, Baldev his own and I my own'.<sup>304</sup> Moreover, in an attempt to unify his divided community (on account of the Sikandar-Baldev Pact) Tara Singh tried to divert the attention of the Sikhs by criticizing again the Pakistan Scheme, a favorite topic particularly for the Punjab Hindus and the Sikhs. Addressing a Sikh gathering, he

said: 'Pakistan or no Pakistan can easily be postponed till after the war... the demand for Pakistan is a demand for civil war. It has already created a good deal of bad blood. If the Muslim brethren go on insisting upon it, there is a danger of a civil war, and if it is granted there is a certainty of war between different portions of the country. The only permanent solution is to give up this demand for Pakistan ... Suppose the British grant Pakistan and complete independence at once, what would it mean? Will the British stay or go away? If they stay, there is no independence, and if they go away who will carry out the decision of the British? If the English decree is in favor of Pakistan, they will have to stay in order to execute the decision ... I am extremely opposed to Pakistan'.<sup>305</sup> These statements, however, failed to make any significant impact on the Sikh community. A large majority of the Sikhs, thought they had been betrayed and sold out by the Tara-Baldev group to the British and the ruling Party. Tara Singh's group was constantly blamed for creating a split within the Sikh community.<sup>306</sup>

Although Tara Singh went into political oblivion for some time, the Sikh-Unionist Pact remained intact. Baldev's group in the Assembly together with the Khalsa National (a group of Conservatives pro-British Sikhs) supported the Unionist Ministry in spite of tremendous pressure from their community. Now it is appropriate to discuss with the League's pro-Pakistan movement and see what Sir Sikandar could do to check its growth after the Unionist-Sikh Pact. The Pakistan movement in the Punjab had been growing rapidly with the help of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation (P.M.S.F.) and due to the visits of the various League delegations to the province, headed by eminent Muslims from other provinces.<sup>307</sup> In early March 1942, the P.M.S.F. held its annual meeting in Rawalpindi. In his message, the League leader stated that 'the Muslims are beginning to realize that they are a power. They possess the strength, the potentialities of which they have not yet realized, and if only they take their affairs into their own hands and stand

together united there is no power that can resist their will (to achieve Pakistan)'.<sup>308</sup> Jinnah appealed to the Muslims not to depend upon anybody,<sup>309</sup> but on their own inherent strength.<sup>310</sup> This session was attended by a gathering of at least 25,000 people. One of the characteristic features of the session was the presence of a good number of Muslim female students — hitherto quite uncommon amongst the Muslims. An eminent League leader, Choudhary Khaliqzaman, in the course of his presidential speech tried to justify the Two-Nation Theory advanced by the League. He also tried to allay some of the apprehensions of the Hindus and the Sikhs against the creation of Pakistan. A lady speaker, Surriya Rashid,<sup>311</sup> pledged that the Muslim women should spare no effort and fight shoulder to shoulder with men. In the end various resolutions were passed reaffirming faith in the Pakistan Scheme.<sup>312</sup>

A few days after this session, on the second anniversary of the League's famous Resolution of 1940, the Punjab League also arranged various meetings with similar objects. One notable feature of these meetings was that the Punjab Premier denied the allegations that he was opposed to the creation of Pakistan.<sup>313</sup> In April 1942, the Punjab League arranged a number of meetings to counter the non-Muslim propaganda against its Scheme, and in support of the creation of a Muslim country.<sup>314</sup> In June, the Central League sent its civil defence committee to visit the predominantly Muslim areas in the Punjab (Lahore, Amritsar, Jallundar, Jhelum, Multan, Lyallpur) to enlist support and enroll volunteers for its organization.<sup>315</sup> This pro-Pakistan campaign, however, remained embarrassing to the Punjab Premier. Although Sikandar had co-operated with the League on the Defence Council Issue, his relations with the League's leadership were not cordial. As a result, on 6 March 1942, the Premier had submitted his resignation from the membership of the League's Working Committee as well as from its council.<sup>316</sup> However, it seems most probable that he soon realized that by doing so he would cease to be a part of mainstream Muslim

politics.<sup>317</sup> Shortly afterwards Sikandar met Jinnah (on March 27) which was again followed by a reconciliation between the two; whereby on his return to the Punjab Sikandar wrote to Jinnah, asking him not to take action on his offer of resignation. He also assured Jinnah of his loyalty and services to the Muslim community when the need arose.<sup>318</sup> However, a few months later, due to the introduction of a new development, the Sikandar-Baldev Pact, it became necessary for Sikandar to do something to check the growth of the Pakistan Scheme in the Punjab. To Sikandar, the Cripps Offer was the best possible solution to the communal problem. So far as the Punjab was concerned, the Premier was confident that the Punjab Assembly as a whole would never exercise its right to secede from the Indian Union.<sup>319</sup> To make this more difficult, the Premier prepared a formula which while accepting in principle the division of the Punjab into the Muslim and the non-Muslim areas, laid down conditions so cumbersome that it would not be easy to translate them into reality.<sup>320</sup> Sikandar wishes to publicize his formula with the hope that it would lay the Pakistan controversy to rest.

Although he was aware of the fact that by doing so he was bound to irritate the League leader, he was confident that Jinnah would not be in a position to oppose his new scheme since the latter was pleading the case for Pakistan on the principle of self-determination.<sup>321</sup> Before sending his formula for publication, Sikandar sought the Viceroy's opinion (through the Governor). As this formula was based on the Cripps Offer, which had been rejected by all the principal political parties, and this withdrawn by the Government, the Viceroy was not in favor of any new initiative, at least for the time being. Besides this, to Lord Linlithgow, Sikandar's argument that his new scheme would reduce the force of the Pakistan movement in the Punjab was not convincing. The Viceroy expressed no opinion.<sup>322</sup> Despite the lack of official backing and against the wishes of Muslim community,<sup>323</sup> the Premier published his new scheme. But to Sikandar's dismay it was criticized by all the three communities of

the, Punjab; in particular the Muslim press was very hostile.<sup>324</sup> Sikandar's formula, as anticipated by the Viceroy, did not reduce the controversy over the Pakistan Scheme but actually revived it. Following the virtual negation of the Pakistan Scheme by the Punjab Premier, the League leader felt it necessary to pay a visit to the Punjab. When Sikandar knew about Jinnah's proposed visit he was greatly upset. The Punjab Governor wrote to the Viceroy: 'It is only to be expected that his (Jinnah's) tour will give rise to further disquieting cries for Pakistan and counter attacks on the part of the non-Muslims. Sikandar would be much relieved if Jinnah's visit were cancelled'.<sup>325</sup> However, before the League leader's visit could begin, the Premier, in a statement to the Punjab League, disclaimed the authorship of "the (Sikandar's) formula for communal settlement".<sup>326</sup> Soon the League leader was in the Punjab. On November 14, he delivered a speech at the opening ceremony of Islamia College, Jullundur. Appreciating the role played by Muslim students in popularizing the Pakistan Scheme, he proclaimed that 99% of the Punjab Muslims were with the League.

He concluded that the key to the creation of Pakistan held in the hands of Punjab Muslims, and if they used it properly they could achieve their goal.<sup>327</sup> The following day the League leader addressed the annual session of the All-India Muslim students conference at 'Gulzare Jinnah', especially built three miles north of Jullundur city.<sup>328</sup> Endorsing the aims and objects of the conference, Jinnah advised Muslim students to prepare themselves to play their role in the achievement of Pakistan; he praised the role played by them so far in taking the League's message to far-flung areas of the Punjab.<sup>329</sup> The League leader also referred to Sikh apprehensions and explained that 'the question between the Hindus and the Muslims is an all-India question, and the question between the Sikhs and the Muslims is that of Pakistan and, for all practical purposes; it is a question between the Muslims of the Punjab and the Sikhs. If our Sikh friends wish — and we wish — that there should be an

understanding and settlement between them and us, then I tell them 'Let us not talk at each other but let us talk to each other'... we have no designs on our Sikh friends ... I am confident that we shall come to a settlement which will reasonably satisfy our Sikh friends'.<sup>330</sup> The League leader referred to the talks he had had with the Sikh leaders, and to the invitation he had received from them in the Punjab. He advised the Sikhs to free themselves from external influences — meaning the Congress Party — and come to an understanding with the Muslim League.<sup>331</sup> He also took the opportunity to thank the Acharia group for accepting the Pakistan Scheme. He said: 'Acharia is a great Hindu who favored the idea of Pakistan, but whose policy had been decisively rejected by the Congress Party'.<sup>332</sup> But Jinnah criticized Sikandar's formula: 'Who is the author of this formula? Either it is colossal ignorance — or a case of those who see it, know it and understand it but will not see it and don't want to understand it — I call it nothing but a trick to puzzle, to mislead the ignorant, and those playing the same understand it'.<sup>333</sup> Jinnah rejected the idea of a separate state for any minority (as contemplated by the Premier's formula) in a country which Muslims claimed their homeland. He said: 'Self-determination for national groups in zones where they were in a majority was one thing and self-determination for scattered minorities (Sikhs) was another ... There could be as little question of separate states for non-Muslim communities in Pakistan as for a scattered Muslim minority in the United Provinces'.<sup>334</sup> The conference adopted resolutions, calling upon the government to concede the League's demand of Pakistan, and thereafter form a provisional government for the duration of the war with the League and such parties as were willing to assume the responsibility.<sup>335</sup>

The next important meeting was the Punjab League's annual session at Lyallpur on November 17, 1942. By the time the session began some kind of rapprochement had been reached between Sikandar and the League. The League needed Sikandar

as much as the Punjab Premier needed the League.<sup>336</sup> The Premier and some leading Muslim Unionists, such as A. Haya, a minister in the Punjab; therefore attended the session and delivered speeches in the League's support.<sup>337</sup> Sir Sikandar now made a somersault and stated that Muslim India had not produced a greater leader than Jinnah, 'of whom we are proud ... it was their good fortune that the destinies of Muslim India were being guided by such a selfless leader as Mr. Jinnah'.<sup>338</sup> The Punjab Premier also declared that he fully subscribed to the Lahore Resolution of the League.<sup>339</sup> Sir Nazimuddin and Jinnah spoke; the former appealed to the non-Muslims to examine the Pakistan Scheme dispassionately and free from any propaganda against the Scheme. Referring to Sikh fears, he argued that the Sikhs had no voice in the Central Government but on the other hand they were never ignored in the Punjab. The Sikhs, he said, would definitely have a privileged position in Pakistan. The League leader advised the Punjab Muslims to become united and powerful so that they would be able to 'make and unmake ministries'. Jinnah politely warned that the Punjab ministry could not remain in office without the League's approval. He also expressed confidence that if the Muslims acted on his advice they would succeed in establishing Pakistan.<sup>340</sup> The conference unanimously expressed confidence in the leadership of Jinnah, and soundly condemned all the alternative schemes which it thought were intended to deflect the attention of the Muslims from their goal of Pakistan.<sup>341</sup> On November 18, the League leader performed the flag-hoisting ceremony at Lyallpur. Delivering his speech (in Urdu) he hoped that everyone knew that the flag stood for Pakistan, that the Muslims would be prepared to make sacrifices for the achievement of their goal, and that nothing could prevent them from getting Pakistan.<sup>342</sup> On November 20, Jinnah addressed a public gathering at Lahore.

He said he was called a 'lunatic' when he first argued that the Muslims were a nation, but now even the Hindus were willing to talk on the basis of the Two-Nation Theory. He also

expressed the hope that if the proposal of Pakistan were examined 'honestly, dispassionately and in fairness and justice' he had no doubt that even the non-Muslims must come to the conclusion that it was the only solution to the India's complex problem and also the only method of enabling the two major nations to live happily in peace and friendship.<sup>343</sup> Jinnah said that the Hindus, who would never be able to rule over the Muslims, should give up this dream. He said: 'If you don't take what is due to you, let me have what is due to me. If you don't I will take it'.<sup>344</sup> On the next day, the League leader addressed a press conference at Lahore. He ruled out the possibility of the League's postponing or shelving the Pakistan issue till! The world war was over. Jinnah side-tracked the much-discussed issue of partition of the Punjab, saying that first the partition of India should be decided and then the details could be worked out. As for Sikandar's formula, he said: 'No settlement is worth the paper on which it is written, either in the Punjab or anywhere else, so far as Muslims are concerned, except with the Muslim League'.<sup>345</sup> On November 22, Jinnah addressed a meeting at the Jinnah Islamia College for Girls, Lahore. Repeating the demand for Pakistan, he said: 'It has become crystal clear to the world that the Indian Muslims are not a minority but are a nation, and as a nation they want to set up their independent states in those territories where they are in an overwhelming majority ... Not only Muslim men but Muslim women and children also have understood the Pakistan scheme'.<sup>346</sup> In response some leading representatives of the Muslim women assured the League leader that they would leave no stone unturned to achieve the goal of Pakistan.<sup>347</sup> The League Leader's visit to the Punjab was yet another proof of success for the pro-Pakistan movement in the province. The League had come more effectively into contact with the Muslim masses.<sup>348</sup>

Besides this, the unconditional surrender of Sikandar and some leading members of the ruling party had clearly shown that the Unionist Party was not in a position to check the growth of



the Pakistan movement in the Punjab. The Governor of the Punjab wrote to the Viceroy: 'In proclaiming that he (Sikandar) saw eye to eye with the champion of Pakistan' (Jinnah), he has to a considerable extent weakened the Baldev-Sikandar Pact and undermined the confidence other communities have reposed in his assurances. The Sikhs in particular are feeling injured and bewildered'.<sup>349</sup> A few days after Jinnah's visit, the Sikh leader, Tara Singh, made a statement that the negotiations between the Sikh leaders and Jinnah had not been successful. However, the Sikh leader implied that as far as his community was concerned Mr. Jinnah could have his Pakistan provided he was prepared to leave out that portion of the Punjab inhabited by the Sikhs, and in which the non-Muslims were in a majority. Tara Singh took the view that the most effective way of protecting Sikh interests would be to divide the Punjab.<sup>350</sup> The Punjab Premier once again found himself under attack from the non-Muslims. But this time he did not live long enough to face the embarrassment. Sir Sikandar died of a heart attack on December 26.<sup>351</sup> His sad demise made the matters even worse from the non-Muslim point of view; it was generally thought that Punjab politics would become a 'mess" and that the 'future would be worse than the past'.<sup>352</sup>

## Notes and References

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- 1 Resolutions of the Congress, February 1938, I.A.R., 1938, Vol. I, p.297.
- 2 Sikandar's speech in the Assembly, 28 June 1938, C.M.G., 29, June 1938.
- 3 Premier's speech at the Sind Muslim League meeting, I.A.R., Vol. II, pp.355-56.

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- 4 Proceeding at Wardha, I.A.R., 1939, Vol. II, p.214.
  - 5 For details, see Lepel Griffin, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*, a revised edition, 2 vols. (Lahore, 1940).
  - 6 Zaidi, (ed.), *Evolution of Muslim Political Thought in India*, Vol. 5, (Delhi, 1978), p.85.
  - 7 C.M.G., 27-28 August 1938.
  - 8 Ibid., 9 October 1938.
  - 9 Speech, 4 September 1938, I.A.r., 1938, Vol. II, p.410.
  - 10 Governor to Viceroy, 10 September 1939, Linlithgow Collection, 125/87.
  - 11 Ibid., 25 August 1938, L/P & J/5/242, IOR.
  - 12 P.M. to Viceroy, 29 August 1939, *ibid.*
  - 13 Governor to Viceroy, 28 August 1939, *ibid.*
  - 14 Nb. Khurshid told this to Governor. Governor to M. Hallet, 12, January 1939, L/P & J/5/241, IOR.
  - 15 Governor to Viceroy, 10 July 1939, L/P & J/5/242, IOR.
  - 16 Ibid.
  - 17 Craik to Linlithgow, 25 August 1939, *ibid.*
  - 18 *Inqilab*, 26-29 August 1939.
  - 19 *The Times*, 20 September 1939.

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- 20 Zaidi, (ed.), *Evolution*, Vol. V, pp. 176-8, (Proceedings of the Meeting); I.A.R., 1939, Vol. II, pp.348-49.
- 21 Sikandar to Viceroy, 29 August 1939, Linlithgow Collection, 325/87.
- 22 Governor to Viceroy, 28 August 1939, *ibid.*
- 23 Viceroy to S/S, 5 September 1939, (tgm), Linlithgow Collection, 125/8.
- 24 C.M.G., 15 September 1939.
- 25 F.N.R., 15 September 1939.
- 26 C.M.G., 15 September 1939.
- 27 *Ibid.*, 26 October, (the Congress opposed).
- 28 Governor to Viceroy, 26 September 1939, L/P & J/5/242, IOR.
- 29 C.M.G., 20 & 25 October 1939.
- 30 *Ibid.*, 2 November; *The Times*, 8 November 1939.
- 31 C.M.G., 7 November 1939; *The Times*, 8 November 1939.
- 32 C.M.G., 8 November 1939.
- 33 For details, Kaura, *Muslims*, p. 141; Rizvi, *Linlithgow*, pp. 143- 44; I.A.R., 1939, Vol. II, pp.226-31.
- 34 C.M.G., 24 October 1939.
- 35 C.M.G., 19 October 1939.

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- 36 Ibid., 21 October 1939.
- 37 Governor to Viceroy, 28 September 1938, L/P & J/5/240, IOR.
- 38 F.N.R., 30 September, 30 October, 15 November 1939.
- 39 Governor Viceroy, 26 September 1939, L/PJ/5/242, IOR.
- 40 The Muslims of Hindu majority provinces complained that the Congress had been tyrannical in the Hindu majority provinces, e.g., the hoisting of the Congress flag, use of Hindi language, the singing of the Bande Matrum song (much hated by the Muslims), etc.
- 41 C.M.G., 2 November 1939.
- 42 F.N.R., 15 December 1939, 15 February 1940.
- 43 Ibid., 15 February 1940.
- 44 Governor to Viceroy, 1 December 1939, L/P & J/5/242, IOR.
- 45 Jinnah later said that the war was a blessing in disguise for the League, (his speech 25 November 1945), J. Ahmad (ed.), *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*, Vol. II, (Lahore, 1964), D.245: Rizvi. *Linlithgow*. n.110
- 46 Viceroy to S/S, 2 July, 5 September 1940, Linlithgow Collection, 125/9,125/19, IOR.
- 47 Memories of an I.C.S., R.H. Belcher, F180/64, (pp.19-31), IOR.

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- 48 C.M.G., 12 May 1940.
- 49 Also a famous Indian economist.
- 50 Sikandar to Shah, 31 May 1939, L/P & J/8/686, (pp.312-18); Governor to Viceroy, 10 July 1939, R/3/1/61, IOR.
- 51 S/S to Viceroy, 28 February 1940, (tgm), Linlithgow Collection, 125/9.
- 52 Governor to Viceroy, 13 September, 26 September 1939, *ibid.*, 125/88, L/P & J/5/242, IOR.
- 53 *The Times*, 30 September 1939.
- 54 Governor to Viceroy, 10 July 1939, R/3/1/61, IOR.
- 55 *Inqilab*, 13 October 1939.
- 56 Nehru to Prasad, 17 October 1939, S.W.N., Vol. X, pp.356-58.
- 57 ML Resolutions, *Hindustan Times*, 7 December 1939, Linlithgow Collection, 125/19.
- 58 Governor to Viceroy, 11 December 1939, L/P & J/5/242, IOR.
- 59 *Ibid.*, 28 December 1939.
- 60 Governor to Viceroy, 8 January 1940, L/P & J/5/243, IOR.
- 61 *Ibid.*

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- 62 Press statement, C.M.G., 3 January 1940.
- 63 Ibid.
- 64 Proceedings (15-16 June 1940) Zaidi, (ed.), *Evolution*, Vol. V, pp.232-33.
- 65 Letter 24 June 1940, Q.A.P., 16, IOR.
- 66 Sikandar to Jinnah, 8 July 1940; Jinnah to Sikandar, 1 August 1940, S.Q.H., Jafri, (ed.), *Quaid-i-Azam's correspondence with Punjab Muslim Leaders*, (Lahore, 1977), pp.366-67.
- 67 Ibid.
- 68 Shiva to Sapru, 5 February, 8 February 1941, Sapru papers series I, N.A.I., R90-92, R94.
- 69 Governor to Viceroy, 27 & 28 September 1939, R/3/1/61, IOR; Governor to Viceroy, 10 December 1939, L/P & J/5/242, IOR.
- 70 Governor to Viceroy, 10 July 1939, *ibid.*
- 71 Viceroy to S/S, 12 & 21 September 1939, Linlithgow Collection, 125/18.
- 72 Viceroy to S/S, 17 September 1939, 1 February, 16 August, 10 September 1940, *ibid.*, 125/18, 125/19; Governor to Viceroy, 28 August, 10 & 25 September, 10 October 1939.
- 73 PS Governor to PS Viceroy, 6 July 1940, Linlithgow Collection, 125/89, IOR, (also R/3/1/62, IOR).

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- 74 Viceroy to S/S, 15 May 1941, *ibid.*, 125/10, Viceroy to S/S, 19 May 1941, 125/20; S/S to Viceroy, 21 February 1940, 125/6
- 75 Viceroy to S/S, 11 June 1941, Prim — 4, 27/2, P.R.O.
- 76 *Military Intelligence Report*, February, March 1942, 6/WS/1/1433; Viceroy to S/S, (tgm), 30 March, 30 May 1941, Linlithgow Collection, 125/20.
- 77 Rizvi, *Linlithgow*, p.110; Viceroy to S/S, 1 March 1941, Linlithgow Collection, 125/10.
- 78 Meeting, 15 March 1940, Prim — 4, 47/3, P.R.O.
- 79 Sikandar to Jinnah, 25 December 1941, Q.A.R., 33, IOR.
- 80 Viceroy to S/S, (tgms), 28 June 1940, 19 May 1941, Linlithgow Collection, 125/19, 125/20. 8 October 1940, Prim — 4, 47/4, P.R.O.
- 81 In December, Sikandar died suddenly — he was only 50 years old.
- 82 Literally means modest or humble — volunteer Muslim organization.
- 83 He was the founder of the Khaksar movement. Himself an educated man who had passed with distinction through the Punjab, Cambridge, and Paris Universities. He had also served as Under-Secretary in the education secretariat of the Government of India but resigned in 1920 as

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- a protest against the British policy directed against Turkey. (For details, see I.A.R., 1939, Vol. II, p.80.)
- 84 Nehru to Menon, 3 March 1940, S.W.N., Vol. X, pp.433-36.
- 85 Good many Unionists fell in this category. (Interview with Agha Shorash Kashmiri, a leading Khaksar leader).
- 86 'The Khaksar Movement', *Modern Review*, June 1940, (pp.711-15); August 1940, pp.477-78.
- 87 F.N.R., 15 June 1940.
- 88 Ibid., 30 March 1940.
- 89 Interview with Shorash.
- 90 C.M.G., 20 May 1939.
- 91 Muslim police officers were thought to be in sympathy with the Khaksars.
- 92 F.N.R., 30 March 1940.
- 93 C.M.G., 19 March 1940 — Nearly 2,000 came from the Frontier Province.
- 94 Governor to Viceroy, 30 April 1940, Linlithgow Collection, 125/89.
- 95 C.M.G., 20 March 1940.
- 96 F.N.R., 30 April 1940.
- 97 Ibid., 30 May 1940.



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- 98 F.N.R., 30 March 1940.
- 99 Ibid., 15 April 1940; Governor to Viceroy, 30 April 1940, L/ P & J/5/243, IOR.
- 100 F.N.R., 30 May 1940.
- 101 Ibid.
- 102 Governor to Viceroy, 20 March 1940, Linlithgow Collection, 125/89.
- 103 Ibid., 21 & 23 March 1940.
- 104 C.M.G., 22 March 1940.
- 105 Governor to Viceroy, 31 March 1940, Linlithgow Collection, 125/89.
- 106 F.N.R., 30 March 1940.
- 107 Pirzada (ed.), *Foundations*, Vol. II, p.347.
- 108 Viceroy to Governor, 28 March 1940, Linlithgow Collection, 125/89.
- 109 Ibid.
- 110 Governor to Viceroy, 31 March 1940, *ibid.*
- 111 Ibid.
- 112 Ghazanfar to Jinnah, 20 August 1940, Q.A.P., 18, IOR.
- 113 Governor to Viceroy, 31 July, 30 August 1940, L/P & J/5/243, IOR; F.N.R., 30 August 1940.
- 114 Hakim Akram to Viceroy, 11 November 1942, Linlithgow Collection, 125/124. 'No

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- drills, no carrying of weapons, no wearing of uniforms'. (*The Times*, 31 December 1942).
- 115 The word 'Pakistan' was enough to alarm all non-Muslims in the Punjab. (Governor to Viceroy, 16 July 1943, *T.P.*, Vol. IV, p.92.
- 116 Fr details: Pirzada (ed.), *Foundations*, pp.(xiii-xxii); Kaura, *Muslims*, pp.149-62; Khalid bin Sayeed, *Formative Phase*, pp.102-06; B. Prasad, 'The Emergence of Pakistan Demand', *International Studies*, (Delhi, 1968), Vol. IX, pp.259-61; R. Afzal, 'Origin of the India of a Separate Muslim State', *R.S.P.*, April 1966, pp. 177-82.
- 117 Even Sikandar's Federation Scheme was described as the Pakistan Scheme. (Viceroy to S/S, 16 March, 21 March, 7 July 1939, Linlithgow Collection, 125/88-89).
- 118 M.L. Karachi, Resolutions. Zaidi (ed.), *Evolution*, Vol. V, pp. 125-26.
- 119 Sir Feroz Khan Noon told Zetland, (S/S to Viceroy, 13 December 1938, Zetland Collection, 609/9, IOR).
- 120 Viceroy to S/S, 17 April 1939 (interviews), Linlithgow Collection, 125/7.
- 121 Interviews, 4 September, 13 October 1939, *ibid.*, 125/8, 125/18.
- 122 W.C. appointed this on 26 March. Zaidi (ed.), *Evolution*, Vol. V, pp. 136-37.

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- 123 'Unless positive proposals, such as his, were put forward for consideration other people could come out with something worse — this 'something worse' — was the idea of Pakistan'. (Moon, *Divide and Quit*, p. 19).
- 124 Viceroy to Governor, 18 March 1939, Linlithgow Collection, 125/88.
- 125 Governor to Viceroy, 30 March 1935, *ibid*; Viceroy in turn informed S/S, 16 June 1939, Linlithgow Collection, 125/7.
- 126 Governor to Viceroy, 19 June 1939, R/3/1/61, IOR.
- 127 Sikandar to Sir Gilbert Laithwaite, 29 June 1939, Linlithgow Collection, 125/21.
- 128 *Ibid*.
- 129 Details: M. Gwyer and Appadori (ed.), *Speeches and Documents on Indian Constitution, 1921-47*, Vol. II, (London, 1957), pp.455-62.
- 130 Sikandar to Jinnah, 19 July 1939; Jinnah to Sikandar, 3 August 1939, Qaim Husain Jefri, (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.357-60.
- 131 C.M.G., 1 August 1939.
- 132 *Ibid*., 11 August 1939.
- 133 *Ibid*., 2,3,4 August 1939,27 March 1941.
- 134 *Ibid*., 10 August 1939.
- 135 Governor to Viceroy, 11 August 1939, R/3/1/61, IOR.

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- 136 *Inqilab*, 19 September 1936.
- 137 Khaliquzzaman, *Pathway to Pakistan*, (Lahore, 1968), pp. 223-24.
- 138 C.M.G., 10 March 1940.
- 139 *Ibid.*, 19 March 1940.
- 140 *Ibid.*, 22 March 1940.
- 141 *Ibid.*, 24 March 1940.
- 142 *Ibid.*, 26 March 1940
- 143 See The Indian Liberal Federation's Meeting 1938, I.A.R., 1938, Vol. II, p.307.
- 144 C.M.G., 30 March, 13 April 1940.
- 145 *Ibid.*, 11 April 1940.
- 146 *Ibid.*, 14 April 1940.
- 147 C.M.G., 30 March 1940.
- 148 *Ibid.*, 13 April 1940; F.N.R., 15 April 1940.
- 149 *Ibid.*, 14 April 1940.
- 150 *Ibid.*
- 151 *Ibid.*, 18 April 1940.
- 152 Governor to Viceroy, 14 April 1940, L/P & J/5/243, IOR.
- 153 F.N.R., 15 July 1940.

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- 154 *Inqilab*, 1 & 8 October 1940.
- 155 I.A.R., 1940, Vol. II, pp.325-27.
- 156 Ibid.
- 157 Viceroy to S/S, 10 January, 1 February 1941, Linlithgow Collection, 125
- 158 I.A.R., 1941, Vol. I, pp.288-91./10.
- 159 Ibid., p.291.
- 160 Viceroy to S/S, 10 January, 1 February 1941, Linlithgow Collection, 125/10; Rizvi, *Linlithgow*, p.106.
- 161 C.M.G., 2 & 6 March 1941.
- 162 Ibid.
- 163 Ibid.
- 164 Ibid., 23 March 1941.
- 165 Ibid., 10 & 11 March 1941.
- 166 Ibid.
- 167 Shiva to Sapru, 5 February 1941, Sapru papers, R90-94; C.M.G., 8 & 30 March, 13 April 1940.
- 168 Viceroy to S/S, 11 June 1940, Prim-4, P.R.O.; Viceroy to S/S, 12 August 1940, Linlithgow Collection, 125/19.
- 169 F.N.R., 15 December 1940.

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- 170 Viceroy to S/S, 10 March 1941, Linlithgow Collection, 125/10.
- 171 Viceroy to S/S, 6 April 1941, Linlithgow Collection, 125/19.
- 172 Shiva to Sapru, 5 February 1941, Linlithgow Collection, R 90-94.
- 173 Ibid. R90(3) R94(4-5).
- 174 Viceroy to S/S, 15 May 1941, Linlithgow Collection, 125/10.
- 175 F.N.R., 15 March 1941.
- 176 Jinnah to Maulana Abdus Sattar Niazi, 4 August 1941, Q.A.P., 18, IOR; C.M.G., 12 July 1941.
- 177 C.M.G., 2 & 4 March 1941; F.N.R., 15 March 1941.
- 178 Ibid.
- 179 Ibid.
- 180 F.N.R., 15 March 1941; C.M.G., 2 & 4 March 1941.
- 181 In less than a month's time after the Resolution he had issued a statement fully assuring Sikhs. (*Inqilab*, 2 & 3 April 1940).
- 181 F.N.R., 15 March 1941; C.M.G., 2 & 4 March 1941.
- 182 Ibid.
- 183 C.M.G., 9 & 12 March 1941.

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- 184 Ibid., 23,27,28 March 1941.
- 185 Ibid., 1 April 1941.
- 186 Ibid., 13 & 15 April 1941.
- 187 Ibid., 15 April 1941.
- 188 C.M.G., 12 August, 31 October 1941.
- 189 F.N.R., 15 November 1941.
- 190 C.M.G., 31 October 1941; *Inqilab*, 1 December 1941.
- 191 F.N.R., 15 December 1941; 30 January 1942.
- 192 C.M.G., 26 March 1941.
- 193 For details: C.M.G., 6,8,12,20,23 July 1941.
- 194 N. Raja Narendra Nath, 'Sir Stafford Cripps', Mission & Akhand Hindustan, *The Modern Review*, November 1942, pp.382-83.
- 195 *Inqilab*, 21 & 23 July 1941.
- 196 Ibid., 30 November, 1 December 1941.
- 197 His article in C.M.G., 12 March 1941; Viceroy to S/S, 6 April 1940, (tgm) Linlithgow Collection, 125/19.
- 198 C.M.G., 13 April 1940.
- 199 Ibid., 14 February 1941.
- 200 Governor to Viceroy, 4 March 1941, Linlithgow Collection, 125/90.

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- 201 Governor to Viceroy, 1 March 1941, R/3/1/61, IOR; S/S to Viceroy, 5 April 1941, (tgm), 29 August 1941, Linlithgow Collection, 125/0,125/21.
- 202 Full text of speech, in V.P. Menon, *The Transfer of Power in India*, (Bombay, 1957), Appendix I, pp.443-58; appreciated by C.M.G., 13 March 1941.
- 203 PS Sikandar to PS Jinnah, 29 March 1941, Q.A.P., 40, IOR.
- 204 Viceroy to S/S, 18 April 1941, Linlithgow Collection, 125/10.
- 205 Viceroy to S/S, 7 September 1941, Linlithgow Collection, 125/21.
- 206 Viceroy to S/S, 22 June 1941, Prim-4,47/6, P.R.O.
- 207 Thereafter tried to reassert his position but to no avail. (Governor to Viceroy, 21 October, 22 November 1941, Linlithgow Collection, 125/90.
- 208 Viceroy to S/S, 4 July 1941, *ibid*, 125/21.
- 209 Viceroy to S/S, 27 June 1941, *ibid*.
- 210 Viceroy to S/S, 2 July 1941, *ibid*.
- 211 Viceroy to S/S, 4 July 1941, *ibid*.
- 212 See Begum's personal file, L/I/I/1472, IOR.
- 213 Lumley to Jinnah, 20 July 1941, Linlithgow Collection, 125/21.



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- 214 C.M.G., 30 July 1941.
- 215 Governor to Viceroy, (tgm) 12 August; Viceroy to S/S, 12 August 1941, Linlithgow Collection, 125/21.
- 216 Resolution of July 1941, Q.A.P. 33.
- 217 Niazi to Jinnah, (tgm) 23 July, 21 August 1941, *ibid.*
- 218 C.M.G., 31 July 1941.
- 219 *Ibid.*
- 220 For details, see 'Defence Council Issue'. Q.A.P. 33, IOR.
- 221 C.M.G., 15 August 1941.
- 222 *Ibid.*, 12 August 1941.
- 223 *Ibid.*, 26 August 1941.
- 224 Viceroy to S/S, (tgm) 7 September 1941, Begum's interview with Viceroy, 6 September 1941, Linlithgow Collection, 125/10.
- 225 Viceroy to S/S, 30 August 1941, *ibid.*; Resignation in 125/90 No. 42.
- 226 Haq to Governor Bengal, 25 August 1941, *ibid.*, 125/123.
- 227 *Inqilab*, 14 September 1941.
- 228 *Ibid.*
- 229 *Ibid.*, 5 December 1941.

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- 230 S. Pirzada (ed.), *Leader's Correspondence with Jinnah*, (1966), pp.291-92.
- 231 Viceroy to S/S, 28 August; interview with Viceroy, 6 September 1941, Linlithgow Collection, 125/10.
- 232 Ibid., Begum's interview; Jinnah to Sikandar, 13 September 1941, Jaferey, *Correspondence*, p. 373.
- 233 Viceroy to S/S, 28 August, (tgm), Linlithgow Collection, 125/21.
- 234 Viceroy to S/S, (tgm), 20 August 1941, *ibid.*
- 235 Viceroy to S/S, (tgm), 26 August 1941, *ibid.*
- 236 C.M.G., 4 & 6 September 1941.
- 237 Viceroy to S/S, 25 September 1941, Linlithgow Collection, 125/21.
- 238 Haq to Viceroy, 27 September 1941, 12 January 1942, *ibid.*, 125/124.
- 239 F.N.R., 30 August 1941.
- 240 *Ibid.*, 15 September 1941.
- 241 *Ibid.*
- 242 *Ibid.*, 30 August 1941; Governor to Viceroy, 10 September 1941, Linlithgow Collection, 125/90.
- 243 Viceroy to S/S, 1 September 1941, *ibid.*, 125/10; Viceroy to Governor, (tgm), 30 November 1941, *ibid.*, 125/90.

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- 244 Viceroy to S/S, 23 September 1941, *ibid.*, 125/21.
- 245 C.M.G., 18 & 19 November 1941.
- 246 Or abbreviation Rajaji.
- 247 For details, see R. Coupland, *The Cripps Mission*, (London, 1942); B. Prasad, 'The Cripps Mission', *International Studies*, (Delhi, 1978), Rizvi, *Linlithgow*, pp.173-222; R.J. Moore, *Churchill, Cripps and India*, 1939-1945, (Oxford, 1979), pp.45-76; A. Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan*, (Cambridge, 1985), pp.70-77.
- 248 Viceroy to S/S, 11 March 1942, *T.P.*, Vol. I, pp.405-06; memo by Lord Privy Seal, 6 July 1942, *T.P.*, Vol. II, pp.318-19.
- 249 Cripps to Viceroy, 20 March 1942, *T.P.*, Vol. I, pp.446-47,
- 250 Viceroy to Cripps, 21 March 1942, *ibid.*, pp.450-51.
- 251 Memo, 6 July 1942, *T.P.*, Vol. II, p.320.
- 252 *Ibid.*
- 253 For Sikandar changed his mind frequently, Cripps' interview with Glancy, 24 March 1942, *T.P.*, Vol. I, pp.464-65; memo, 6 July 1942, p.320, (*T.P.*, Vol. II).
- 254 *Military Intelligence Report*, 15 May 1942, L/WS/T/1433, IOR.
- 255 F.N.R., 30 March 1942.

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- 256 N. Raja Narendra Nath, 'The Cripps Mission', pp.38-86.
- 257 C.M.G., 19 March 1942.
- 258 *India (Lord Privy Seal's Mission)*, Cmd.6350, (1942), pp.23-24 (also in *T.P.*, Vol. I), p.564). Interview with Sikhs, *T.P.*, Vol. I, pp.496-98, 581; Ogilive to Pinnell, 30 March 1942, *ibid.*, p.564.
- 259 Nehru to Tara, 12 December 1939, S.W.N., Vol. X; Montmorency to Simon, 19 October 1928, Simon Collection, 77/2, IOR.
- 260 F.N.R., 30 March 1942.
- 261 C.M.G., 5 April 1942.
- 262 *Military Intelligence Report*, 27 March 1942, L/WS/1/1433, IOR.
- 263 C.M.G., 25 April 1942.
- 264 F.N.R., 30 April 1942.
- 265 *Ibid.*, 15 May 1942.
- 266 His statements, C.M.G., 10 May, 21 June 1942; *Inqilab*, 15 June 1942.
- 267 F.N.R., 15 January 1942.
- 268 *Ibid.*, 15 June 1942.
- 269 Patel to Ahmad, 4 June 1946, G.M. Nandurkur (ed.), *Sardar's Letters*, (Ahmadabad, 1977), Vol. IV, p.276; Nehru to Indira, 25 August 1945, S.W.N., Vol. 14, pp.578-80.

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- 270 C.M.G., 10 September 1945.
- 271 F.N.R., 15 May, 15 June 1942.
- 272 C.M.G., 7 April 1942.
- 273 Ibid., 15 April 1942.
- 274 Ibid.
- 275 Ibid., 9 April 1942.
- 276 F.N.R., 15 April 1942.
- 277 Ibid., 15 May 1942 (appendix); C.M.G., 2 May to 17 May 1942.
- 278 Governor to Viceroy, 10 September 1940, Linlithgow Collection, 125/81.
- 279 F.N.R., 19 September 1940; Governor to Viceroy, 26 September 1940, L/P & J/5/243, IOR.
- 280 *Inqilab*, 11 & 12 August 1942; For Congress demand for British withdrawal, see *The Times*, 15 July 1942.
- 281 Congress always wanted to win over the Sikhs, (Viceroy to S/S, tgm), 5 September 1940, Linlithgow Collection, 125/9.
- 282 Governor to Viceroy, 22 November 1941, *ibid.*, 125/91.
- 283 For an account of 'Sikh-Muslim Unity', see S. Oren 'The Sikhs, Congress and the Unionists in British Punjab, 1937-47'. *Modern Asian Studies*,

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- 8,3, (Cambridge, 1974), pp.404-10; P. Moon, *Divide and Quit*, pp.31-36.
- 284 For the same reasons appointed advisor to the Cabinet Mission in 1946.
- 285 For details, see Moon, *Divide and Quit*, pp.32-34.
- 286 C.M.G., 4 June 1942.
- 287 *Ibid.*, 5 June 1942.
- 288 *Ibid.*, 16 & 28 June 1942.
- 289 F.N.R., 30 March 1942.
- 290 Governor to Viceroy, 21 October 1941; Viceroy to Governor, 25 October 1941, Linlithgow Collection, 125/90; Governor to Viceroy, 11 November 1941, L/P & J/5/244, IOR.
- 291 *The Times*, 5 June 1942.
- 292 C.M.G., 28 June 1942.
- 293 Sardar Baldev Singh was a son of a wealthy steel magnate; elected unopposed in 1937; had not yet opened his mouth in the Assembly. Biographical note, in Sir George Abell to Laithwaite, 10 July 1942, Linlithgow Collection, 125/91.
- 294 C.M.G., 9 July 1942.
- 295 *The Times*, 4 July 1942.
- 296 *Military Intelligence Reports*, 26 June, 10 July 1942, L/WS/1433, IOR.

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- 297 C.M.G., 19 June 1942.
- 298 Ibid., 7 & 14 June 1942.
- 299 Ibid., 28 June 1942.
- 300 Ibid., 3 July 1942.
- 301 Ibid., 28 July 1942.
- 302 Ibid., 25 July 1942.
- 303 Ibid., 21 October 1942.
- 304 *Inqilab*, 28-29 September 1942.
- 305 *Inqilab*, 28-29 August 1942.
- 306 I.A.R., 1943, Vol. II, p.270.
- 307 Sending such delegations had been a part of the League's strategy at least since 1941. (See Willayat to Ramzan Ali, 25 January 1941, Q.A.P., 37.)
- 308 J. Ahmad (ed.), *Some Recent Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*, (Lahore, 1952), p.392.
- 309 Meaning on the Unionists.
- 310 Ahmad (ed.), *Speeches*, p.393; press cuttings available, in Q.A.P. 35.
- 311 Of Islamia College, Lahore.
- 312 Proceedings, in Zaidi (ed.), *Evolution*, Vol. V, pp.661-66.
- 313 F.N.R., 30 March 1942.

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- 314 Ibid., 30 April 1942.
- 315 Ibid., 30 June 1942.
- 316 Sikandar to Jinnah, 6 March 1942, Jafrey (ed.), *Correspondence*, p.376.
- 317 He had mind to remain in 'spot-light'. (Viceroy to Governor, 20 July 1942, *T.P.*, Vol. II, p.421.)
- 318 Sikandar to Jinnah, 28 March 1942, Q.A.P., 18.
- 319 Azad, *India Wins Freedom*, pp.58-59.
- 320 It was 'a plan for a Punjab plebiscite which, in the event of the principle of a plebiscite on separation being accepted, would be fairer to the minorities than Jinnah's. (Sikandar) suggests the election upon the present basis of a new Assembly which should decide by 75% majority either way. Should a Muslim plebiscite be in favor of separation, the minorities should then be given an opportunity for a plebiscite upon the question whether or not they would separate from the Punjab'. (*The Times*, 5 November 1942.)
- 321 Governor to Viceroy, 10 July 1942, *T.P.*, Vol. II, (see enclosure No. 433, pp.361-62.)
- 322 Viceroy to Governor, 17 July 1942, *ibid.*, pp.402-03.
- 323 The Muslim press asked the PM to consult his community (*Nawai Waqt* quoted by C.M.G., 27 July 1942.)
- 324 F.N.R., 30 December 1942.



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