
Candid Statesmanship of Inter-Communal amity in Colonial Punjab: A Case Study of Sikandar Hayat Khan

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Abstract

This article highlights various distinctive features of Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan as a candid statesman in colonial Punjab. He possessed a great heart, accommodative political philosophy and steadfastness to resolve all socio-political problems diplomatically in the Punjab province. This research paper aims at Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan as a unique Muslim statesman who was above communalism and his utmost efforts to create communal harmony in socially heterogeneous and religiously diversified Punjab province. Further, this article also analyzes Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan's relations with the British Government and his efforts for inter-communal harmony, unity and to remove political differences; among the Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, as a Premier of the Punjab province, convened Unity Conference, signed Sikandar-Jinnah Pact with Muslim League and Sikandar-Baldev Pact with Sikhs for communal harmony, reconciliation and welfare of all communities; the Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs. Thus, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan was a loyal son of soil, shrewd politician and farsighted statesman. Besides this, his administrative abilities, balancing political skills,

accommodative behaviour with all political parties, communities and patriotic enthusiasm made him a unique leader in the Punjab politics. Therefore, his sincere statesmanship can be found in his parliamentary style of governance, administrative competency and a staunch supporter of communal conciliation.

Introduction

Sikandar Hayat Khan was born on 5th June 1892, at Multan. His birth took place in the famous house where in the 18th century, Ahmed Shah Abdali, the well-known Afghan warrior, had been born.¹ His mother was the daughter of Mian Ghulam Jilani, the Chief Minister of Kapurthala State.² Sikandar Hayat Khan got the first seven years education at home from his family teacher Master Kala Ram. He joined M.A.O High School, Aligarh because his father Nawab Muhammad Hayat Khan had close intimacy with Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898). He also developed good relations with his class fellows as well as School fellows.³ During his stay at Aligarh, he completed his matriculation from M.A.O. High School, Aligarh probably in 1908.⁴ Sikandar showed all-round talents; he used to achieve first position in the examination, he always took part in the extra-curricular activities and played hockey and cricket. He possessed all those qualities which were helpful to make him an enviable personality.⁵ Before his departure to England, in 1908, he was offered the post of an Assistant Traffic Superintendent in Railway department but he declined it.⁶ Soon after his matriculation, he went to England in 1908, for higher studies in medicine; where he joined University College London.⁷ However, his stay in England was very short, because of some family problems which arose during his stay in England and he returned to India in July 1910, without any degree.⁸ He was called back home because of the demise of his elder brother Ghairat Hayat Khan.⁹ On his return from England in July 1910, he gave up all his thoughts of further education and devoted himself to business.¹⁰

Meanwhile, the Ghadr Party (1913-1919), initially the pacific coast Hindustan association, was formed in 1913 in the United

States under the leadership of Har Dayal Singh.¹¹ Other members of the party were Indian immigrants who used to belong to Punjab. Ghadr Party was a reaction of Indian immigrants to the imperialistic behaviour regarding the settlement of Indians in various Western countries. After the outbreak of World War-I (1914-18), Ghadr Party members participated in rebellious and revolutionary activities in central Punjab and started some uprisings. The presence of Ghadr Party rebellious activists shook the hold of British Government in Punjab. At that time, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan also began to participate in the activities of Ghadr Party in Punjab. Later on, the Indian government used the influence of the two brothers of Sikandar Hayat Khan who were holding government posts under British administration. Resultantly, the brothers of Sir Sikandar advised him to disassociate himself from Ghadr politics and its activities. However, Sikandar Hayat Khan developed compassion and sympathy for Punjabi masses which was inculcated in him because of his association with the Ghadr Party.¹² Sikandar Hayat Khan participated actively in the Ghadr politics which annoyed the British Government, however, he disassociated himself from Ghadr Party and showed loyalty to the British Government and contributed actively in the war efforts during World War-I.¹³

Idiosyncratic and Versatile Personality

Sikandar Hayat Khan believed in the fair politics rather than the politics of blame game, as he said:

"Politics is a dirty game, but I try to play it as fairly as possible".¹⁴

When the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were introduced in 1919, Sikandar Hayat Khan entered in the Punjab Council. However, he could not concentrate on his professional obligation on account of his heavy financial liabilities regarding his own industrial business as he was more interested in commercial and

banking concerns than in politics.¹⁵ The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms marked the turning point in Sikandar's political career.

Politics of India before 1919 was uncertain and based on criticism upon the British Government. The Government of India Act of 1919 was unsatisfactory compromised, but it had the merit of introducing partial responsibility of government at provincial level. This constitutional development attracted all the communities to play active role in politics in Punjab province. Throughout Sikandar's long political career, he did not believe to inspire the audience by playing with their emotions. The chief attribute in his speeches as well as in his personal character was sweet expression, direct approach to the problem and spirit of compromise. Unlike many other parliamentarians, he did not get popularity on mere speeches.

On the other hand, he enjoyed the popularity in political circles by establishing a reputation for tolerance, liberal politics and sound common sense. Later on, he joined the Indian army and got posting in 2/67th Punjabis, later known as 1/2nd Punjabis. During World War-I, Sikandar Hayat, while posted in the North-West Frontier Province, played a very enthusiastic role for his employees, rose to be a captain and received an M.B.E. from the British Government. He first served on the North-West Frontier Province and later on, also in Third Afghan War (1919). He was appointed to the Brigade Headquarters and got the honour of being the first Indian to command a company. He also served as a Recruiting Officer in Indian army.¹⁶

After the demobilization in 1920s, Sikandar Hayat Khan turned towards victories of peace, both in politics and business which offered the young soldier a fair field and for some times, he pursued dual career. After the World War-I, he was appointed as First Class Honorary Magistrate and he worked on this post till 1930.¹⁷

Later on, he was appointed a member of the Governors Executive Council. In Hassan Abdal (District Attock), Sikandar got the chance of creating political awareness while becoming President in that 'Small Town Committee' and demonstrated

devotion, commitment and vigilance; he greatly improved the conditions of the town.¹⁸ Sikandar Hayat Khan, being in the front ranks of *Zamindar* Party, enjoyed the confidence of all the groups in the council; he was a bridge among various communities; the Hindus, the Sikhs, the Muslims, the *Swarajists* and the official members.¹⁹

Sikandar Hayat Khan was appointed as Personal Assistant to the Mela Officer during the visit of Prince of Wales to India in 1921. He was elected as a member of Punjab Legislative Council from District Attock in 1921, but his election was set aside and he had to wait till 1924 before he could enter the Legislative Assembly. He returned to the Punjab Legislative Council by landholder's constituency Attock, in 1924. Meanwhile, Sikandar Hayat Khan joined the Unionist Party with Sir Mian Fazl-i-Husain. He was also taken as a non-official member of Police Enquiry Commission in 1926.²⁰ Moreover, his first important assignment came in 1928 when he headed the Punjab Reforms Committee set up by the Provincial Legislative Council to work in collaboration with the Simon Commission (1927-28).²¹

In 1920s and 1930s, Sikandar Hayat developed some interests in business and proved his managerial caliber in commercial transaction. He soon became the Director or Managing Director of the following important 'group of eleven' commercial enterprises; Wah Tea Estate, Punjab Portland Cement Company, Wah Stone and Lime Company, Amritsar Patti Kasur Railway Company, Peoples Bank of Northern India, Sialkot Narowal Railway Company, Messers Owin Roberts, Punjab Sugar Corporation Limited, North India Constructions Engineers, The Frontier Mining Syndicates and Taj Company.²²

Sikandar Hayat Khan was also one of the major share-holders of Taj Company Limited, Lahore and contributed a huge amount for the Quranic Publications. Sheikh Innaytullah, Managing Director of the Taj Company was his close friend.²³ Despite these diverse commercial engagements, Sikandar's special interest rested with the Punjab Portland Cement Company. Wah, Hassan Abdal (District Attock), and its surrounding hills were even then

well-known for their limestone deposits and as a landowner of the territory. Sikandar Hayat Khan was deeply interested in exploiting these natural resources. Under his guidance and skillful handling of the industry, the cement was produced in the *Pothohar* region and it was also popularized throughout the sub-continent. His family was also connected with these commercial engagements, especially of cement industry, in Wah.²⁴

Besides this, Sikandar Hayat Khan was not only confined to business, however, he was a versatile social personality with multiple interests; in politics, education, business, industry and in various other socio-religious activities in Punjab province. After that Sikandar's rise in political activities was very rapid. Unlike his contemporaries, Sikandar established a reputation for tolerance, liberalism and sound political common sense. He was progressive in nature: advocated complete provincial autonomy and transfer of Police and General Administration to the responsible Ministers. Sikandar became Revenue Member in 1930 and there was a political discontentment and economic distress at that time in Punjab province.

Sir Chhotu Ram (1881-1945), paid tribute to Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan in these words:

"His Excellency Captain Nawab Sardar Sikandar Hayat Khan has proved his high qualities and administrative genius in his designation as the Revenue Member of the Punjab Government. Though, he holds no University degree, yet he has the highest mental and academic properties... He is a first-rank liberal statesman and a conscientious leader, while being industrious at the same time... His Excellency is totally free from communalism, and I am sure that his new administration would be honoured and liked by all groups of the Punjabis."²⁵

At this juncture, politics of Punjab was marked by the rise and political activities of *Majlis-i-Ahrar* Party and the *Akali Dal* agitation

and the growth of the *Naujawan Baharat Sabha*. However, Sikandar Hayat Khan was a great centre of unity; Sir Jogindra Singh attributed him as the 'ambassador of the Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus' in the colonial Punjab. He made utmost efforts to accommodate all political parties and infused confidence among all sections of the masses in Punjab.²⁶

On many occasions, Sir Sikandar had some differences with Muslims as well as Hindus leaders; however, he never provoked any community or group to gain personal political benefits. In fact, when Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan became the Deputy Governor of newly created Reserve Bank of India, in February 1935, he received tributes and conciliatory spirit by the leaders of all the political parties in the Punjab.²⁷

Mr. C.C. Garbett, the acting Chief Secretary, attributed to Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan at the time of his departure as the Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank in the following words:

"I have worked with Sir Geoffrey, I have worked with Sir Herbert and I have also worked with Sir Sikandar and I found in him exactly the same marvelous faculties that the other Governors had of putting a situation that appeared to be wrong right with what seemed the slightest touch. Drafts that were awry, counsels that were misdirected, he, with the extreme wisdom that was at his command would set right with a few words here and a few words there giving just that confidence to his staff that made it worthwhile working days and nights, if necessary— and it was necessary sometimes in these very difficult days. It was a proud experience for all of us to work under the first Indian Governor— and Governor of that caliber." ²⁸

These remarks of C.C. Garbett nicely and comprehensively highlight the administrative abilities, cooperative attitude and the sound caliber of Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan.

Later on, in 1936, the tragic demise of Sir Fazl-i-Husain left the Unionist Party without a leader and it turned towards Sir

Sikandar Hayat Khan to re-enter in Punjab politics and to take the responsibilities as the head of the Unionist Party.

Sikandar: Consummated Political Skills

The Punjab politics was not a bed of roses but it required accomplished skills and sagacious abilities for the better interest of the Punjab province. Sir Sikandar was undisputed political leader and other communities; Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs associated high hopes. Even some politicians in the Congress and the Muslim League wanted Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan to take the lead and to negotiate a commonly agreed settlement between the Congress and the Muslim League in India. However, he was devoted for the betterment of Punjab province.²⁹

It was not an easy task to leave the lucrative job of the Reserve Bank of India on the post of Deputy Governor and to join ignoble strife of party politics.³⁰ However, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan demonstrated great love and affection for the Punjab province and joined the Unionist Party. Sir Fazl-i-Husain established a great reputation for his political abilities and clever diplomacy and it was doubted among political circles of Punjab politics that Sir Sikandar's capacity would not be able to shoulder the burden of Provincial autonomy and diplomatic politics of the Unionist Party. But he had already won a name for himself as a non-party and non-communal politician and that was his great asset. In fact, in those days, politically, Punjab was one of the most difficult provinces to handle. The Punjab politics was divided into three communities; having diverse political ambitions and ideals. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan showed matchless dexterity, accommodative political vision and shrewd diplomacy to shun the clouds of communal conflicts and anti-British sentiments which were surged in the politics of Punjab.³¹

In 1936-37 elections, in Punjab province, the Unionist Party achieved a sweeping victory and His Excellency Sir Herbert Emerson called upon Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan as the leader of the majority party to form the first autonomous Ministry in the province.³² Sikandar Hayat Khan utilized his political intellect,

sagacious and visionary approach to select his Ministers from the Unionist. He formulated his Cabinet skillfully and assigned various duties to his Ministers for the amelioration and welfare of the Punjab province. As compared to Congress leadership, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan perceived that coalitions in government, balanced relations with all communities Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus was indispensable for the smooth and purposeful development of the Punjab province. By keeping in view these political realities, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan formed his Ministries with the coalition of the National Progressive Party under the leadership of Raja Narendra Nath and the *Khalsa* group was led by Sir Sundar Singh Majithia. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, in fact, as a Premier of Punjab, set high political ideals to achieve and remained committed to the Unionist principles while providing effective voice in the Punjab administration to the non-Unionist elements.³³

On 1st April 1937, the new Cabinet was formed under the Premiership of Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan and he outlined his political policy and programme.³⁴ He focused to lighten the burden of peasantry, to tackle the problem of unemployment and to expand the activities of nation building throughout the province. Further, he wanted to uplift backward classes and created a more favourable environment for communal amity and goodwill.³⁵

Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan began everything in his favour as the national head of the coalition government and he enjoyed the confidence of practically all the sections of the House as a genuine statesman and patriot who worked for the welfare of all communities of Punjab province. It was Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan who opposed the separate electorate and thought that 'communal electorate had been imposed upon us to our utter shame'.³⁶

In 1938, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan convened a 'Unity Conference' of various communities to examine the causes of the communal friction and to address all their concerns in the Punjab province. This conference made decisions to bring harmony and solidarity among the people of various ethnic groups. Although,

the Unionist Government made serious efforts to minimize sectarianism yet the opposition forces were reluctant to accept it.³⁷ In fact, the Unionist Party was a non-sectarian party, however, its policy regarding the appointments in jobs indicated its tilt to oblige the Muslims. The sectarian elements were found in quota system to get the official jobs in Punjab. Sikandar Hayat Khan continued the policy of his predecessor Sir Fazl-i-Husain regarding the job opportunities and took revolutionary measures for the betterment of all communities; Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs, in the Punjab. According to the Unionist policy which was introduced in 1938, Muslims were given a quota of 50 percent, Hindus 30 percent and the Sikhs 20 percent respectively.³⁸ However, Punjab Muslim League gave overwhelming support to 'Sikandar's Ministry' over the communal issues. The Unionist Party kept belief that religion has the power for community, its socio-economic as well as cultural interests which can differentiate it from all other communities. This party followed constant behaviour in religious as well as in sectarian issues under the dynamic leadership of Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan.

After observing it minutely, Unionist Party policies as formulated and implemented by Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan were based on a non-sectarian approach. Although, the party took number of measures to curb sectarian riots in the province but all its efforts were to no avail. Sectarianism was so infused in the Hindu community that even the Congress itself became a victim of it. The interference of the Hindu sectarianism also created problems for the government as well as disturbing the harmony of the province. Besides this, Muslim sectarianism also aggravated during the ministry of the Sikandar Hayat Khan. Further, these sectarian conflicts also forced Punjab Muslim League to participate in active politics. The Muslim League reviewed its political policies, re-organized its party structure and expanded its branches in various rural and urban areas of the Punjab province. The Unionist ministry was tolerated by the Muslim League so that it might be used as a pawn on the chess-board of Indian politics.³⁹ In spite of these difficult political circumstances; it was the

versatile leadership qualities of Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan who dealt these sectarian problems sagaciously and with unrivalled political vision.

The Punjab Muslim League emerged from its drubbing in the 1937 elections and was determined to muster massive support of public in rural areas.⁴⁰ However, during the month of summer, it launched a vigorous rural propaganda campaign. Workers were sent into the villages to form primary branches of the League and its membership fee was reduced to only four *annas* (Re. 0.25), to encourage the participation of more villagers. At that time, the Punjab League hoped to enroll 20,000 new primary members just in the Lahore district. A number of Provincial League leaders toured the rural areas to whip up enthusiasm for this membership drive. In September, Malik Zaman Mehdi Khan, the Deputy President, and Ghulam Rasul, the honorary secretary, toured Gujranwala and established a district branch of the League there and encouraged the formation of primary branches in the villages. The success of the Unionist ministry's agrarian reforms, however, meant that the Muslim League faced an uphill task to get popularity in far-flung areas of Punjab. Its faltering efforts were brought to an end by the Pact which was signed in 1937 between Sikandar and Jinnah.⁴¹ Sir Jogindar Singh said, "Sir Sikandar Hayat was to unite all communities and worked together and not only to work together but to provide foundation through joint electorate from which unity may follow."⁴² Throughout his regime, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan did his utmost to promote inter-communal goodwill and harmony. In fact, he regarded the solution of communal issues as his life's mission.

For the greater interest of the Punjab province and for communal harmony, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan signed a Pact with Sikhs which is commonly known as Sikandar-Baldev Pact in 1942. This Pact facilitated the appointment of Sardar Baldev Singh as the Sikh Minister in Sikandar's Cabinet in Punjab province. This wise and tactical move of Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan towards Sikh community magnified his stature as a non-communal and uncontroversial political leader of the Punjab province.⁴³ Hence,

Sir Sikandar's statesmanship can be found in his parliamentary style of governance, a competent administrator and a loyal colleague.⁴⁴ In colonial Punjab, he would remain a model Muslim statesman with accommodative political philosophy, ambassador of inter-communal harmony and loyal head of the government in the Punjab province.⁴⁵

Quaid-i-Azam also praised the leadership qualities of Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan while calling him a strong pillar of Muslim League as well.⁴⁶ Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan had unique blend of qualities like tolerance, political liberalism and accommodative communal philosophy.

The era of Sikandar's Premiership witnessed many upheavals in global politics which had consequences of its own upon British rule in India. Keeping in view the loyalties of Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, Winston Churchill made a request to Sikandar for his support during World War-II (1939-45) to recruit soldiers from Punjab province.⁴⁷ This image of Sikandar for being loyal and committed to the British Government, a submissive politician and willing to render any service made him a blue eyed man of the colonial elite.

The British rule in India was faced with an ordeal to cope up with challenges like partition demand, vibrant political movement of Muslim League and Congress for separate homeland. Further the challenge of World War-II which created many complexities for the British Raj to maintain peaceful administrative set up. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan also made many arrangements with League, Congress and *Akalis* to pacify the communities.⁴⁸

During his six years Premiership, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan made every effort to revolutionize Punjab by his exertion irrigation facilities were extended many roads were constructed and education became compulsory. He also strengthened *panchayat* system and introduce Anti-Corruption department. Therefore, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan throughout his Premiership, what for the betterment and welfare of Punjab province and brought about harmonious relations among various communities; Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs. On 26th December, 1942, Sikandar's

tragic death, immediately, after the celebration of marriage ceremony, of his two sons and a daughter, left Punjab politically widowed.⁴⁹

Churchill also sent his condolence message and paid rich tribute to him with these words:

“A visionary statesman, courageous politician, having loyalty with India, demonstrated dexterity and good political common sense, called him the pillar of British Empire.”⁵⁰

Qalb-i-Abid is of the opinion:

“Sikandar’s 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.”⁵¹

Conclusion

Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan was a unique statesman who showed candid statesmanship, truthfulness and consideration for all those who were in trouble in Punjab province. In fact, his matchless leadership characteristics can be assessed from his personal relationship with British, his friends and politicians representing other communities; Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs. His idiosyncratic personality possessed political acumen, sincere professionalism, steadfastness with the purpose and exceptional generosity. As a politician, he had inexhaustible patience, spirit of tolerance, knack of turning enemies into friends, courteous temperament and refined humour. In short, Sikandar was one of the most charming personalities in the Punjab politics. Sikandar Hayat contributed significantly towards the unity, welfare and prosperity of various communities comprising Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs in Punjab. Sikandar became first Muslim Premier of the Punjab and remained a key player in Punjab politics. Sikandar Hayat Khan aptly managed the complexities of Punjabi traditional politics and also

developed close relations with the British as the Premier of Punjab while defending all communities in every critical and challenging situation. He not only tried to accommodate other political parties of Punjab but also improved their confidence at the time of different political turmoil. Sikandar Hayat Khan, as a Premier, set high goals and ideals which he wanted to achieve by connecting himself to the Unionist's principles. He was reconciliatory in his political approach, while skillfully utilizing his balancing political philosophy.

He concluded Sikandar-Jinnah Pact in 1937 which facilitated Muslim League's support for the Unionist Party in Punjab and this agreement also provided the opportunity to the Unionist Party members to join Muslim League as well. Sikandar Hayat Khan was, first Muslim Premier of Punjab in real sense and all important political developments met his approval. It cannot be denied that throughout his Premiership Sikandar Hayat Khan strove to render his services for his fellow beings, for marginalized population and to arouse political consciousness among the middle class in the province of Punjab. He was a brave soldier, shrewd politician and farsighted statesman. Besides this, his administrative abilities, balancing approach, sympathetic behaviour and patriotic enthusiasm also magnify his unique abilities as a political leader. In the history of Punjab politics, his contributions were well-known and it can be claimed that he was one of the most balanced political personality in British India. His works, political contributions, representation of all communities of Punjab province; efforts to make good relations with Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs were matchless in the ocean of time.

His death was a real drawback for the Unionists politics, communal harmony and for the British Government as well. Sikandar had flaws of his own being, a difficult person to rely on. However, he had remarkable achievements for Punjab as well as for India. He came face to face with many challenges and immense pressure from his Unionist colleagues at times. However, there were many probable weaknesses in his character, but he had great skills and for many years he kept various political mosaics together

delicately. He was non-Communal by disposition and outlook. He always followed his principle of reconciliation, tolerance and worked for the betterment of his province. He managed all the political affairs wisely and sagaciously. Hence, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan developed excellent parliamentary style of governance, proved himself as a model Premier and was matchless leader to knock inter-communal unity in Colonial Punjab.

Notes and References

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2. S.M. Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan, 1858-1951* (Lahore: Published by United Press, 1977), 251. See also, I.H. Malik., 11. For further details, see Lajpat Rai Nair, 6.
3. Mirza Muhammad Saeed Baig, *Hayat-i-Sikandar* (Lahore: Taj Company Limited, 1944), 19-20. Also see I.H. Malik., 11.
4. *Ibid.*, 20.
5. I.H. Malik., 11.
6. M. Saeed Baig., 20.
7. Lajpat Rai Niar., 7.
8. S.M. Ikram., 251.
9. After the death of Sikandar's father, he went to Aligarh where he studied at M.A.O. High School and College. Later on, he travelled to England for higher studies but he was unable to complete his studies. The sudden death of his elder brother; Ghairat Khan and infection in his own eyes compelled him to come back in India in July 1910 without any degree. See also Lajpat Rai Nair., 6-8. For

further details, see M. Saeed Baig., 20 and S. M. Ikram., 251. Also see, I.H. Malik., 11.

10. Lajpat Rai Niar., 8.
11. Har Dayal Singh (1884-1939), was the founder of the Ghadr Party (1913-1919), who was working as a Professor at the University of California in the United States. Initially the pacific coast Hindustan association was a club of Indian locals named Ghadr or mutiny. Mostly members of the party were Indian immigrants who belonged to the Punjab province. Ghadr Party was a reaction of Indian immigrants to the imperialistic behaviour regarding the settlement of Indians in various Western countries. For further detail, see I.H Malik., 18.
12. M. Saeed Baig., 13. Also see I. H. Malik., 18.
13. I. H. Malik., 11.
14. Lajpat Rai Niar., 10.
15. Ibid.
16. I. H. Malik., 12.
17. Lajpat Rai Niar., 23.
18. M. Saeed Baig., 24. For further details, see I. H. Malik., 12.
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20. S. M. Ikram., 251.
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24. I.H. Malik., 12. See also M. Saeed Baig., 23.

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26. Ibid., 14.
27. Ikram Ali Malik, *A Book of Readings on the History of the Punjab: 1799-1947* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1970), 465. Also see, Lajpat Rai Nair., 14.
28. Lajpat Rai Niar., 14.
29. Ibid., 25.
30. Waheed Ahmad, ed., *Diary and Notes of Mian Fazl-i-Husain* (Lahore: Research Society, 1977), 70. For details, see Lajpat Rai Nair., 15. See also, M. Saeed Baig., 43.
31. Lajpat Rai Niar., 15-16.
32. Ian Talbot., *Punjab and the Raj: 1849-1947* (Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 1988), 115. For more detail, see Lionel Carter, *Punjab Politics, 1940-1943: Strains of War, Governor's Fortnightly Reports and other Key Documents* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2005), 76. Also see, Khalid Shamsul Hasan., *The Punjab Muslim League and the Unionists: An Account Based on the Documents in the Shamsul Hasan Collection* (Karachi: Ushba Publishing International, 2005), 93.
33. Khalid Shamsul Hasan., 93-117. For further detail, see Lajpat Rai Niar., 16.
34. Lionel Carter, *Punjab Politics, 1940-1943: Strains of War, Governor's Fortnightly Reports and other Key Documents* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2005), Enclosure to no. 95. Government House, Lahore, January 11th, 1942. 290-291. Also cited by Khalid Shamsul Hasan., 118-119.
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36. Ibid.
37. S. Qalb-i-Abid and Massarrat Abid, *Punjab Politics: Dyarchy to Partition* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 2012), 240.

38. S.Qalb-i-Abid, *Muslim Politics in the Punjab, 1921-47* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1992), 204.
39. Sajjad Zaheer, *Light on the League-Unionist Conflict (Bombay: 1944)*, 21.
40. Ian Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj*, 123.
41. Ibid., 123-124. Also see, Talbot, *Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement*, 88-89.
42. Lajpat Rai Niar., 19-20.
43. Ibid., 23.
44. Penderel Moon, *Divide and Quit* (California University Press, 1962), 32-34. Also cited by Akhtar Husain Sandhu, "Sikandar-Baldev Singh Pact and its Impact on Muslim and Sikh Politics," *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, Vol.-49, July-December 2012, 178.
45. Lajpat Rai Niar., 24.
46. I. H. Malik, 84-85.
47. Hamza Alavi, "Misreading Partition Road Signs, Economic and Political Weekly", 37 no. 44/45 (Nov. 2-15, 2002): 4515-4517.
48. H. N. Mitra, ed., *The Indian Annual Register: An Annual Digest of Public Affairs, 1919-1947* (New Delhi: Gian Publishing House, 1990), 344-46 and Akhtar Sandhu, "Sikandar-Baldev Pact," 178.
49. Ian Talbot, *Khizr Tiwana: The Punjab Unionist Party and the Partition of India* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002), 113-115 and Penderel Moon, 38.
50. Sir Winston Churchill dropped a painful and sympathetic condolence message on the death of Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan saying; that he extends sincere sympathies for the irreparable loss and untimely death of a wise statesman, mature politician as well as brave leader of India who remained very loyal with the soil. According to Ashiq Husain Batalvi, the grieving family of Sikandar Hayat Khan received nearly 2000 condolence messages including;

Churchill and Amery. For details see, Ashiq Husain Batalvi, *Hamari Qaumi Jido-Jihd, 1940-42* (Lahore: 1975), 126 and Penderel Moon, 38.

51. S.Qalb-i-Abid, *Muslim Politics in the Punjab*, 261.