
Reimagining the Role of Punjab in the Pakistan Movement: Punjab Perspectives

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The role of Muslim majority provinces in general and that province of the Punjab in particular has often furnished an occasion for academic contestation in the historiography of South Asia. In the wider context, Punjab's role has been subjected to an uncritical acceptance of the existing scholarship that tends to deny any significant contribution from the Punjab in the struggle for decolonization. The scholarly grand narrative in this context is that the Punjab offered no resistance and chose to remain apolitical in the wake of foreign invasions and colonization. But historical documents furnish evidence to the contrary. Likewise, it is alleged that the Punjab turned pro-British during the colonial period, a claim, which needs critical inquiry. The same myth exists in some writings about Punjab which suggests that the province neither offered resistance to foreigners nor experienced anti-colonial feeling. It is further alleged that it took little or no part in any movement including the Pakistan movement until the 1945-1946 elections. But both the primary and secondary sources challenge the academic grand narrative of the Punjab being essentially detached from the discourse of resistance. This paper attempts to challenge the viewpoint particularly about the role of Muslims of the Punjab in the Pakistan movement, and will try to locate Punjab's due position in history in terms of its political awareness, resistance to foreigners and as springboard for freedom movements and therefore, colonial administration gradually decolonized its rule in India. Moreover, to disparage the Punjabi leaders and the role of Punjab in the Pakistan movement it has been suggested that leaders had predominantly political backgrounds joined the Muslim League either on the persuasion of the British just before the general elections of 1945-1946 or they turned opportunists before the creation of Pakistan. They had a premonition that the partition of India was in the offing and the creation of Pakistan had become inevitable where Punjab would be a key province. Therefore, this paper will try to understand the role of Punjab in the

Pakistan movement. It was due to Punjab's strategic role during the Pakistan movement that Muslim League won in the general elections of 1945-46, which forced the British government to agree to the establishment of Pakistan, indirectly through the Cabinet Mission Plan (1946) and, subsequently, directly in the 3rd June Plan (1947). This paper is divided into four parts: Struggle of Punjab before the Lahore Resolution; ii, Lahore Resolution and its impact on Punjab; iii, General elections of 1945-1946; iv, 3rd June Plan and its implementation.

Freedom Movement in Punjab

Allama Mohammad Iqbal proposed partition of India on the basis of two nation theory in his presidential address at Allahabad in 1930, when the First Round Table Conference was going on in London to revisit the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms 1919 and to put forth recommendations for new parliamentary and constitutional reforms.¹ Allama Iqbal categorically suggested that there should be a separate homeland for Indian Muslims and also pointed out the Muslim majority provinces where it could become a reality particularly in the Northwestern part of India including Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan and NWFP (now KP).

Round Table Conferences (1930-1932) failed to bring the two major parties at some kind of unanimous set of demands as they had agreed to in the Lucknow Pact 1916 but the RTCs produced two most significant changes: Communal Award and the Government of India Act 1935. Congress and the League had committed a blunder when they had rejected the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms in 1919 but they decided not to repeat that mistake and chose to utilize whatever positive traits were included in the 1935 Act particularly regarding provincial autonomy.

Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms had generated a number of new religio-political dimensions that further widened the gulf between Muslims and Hindus. Movements such as Shudhi, Sanghathan, Tabligh and Tanzeem in the decade of 1920s first recreated and then widened the Hindu-Muslim animosity. The political space created by the rejection of Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and boycott of the elections was filled up by the regional, provincial and religious parties such as the Unionists and the Hindu Mahasabha in Punjab. Unionist Party, though majorly Muslim was basically a secular party, and remained in power from 1923 on till 1947 in Punjab. Thus these were the main political challenges for Jinnah when he returned to India.

Jinnah, who was greatly disappointed by the Nehru Report (1928) and subsequently by the failure of the RTC to help address the Hindu-Muslim question, remained in self-imposed exile in London till 1934 until he was repeatedly invited and finally persuaded by Indian Muslim leaders to return and lead his nation in India. The Muslim League had no experience of contesting elections but part of its

provincial leadership, especially those who had contested elections, did get some credit for their work. Allama Iqbal's Allahabad address and ChRahmat Ali's coining of the term 'Pakistan' in the proposed territory of northwest of India had not gained much currency at the all-India level; however, in Punjab it was getting popularity. But Jinnah, being a true statesman believed that politics is art of possibilities and was in no mood in going straightaway for partition of India.

On his return to India Jinnah was elected the League's president in 1934 and he revised the party constitution at its 1936 annual session at Bombay. It was decided to participate in the upcoming elections and therefore the Parliamentary Board was set up to coordinate its electioneering.² To marshal his political forces and to enlist support from the provincial leaders Jinnah decided to visit Bengal and Punjab, two main Muslim-majority provinces. On basis of his past relationship with Sir Mian Fazl-i-Husain, he came to Punjab in April 1936 to seek the support from Unionists and other quarters. First he met Fazl-i-Husain to pursue the Unionist Muslims to contest the election on the League's ticket³ but Fazal-i-Husain considered it harmful for the Muslims of the Punjab and remained firm on his stand to contest elections in the name of the Unionist Party only.⁴ However, Jinnah reorganized the Punjab Muslim League under the presidency of Dr. Allama Mohammad Iqbal.⁵ He announced the formation of Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board on 21st May 1936.⁶ It had eleven members from Punjab Muslim League, four from Majli-e-Ahrar and three from Ithad-i-Milat.⁷ Cracks soon began to appear in this coalition.⁸ Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, the leader of the Ithad-i-Milat party resigned from the Board in June along with three of his prominent supporters,⁹ the reason which they gave for leaving the Board was their belief in complete independence, and Muslim League had not yet adopted that as its creed.¹⁰ Batalvi said, they wanted to fight the election on the grounds of Shaheed Gunj incident.¹¹ Ahrar also resigned from the Board, and the cause of their resentment was the condition of five hundred rupees fees for the candidates who were to be selected for contesting the election.¹²

The Unionist Party rendered numerous community services across color, creed and religion that earned them good name as a secular political party. It had included Muslim electable and electorally eligible people in the party and thus Muslim League had little chance of success in Punjab without the Unionists' support.¹³ Political situation of Punjab changed overnight when Mian Fazl-i-Husain passed away in 1936¹⁴ and Sikandar Hayat was appointed his successor,¹⁵ however, it did not change the overall position of the Unionist Party.

Election 1937

The elections under the 1935 Act were held from 20th December 1936 to the end of January 1937. Ahrar and Ithad-i-Milat won 2 seats each while the largest

number of Muslim seats went to Unionist party. In the general constituencies Unionists won 12 seats and also won two seats of Indian Christians and one Labor seat.¹⁶ Malik Barkat Ali (1886-1946) and Raja Ghazanfar Ali (1895-1963), won their seats from the Muslim League platform. Under the Government of India Act 1935 that enshrined provincial autonomy, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, head of the Unionist party formed the cabinet in April 1937.¹⁷ Unionist Party's success is described mainly because of its performance, support of the administration, *Pirs*, peasants and rural elite. Of course the below average performance of the Muslim League and the Congress was because of their absence from Punjab politics since 1919.¹⁸

The Congress party won a great victory in the election and formed governments, directly or indirectly, in eight provinces. But their performance in the Muslim electorates remained just average and above all in Punjab they were disappointed the most as they won only two Muslim seats.¹⁹ To allay the impression that the Congress was a Hindu body Jawaharlal Nehru launched a Mass Contact Movement. When fearing that their ministries were at stake because of the Mass contact movement, the premiers of two of the largest Muslim-majority Bengal and Punjab decided to seek help from Jinnah and the League. Muslim League met at Lucknow in October 1937, for its reorganization,²⁰ Sikandar Hayat attended the meeting and concluded the "Sikandar Jinnah Pact", between the League and the Unionists, which proved a turning point in the Pakistan Movement.²¹

As a result of this pact the Muslim League accepted the autonomy of Unionist party in the provincial matters and the Sikandar Hayat agreed to be led by Jinnah in All-India affairs.²² Sikandar also agreed to advise all those Muslim members of his party, who were not yet members of the League, to join it and therefore become subject to its discipline.²³

Lahore Resolution

Much has been written on the causes and the effects of the Lahore Resolution²⁴ but such writings have hardly tried to explore why Jinnah selected Punjab and specifically Lahore as the venue for a historic meeting of the Muslim League where the demand for Pakistan was to be approved.²⁵ The importance of the Punjab as a province has had been of a key province in the history of India but in the Allahabad Address and then ChRahmat Ali's term of Pakistan, the letter 'P' which stands at the beginning, represents Punjab. Without Punjab the demand for a separate Muslim homeland was meaningless. After Sikandar-Jinnah Pact the Unionist coalition government indirectly was under the command of the Muslim League leadership. Punjab was the main province which was supporting war efforts of the British in the Second World War. The city of Lahore, the heart of Punjab, where all political leaders could easily come and participate but Sikandar Hayat was not willing to cooperate with the decision to hold Muslim League's annual session in Lahore.²⁶

Sikandar came up with the 7-zones scheme of confederation instead of the partition plan that was supposed to draft the Lahore Resolution. It is also alleged that Sikandar Hayat engineered the incident of killing on 21 March 1940 in Lahore when a number of Khaksar workers were shot dead by the British magistrate.²⁷ Sikandar Hayat failed to show much enthusiasm in organizing the meeting of All India Muslim League for its annual session from 22-24 March, at Lahore. Despite all these, Jinnah showed resilience and the meeting was held on 22-24 March 1940. However, annual session was held in Lahore and Muslim League demanded a separate homeland for the Indian Muslims on the basis of two nation theory.²⁸ Very next day the Hindu newspapers declared the Lahore Resolution as the 'demand for Pakistan' and the same was accepted by Muslim League and Muslims of India.

Once the Muslim League came up with clear-cut program and agenda its Punjab branch worked day and night to popularize the demand for Pakistan. But Sikandar Hayat was in a state of doldrums as his own party leaders including Sir Chhotu Ram were extremely displeased with the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact and now following the demand for Pakistan his party leaders wanted Sikandar to take a clear stand either for or against the Lahore Resolution. Though Sikandar signed a pact with Sikhs known as Sikandar-Baldev Pact in 1942 but Sikhs also showed their reservation about the demand for Pakistan, rather came up with their own idea of a Sikh state in Punjab. Sikandar remained unclear till his death not only about his approach towards the Pakistan demand but also whether to support the British policy during Second World War or to observe discipline of the Muslim League party. He resigned from the Defence Council as Jinnah had asked him to do.²⁹ Therefore, he never showed excitement about the demand for Pakistan rather tried to restrict its activities till his death on December 26th, 1942.³⁰ To succeed him Bertrand Glancy (Governor) appointed Sir Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana, for premiership.³¹

It was the charisma of Jinnah and the attraction of creating a Muslim state in India which were making the demand for Pakistan extremely popular but Khizar Hayat was showing no sign whether he was for or against the demand for Pakistan. By June 1943 disagreement and debate over the interpretation of Jinnah-Sikandar Pact started between Khizar and Mamdot, the Muslim League representative in Punjab. Jinnah himself came to Punjab to resolve the differences.³² Issue started when the question of forming Muslim League party in the Punjab Assembly was decided in the League's council meeting on March 7th 1943 at Delhi while Khizar Hayat Khan objected to the establishment of a League party in the Assembly. He said it was contrary to the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact but promised to reorganize the party at grassroots level.³³ Jinnah-Khizar talks took place in March 1944, but proved fruitless.³⁴ Consequently Khizar was expelled from the Muslim League.³⁵ Lord Wavell was also responsible for the failure of the Jinnah-Khizar talks because he

wanted to retain the secular character of the Unionist Party and also did not want Jinnah to meddle in a provincial matter.³⁶ Muslim League stepped up its rural propaganda after the breakdown of Khizar-Jinnah talks.³⁷

Elections of 1945-1946

Sikandar Hayat has observed that how after the Lahore Resolution Jinnah not only mobilized and organized the interest groups including women, students, workers, peasants, laborers, traders, industrialists, writers and others but also toured Punjab for number of times to invigorate the passion for Pakistan movement.³⁸ The Unionist party was strong in the countryside so to strengthen Muslim League in the rural areas was need of the hour.³⁹ Muslim League Assembly party had 27 members in Punjab which included representatives of leading landlord families such as Noon, Daultana and Shaukat Hayat.⁴⁰ They played an important role in taking the Pakistan message to the rural masses in the summer of 1944.⁴¹ To spread that message Muslim League conferences were held at Montgomery (Sahiwal), Jhang, Sialkot and Rawalpindi which attracted large audiences.⁴² Primary League branches were established in such rural areas as Sargodha and Mianwali.⁴³

As the Pakistan movement got momentum, the British administration and Congress tried to sidetrack it by putting forth alternative proposals to settle Hindu-Muslim question. Cripps proposals of 1942, Rajgopalachari Formula of 1944, Gandhi-Jinnah talks in 1944 and Wavell Plan, 1945,⁴⁴ were such attempts to sideline the demand for Pakistan.⁴⁵

After the failure of the Simla Conference in 1945 it was decided to hold elections in India. The Congress and Muslim League focused on their party manifestos and agendas which were clear because League stood for Pakistan while the Congress for a united India's full freedom.⁴⁶ As happens before the elections, political leaders like to join those parties which they feel have become popular with the people. Therefore, Punjab League like other political parties in India welcomed those who agreed with its program.⁴⁷ Most of these conversions were genuine and at the personal cost of risking official displeasure, however, a few of them were opportunistic in response to mounting pressures from the public at large.⁴⁸ The Punjab League had become very active, meetings were held under eminent Leaguers like Iftikhar Mamdot, Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan⁴⁹, Mumtaz Daultana, Ghazanfar Ali Khan and others.⁵⁰ They warned the Muslims that if Pakistan was refused they would come under the permanent Hindu domination and tyranny.⁵¹ They denounced the Unionist Party frequently.⁵²

The Unionists, Hindu Mahasabha, Congress and the Sikhs felt that the League's popularity graph had increased enormously in the coming elections and were worried about the League's coming victory. They used those nationalist

Muslims parties-Ahrar and Khaksars and political leaders particularly religious clerics including Maulan Azad, Syed Ata-ullah Bukhari and Hussain Ahmad Madni, who were against the demand for Pakistan. They addressed the Muslims of Punjab and advocated the benefits of united India. The Unionist Government used all means to harass League workers and voters. It used the entire administration particularly Magistrates, *Zaildars* and *Numberdars* for intimidation of voters. But all these proved counterproductive as far as the wave of Pakistan movement in Punjab was concerned.

Results and Impact

Polling was held between 1st and 15th February 1946 and the complete results were declared by 23 February 1946. Despite all the tactics of opposition parties League won 75 out of 86 Muslims seats.⁵³ The election results revealed Muslim League's rapid advance and the Unionist Party was reduced to a leftover of 18 members in the 175 member strong assembly.⁵⁴ The results showed that Punjab was completely divided on a communal basis. The Unionist had lost the status of significant political organization.⁵⁵ But election results were satisfactory from the Muslim League point of view because the League's victory paved the way for Pakistan.⁵⁶

Pathway to Pakistan: Unionist-Congress Coalition Government

Jinnah expected that Glancy would invite the leader of Muslim League to form the ministry but called Mamdot instead on 6th March 1946 to disappoint him.⁵⁷ He did not agree with Mamdot's claim that he commanded 90 members of the assembly.⁵⁸ League and Alkalis explored the possibility of forming a Coalition ministry but it was not possible because the difference in opinion was serious mainly on the League's demand for Pakistan.⁵⁹ The objective of the third important force, Congress, was preventing the Punjab League from forming the ministry.⁶⁰ Glancy and Khizar both were the other staunch opponents of League, and its Pakistan scheme. Indian unity was dearest to Glancy; he believed that putting League into power would mean destroying Indian unity and accelerating the process of establishment of Pakistan.⁶¹

Unionist-Congress-Alkali Coalition ministry was formed on 6th March 1946 when outgoing Unionist premier Sir Khizar Tiwana was invited once again to lead the Government. It was a major political setback for the Punjab Muslim League. It was the largest single party in the Assembly and obviously felt deprived and cheated.⁶² Dishonesty of the Governor made the League's leadership furious. It was taken very seriously by the League's high command.⁶³ There were mock funerals in Amritsar and the burning of Khizar's effigy in Ferozepur which set the pattern for civil disobedience against the coalition government.⁶⁴

Punjab League Civil Disobedience Movement

Unionist-Congress-Alkali Coalition ministry was in office only in order to keep the League out of power and to retain equilibrium among Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs but it failed to suppress and uproot the Pakistan movement.⁶⁵ Even at time, when most important constitutional matters such as Cabinet Mission plan, the formation of Interim Government and Constitutional Assembly were being discussed, Khizar Tiwana decided to spend his summer abroad.⁶⁶ That session provided a chance to Muslim Leaguers to chide and taunt the Unionist Muslims as traitors.⁶⁷ Thus, by January 1947 a civil disobedience movement was launched against the Unionist Coalition.⁶⁸ This movement succeeded in compelling the Coalition ministry to offer resignation and Tiwana resigned on 2nd March 1947.⁶⁹

On 24th January 1947 Muslim League National Guards (MLNG) and Rashtriya Sawayam Sewak Sangh (R.S.S.S.) were declared unlawful bodies and a search of the Guard's Headquarters was ordered which was raided by the police and seven Punjab League leaders were arrested for resisting the police from carrying out a search of the MLNG Headquarters. Although, the Hindu (R.S.S.S) was also banned but practically no action was taken against it. The banning of League's National Guard sparked further unrest in protest against the Governor's attitude towards Punjab League.⁷⁰ The arrested leaders were Mian Iftikhar Husain Mamdot, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Mian Shah Nawaz, Firoze Khan Noon and Amir Husain. The news of these arrests spread like a wildfire, and led to strikes, demonstrations and disturbances throughout Punjab. Students of Islamia College, Lahore staged a wild demonstration, about a dozen of them climbed on the roof of a prison van, which was moving through a milling crowd, and latter defied the ban on processions. Demonstrations and processions were arranged in Lahore, Ludhiana Jullundur, Multan and Gujrat. Women's section of the League also provided its services in the protest.⁷¹ At last, premier after full consultation with his colleagues issued a statement on 23 January 1947 to withdraw ban on R.S.S.S and MLNG, but refused to remove the ban on public meetings and processions. The Muslim agitation in Punjab overshadowed all other matters in the country. The news about this movement was carried in almost all the newspapers and journals of the country.⁷² Press ban was put on all the news of agitation other than government communiqués. Every district of Punjab was affected, but Lahore remained the main centre.⁷³ The civil disobedience movement continued to grow further and as a result British troops were called out to help the police in February 1947.⁷⁴ The situation not only perturbed Government of Punjab but also the central British government.⁷⁵ Consequently, on 26th February 1947 the British Government announced to transfer power by June 1948. Although, Muslim League was happy to get rid of Khizar ministry but it could not succeed in gaining power in Punjab before partition. Muslim League leaders made several attempts to establish League

government but Jenkins refused due to the expected opposition of Hindus and Sikhs. He feared that there would be outbreak of civil war in Punjab;⁷⁶ therefore he enforced Governor's Rule under Section 93 in the province.⁷⁷

Conclusion

The Punjab enjoyed a pivotal position in the scheme for Pakistan because of its geo-strategic, historic, economic and political dimensions. Allama Iqbal and ChRahmat Ali had given the idea of Pakistan but the Pakistan movement did not take off until the Lahore Resolution was passed in 1940. Jinnah, in fact, reorganized the All India Muslim League in 1936-37 elections. He was unsuccessful in persuading the provincial Muslim leaders to contest elections from the platform of the Muslim League, for the Muslim leaders of the Muslim majority provinces had established their own parties and chose to contest elections independent of Muslim League. Another important reason was the introduction of the principle of weightage in the Communal Award of 1932 which had decreased the Muslim majority into minority in two out of four Muslim majority provinces of the Punjab and Bengal. Though Hindus and Sikhs got more share to their population in Punjab administration, still a sense of deprivation in the minorities particularly the Sikhs in Punjab increased; and they started demanding a Sikh state within the province of Punjab as the Pakistan movement got momentum after the Lahore Resolution. But to counter the League and the demand for Pakistan the Punjab Congress planned a concerted propaganda drive.⁷⁸ Sikh Akali and Hindu Nationalist joined hands with the Congress to oppose the demand for Pakistan and demanded division of India on the communal basis. The Muslims in the Unionist Party, Majlis-i-Ahrar, Khaksar Movement and Nationalists tried to widen their appeal against the demand for Pakistan.⁷⁹ Above all, the British administration used all means to keep Jinnah and his demand for Pakistan out of Punjab politics. But as a charismatic leader Jinnah organized and mobilized the various interest groups including, women, students, industrialists, traders, peasants, labor, etc., in the Muslim society to spread the message of Pakistan.⁸⁰ Consequently, Jinnah's popularity and demand for Pakistan gained currency in the Punjab at grassroots level as well as in the rest of India. It was not a sudden wave of political conversion during the general elections of 1945-46 which actually changed the political dimensions of the Pakistan movement because in 1943 the Muslim League had already formed its separate group of 27 members in Punjab Assembly. This changed political landscape in the Punjab posed a serious challenge for the established political elite in the Punjab. Therefore, some of these political elite joined the Muslim League on the eve of establishment of Pakistan but sizeable political elite still remained loyal to the Unionist party and became a part of Unionist, Congress, Akali Coalition ministry and opposed to the demand for Pakistan till the partition of India in 1947. At the top of it was the massive popularity of the Pakistan movement in India which ensued after the Lahore Resolution, for

that matter Jinnah also welcomed those politicians who once had been against the demand for Pakistan. However, the non-Muslims whether the Hindus or the Sikhs launched blistering movement for the division of Punjab on the communal basis and had militarily organized themselves; therefore, the civil war on the eve of partition was anticipated that made Mountbatten, the last Viceroy of India, to speed up the transfer of power to the Indians.⁸¹In the 3rd June Plan, the British administration announced the partition of India along with the division of Punjab and Bengal. In short, historical documents clearly verify that Punjab remained an abode of various resistance movements against the colonial administration that forced the British administration to divide and quit India in 1947. But the province of Punjab had to pay incalculable price for freedom, for it was divided and bled on the basis of two nation theory as well. It caused brutal violence, massive migration and forced dislocation on both sides of the border, which left undying feeling of hatred and enmity between India and Pakistan.

Notes and References

¹The Congress Party in its annual session in Lahore in 1929-1930 had demanded complete independence because of the British Government's refusal to entertain the Nehru Report as a consensual draft of demands from all Indian national parties.

²For details on the leadership qualities and the role of Jinnah in the Pakistan movement see: Sikandar Hayat, *Charismatic Leader: Jinnah and the creation of Pakistan* (Karachi : Oxford University press, 2016)

³Azim Husain, *Fazl-i- Husain: A Political Biography*, London: Longman Green & Co.Ltd.1946, P.137.

⁴Nur Ahmad, *Martial Law Say Martial Law Tak* (Lahore: DarulKitab, 1965), 179.

⁵Aashiq Husain Batalvi, *Iqbal key aakhri Dou Saal*, Lahore: Sang-i-Meel Publications; 2012, no 4.

P. 292.

⁶NasreenKosar, *The History of Punjab Muslim League, 1947-1955*, Lahore: M.Phil. thesis, Department of History University of the Punjab, 2009, pp. 1-205

⁷Aashiq Husain Batalvi, *Iqbal key aakhri Dou Saal*, Lahore: Sang-i-Meel Publications; 2012, pp. 300-301

⁸The positive outcome of Jinnah's visit of Punjab was that that he secured the support of Ahrar⁸ and Ithad-i-Milat⁸ in the forthcoming election that also proved short-lived due to multiple reasons.

⁹Ian Talbot, *Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement: The Growth of the Muslim League in North West and North West and North East India 1937-47*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1988,p. 108.

¹⁰Azim Husain, *Fazl-i- Husain: A Political Biography*, London: Longman Green & Co.Ltd.1946, p. 79.

¹¹ M.A. Ispahani, *Quaid-i-Azam as I knew Him*, Karachi: Royal Book Company 1966, p. 54.

¹²Aashiq Husain Batalvi, *Iqbal key aakhri Dou Saal*, Lahore: Sang-i-Meel Publications; 2012, p. 27.

¹³Azim Husain, *Fazl-i- Husain: A Political Biography*, London: Longman Green & Co.Ltd.1946, pp. 75-83.

¹⁴The Punjab Muslim League Parliamentary Board was formed to draw its rules and regulation. Azim Husain, *Fazl-i- Husain: A Political Biography*, London: Longman Green & Co.Ltd.1946, p. 303.

¹⁵ Upon Fazli's death rifts in the ranks of the Unionist party appeared. Reportedly Fazal's relations with Sikandar, Daultana and others had worsened and intrigue against him, may be, became one of the causes of his death. Ibid., 312.

¹⁶The results of Muslim seats were as follows: Muslim League 2, Congress 2, Unionist 78, Ahrar 2, Ithad-i-Milat 2, Independent 3 (total

89). Azim Husain, *Fazl-i- Husain: A Political Biography*, London: Longman Green & Co.Ltd.1946. PP. 90-93.

¹⁷ Azim Husain, *Fazl-i- Husain: A Political Biography*, London: Longman Green & Co.Ltd.1946, p. 93

¹⁸ Zahid Chaudhri, *Pakistan Ki Siyasyi Tarikh Muslim Punjab Ka Siyasyi Irtiqa*, 5 (Lahore: Idara-i-Mutalia-i-Tarikh, 1991), p. 214

¹⁹ Muhammad Iqbal Chawla, "Picture of Muslim Politics in India Before Wavell's Viceroyalty." *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, Jan – June 2008, pp. 75-135

²⁰ Rafi-Ullah-Shahab, *The Political History of Pakistan*, Lahore: Dost Association, 1995, p. 122.

²¹ Iftikhar Haider Malik, *Sikandar Hayat Khan (1892-1942) A Political Biography*, Islamabad :NIHCR, 1985, p. 122.

²² Ian Talbot, *Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1988, p 89.

²³ Ian Talbot, *Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1988, p. 122.

²⁴ A critical analysis of the Lahore Resolution can be found in the book written by Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan*. Lahore: Sang-e-meel Publications, 1990.

²⁵ Sikandar Hayat, "Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah and the Demand for a separate Muslim State: Lahore Resolution Reappraised." *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* 24 (Oct. 1987): 1-44.

²⁶ M.A. Ispahani, *Quaid-i-Azam as I knew Him*, Karachi: Royal Book Company 1966, p. 54.

²⁷ Husain Azim, *Fazl-i- Husain: A Political Biography*, London: Longman Green & Co.Ltd.1946, PP. 113-114

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ian Talbot, *Khizar Tiwana, the Punjab Unionist Party and the Partition of India*, Oxford: Oxford Unionist Press, 2002, pp. 121-122.

³⁰ Iftikhar Haider Malik, *Sikandar Hayat Khan 1892-1942: A Political Biography*. Islamabad : National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1985, p. 104.

³¹ The Punjab League leader Nawab Iftikhar Mamdot also wished to be appointed as Chief Minister but Governor violated constitutional procedures by refusing to consult with the League, the largest political party in Punjab. Qalb-i-Abid. *Muslim Politics in the Punjab 1921- 1947*, Lahore: Vanguard Publishers; 1992, p. 276.

³² Nawab Shah Nawaz of Mamdot passed away on 8th March 1942 and his son Nawab Iftikhar Husain Khan of Mamdot was elected President. Afzal, *Malik Barkat Ali*, 59.

³³ But on failing to do so, Khizar faced tremendous pressure to form the Muslim League Assembly party in Punjab when third anniversary of the Pakistan Resolution was held.

Abid, *Muslim Politics*, 276.

³⁴ For details see Mohammed IqbalChawla, “Wavell and Muslim Politics in Punjab-Expulsion of Khizar Hayat Tiwana from the Muslim League (1944)”, *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, 46, January-June 2009

³⁵ SharifuddinPirzada, ed., *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah Correspondence*, Karachi: East & West 1977, p. 179.

³⁶ Mohammed IqbalChawla, “Wavell and Muslim Politics in Punjab-Expulsion of Khizar Hayat Tiwana from the Muslim League (1944)”, *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, 46 (January-June 2009), p. 158

³⁷ Ian Talbot, *Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1988, p. 122

³⁸ Sikandar Hayat, *Aspects of the Pakistan Movement*. Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 1991.

³⁹ Ian Talbot, *Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1988, p. 122, 95.

⁴⁰ Pakistan conference at Lahore held in March 1941. It was presided over by Jinnah where a Pakistan Propaganda Committee was formed whose task was to tour village’s enlightened to spreads the message of Pakistan movement. Ian Talbot, *Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1988, p190.

⁴¹ Ian Talbot, *Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1988), p.94

⁴² Ikram Ali Malik, *A Book of Readings on the History of the Punjab: 1799-1947*. Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, University of the Punjab, 1985, pp. 576-577.

⁴³ Ian Talbot, *Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 94-95.

⁴⁴ Muhammad IqbalChawla, *Punjab Politics and the Wavell Plan: A Note of Critical Reappraisal*, Journal of Punjab Studies, Vol. 14, No, 1, Spring 2007.

⁴⁵ Muhammad IqbalChawla, *Wavell and the Dying Days of the Raj*, Karachi: Oxford University Press; 2011.

⁴⁶ RaghuvendraTanwar, *Politics of Sharing Power: The Punjab Unionist Party*, New Delhi: Manohar Publishers: 1999, p. 175.

⁴⁷ Unlike the 1936-37 elections the League succeeded in gaining the support of Pirs and SajjadaNashins for the forthcoming elections. They had influential status and strong grip on the rural masses. Asif Ali Rizvi, “Polity of Last Election in the British Punjab”, *Pakistan Vision*, 1 (January, 2000), 10 -11.

⁴⁸ The 21 August announcement for general elections necessitated realignment of the

loyalties. Many leaders of different dispositions reframed their political opinion and overnight became staunch Leaguers. Ian Talbot, *Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1988), p96.

⁴⁹Sumaira Naz, *Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan: His Life and Times, 1915-1998*, Lahore: M.Phil. thesis, Department of History University of the Punjab, 2011, pp. 1-123

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ For details see: Sirdar Shaukat Hayat Khan, *The Nation that Lost its Soul: Memoirs of a Freedom Fighter*. Lahore: Sange-Meel Publications, 1995.

⁵² Ikram Ali Malik, *A Book of Readings on the History of the Punjab: 1799-1947*. Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, University of the Punjab, 1985, p 582.

⁵³ Husain Azim, *Fazl-i- Husain: A Political Biography*, London: Longman Green & Co.Ltd.1946, PP. 150-153.

⁵⁴ Ian Talbot, *Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement: The Growth of the Muslim League in North West and North West and North East India 1937-47*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1988, p.255.

⁵⁵ Husain Azim, *Fazl-i- Husain: A Political Biography*, London: Longman Green & Co.Ltd.1946, P. 156.

⁵⁶ Khalid Bin Sayeed, *Politics in Pakistan: The Nature and Direction of Change* (New York: Praeger Publisher, 1980). 15.

⁵⁷ Hamayyon Adeeab, *Punjab aur Mamdot*, (Lahore: Society Box, 1987), 243.

⁵⁸ Qalb-i-Abid. *Muslim Politics in the Punjab 1921- 1947*, Lahore: Vanguard Publishers; 1992, p. 301.

⁵⁹ Grewal. J.S., *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, London: Cambridge University Press: 2008.

⁶⁰ Raghuvendra Tanwar, *Politics of Sharing Power: The Punjab Unionist Party*, New Delhi: Manohar Publishers: 1999, p. 184.

⁶¹ Asima Naureen, *Punjab Under The Governorship of Bertrand Glancy: 8th April 1941-7th April 1946*, Lahore: M.Phil. thesis, Department of History University of the Punjab, 2009, pp. 1-120

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⁶² Raghuvendra Tanwar, *Politics of Sharing Power: The Punjab Unionist Party*, New Delhi: Manohar Publishers: 1999, p. 185.

⁶³ Liaquat Ali Khan warned of grave consequences if a non-Muslim League ministry was installed but he also said, "Our main goal is Pakistan, not only a ministry; we could sacrifice thousand ministries for the achievement of Pakistan." *Nawa-i-Waqat*, 8 March, 1946.

⁶⁴ In protest Punjab Muslim League observed a mass "hartal" on 7 March, traitor's day was organized on 9 March. In Lahore chanted slogan "Sardar Khizar Singh Murdabad" and "Qaum dha Chor Khizar "Murdabad." Ayesha Jalal, *Self and Sovereignty*, Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 2007, p. 470.

⁶⁵The new ministry took oath on 11th March 1946. Apart from Khizar Hayat as premier, the ministry included, BhimSenSachar, Congress (Finance), SardarBaldev Singh, Alkali (Development) ChaudhriLehri Singh, Congress (Public works), NawabMuzaffer Ali Khan Qizilbash, Unionist (Revenue), Mohammad Ibrahim Barq, Unionist (Health and Education). IanTalbot, *KhizrTiwana: The Punjab Unionist Party and the Partition of India*, London: Curzon Publications: 1996, p. 199.

⁶⁶Qalb-i-Abid. *Muslim Politics in the Punjab 1921- 1947*, Lahore: Vanguard Publishers; 1992, p. 303.

⁶⁷ Husain Azim, *Fazl-i- Husain: A Political Biography*, London: Longman Green & Co.Ltd.1946, P. 158.

⁶⁸Pendral Moon, *Divide and Quit*, London: Chatto&Vindus, 1946, p. 34.

⁶⁹The first incident to spark the situation was enforcement of Section 144 by Punjab Government on the polling day to affect the supporters of the League candidate in by-elections of Dera Ghazi Khan. Punjab Muslim League committee met under the presidentship of IftikharMamdot to protest against this. Another incident that added fuel to the fire was the arrest of 60 members of the Punjab Muslim League and 29 volunteers of Muslim League National Guards under the “Public Safety Ordinance “on 7th January 1947. Riaz Ahmad, “Muslim Punjab Fight for Pakistan: League’s Agitation against the Coalition Ministry of Sir Khizer Hayat Khan Tiwana,” *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*: XXVII (January-June 2002), 3.

⁷⁰Qalb-i-Abid. *Muslim Politics in the Punjab 1921- 1947*, Lahore: Vanguard Publishers; 1992, pp. 317-318.

⁷¹Riaz Ahmad, “Fight for Pakistan,” 3-4.

⁷²*Disturbance in the Punjab: 1947 A Compilations of Official Document*, “Sir Even Jenkins to Lord Pethick-Lawrance, 8 February 1947,” Islamabad: Government of Pakistan, 1995, p. 48.

⁷³Ibid., “ Jenkins to Lord Wavell,” 3 Feb. 1947, 45.

⁷⁴Riaz Ahmad, “Fight for Pakistan,” 5.

⁷⁵Rashid Ali Khan a prominent leader of Muslim League was arrested with other 65 members who led a huge procession. 74 Muslim League members out of 79 were in jail and 13,000 workers of League in jails. Demonstrations took a serious turn.

⁷⁶ For details see: M. IqbalChwla “Mountbatten’s Response to the Communal Rights in the Punajb: 20 March to 15 August 1947: An Overview” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, August 2016, pp. 1- 24

⁷⁷*Nawa-i-Waqat*, 1st April, 1947.

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹ DavidGilmartin, “*Religious Leadership and Pakistan Movement in Punjab*”, Modern Asian Studies, London: Cambridge University Press, 1979, Vol. 13, No. 3.

⁸⁰ Sikandar Hayat, *The Charismatic Leader: Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008

⁸¹ Muhammad IqbalChawla, "Mountbatten's Response to the Communal Rights in the Punjab: 20 March to 15 August 1947: An Overview" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, August 2016, pp. 1- 24