

ELECTORAL POLITICS IN COLONIAL PUNJAB: THE UNIONIST PARTY IN THE ELECTIONS OF 1936-1937

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The Unionist Party was in a dominant position in the 1936-1937 elections in the Punjab. Conventional political and religious parties like *Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam*, *Khaksar Tehrik*, *Hindu Mahasabha*, and *Akali Dal* had dominated the political developments in the province. Unionist Party emerged in 1923 on the political landscape of Punjab at Lahore. It was established ostensibly to have a secular character with pledges to safeguard the interest of the Punjabi communities. The party professed an agriculture ethos, making it effective and influential in the native community. It promised in its election manifesto for the development of rural areas and uplift the deteriorating conditions of the common masses. The Unionist Party's top organizers were Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, Sir Fazl-i-Husain and Sir Chhotu Ram.

Keywords: Colonial Punjab, Politics, Unionist Party, Electoral Politics, Manifesto.

Introduction

Punjab was the Muslim majority province stretching from Delhi to Indus River. It had great significance in the history of the Subcontinent because of its socio-economic and geo-political status. During the colonial rule and before the emergence of the Unionist Party, the political scene in Punjab was dominated by parties like *Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam*, *Khaksar Tehrik*, *Hindu Mahasabha*, and *Akali Dal* and they enjoyed considerable support in their respective strongholds. The emergence of the Unionist Party in Punjab in 1923, under the leadership of Fazl-i-Husain (1877-1936 C.E.) obviously changed the prevailing status quo. Its other leaders included Sikandar Hayat (1892-1942 C.E.) and Chhotu Ram (1881-1945

C.E.). It pledged to pursue a secular agenda, and to struggle for the development of rural areas and agriculture sector. The Government of India Act 1935, provided for provincial autonomy and initiated a new phase of electoral politics in the Subcontinent. In the Elections of 1936-37, the Unionist Party secured 138 seats out of total 175 in Punjab. It was an incredible attempt to demonstrate the popularity and the following the Unionist Party had come to muster since its inception.

Punjab¹ was a Muslim majority province. It is still prominent for its agrarian economy, festivals and saints. Punjab had its importance in Indian history because of its socio-economic and geo-political position.² The Punjab lies at the gateway of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent. The word 'Punjab' derived from two Persian words *Punj* (five), *aab* (water), literally means the land of five waters or five rivers which include Ravi, Jhelum, Chenab, Beas and Sutlej. The province had enjoyed a major significance in the history of the Subcontinent for being the meeting place of different people and cultures. It has a great geo-political importance because of its location. Geographically, four natural regions distinguished it. The Indo-Gangetic plain lay in the east,³ the Himalayan division in the north,⁴ the Sub-Himalayan area in the centre,⁵ and North-West dry area in the West.⁶ The total area of the British Punjab in 1921 was 99,486 miles.⁷ In 1921, the Muslims constituted 50.6 per cent of the population, (i.e. 12,955,141) the Hindus 35.7 per cent (9,125,202) and the Sikhs 12.1 per cent (3,110,060).⁸

Unionist Party and the election pattern:

During the colonial era, the Indian Subcontinent had a multiple-party system at national and regional levels. Beside the mainstream political parties Indian National Congress (INC) and All India Muslim League (AIML) the regional political parties like *Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam*, *Khaksar Tehrik*, *Hindu Mahasabha*, and *Shiromani Akali Dal* (SAD) enjoyed considerable following among the masses and influenced the developments of politics in the Punjab.

In 1919, British Colonial Administration introduced Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms which led to the formation of the Punjab Legislative Council and inspired and motivated renowned political figures⁹ like Sir Sikandar Hayat, Sir Fazl-i-Husain and Sir Chhotu Ram to establish a political party in the Punjab.

After its establishment, the Unionist Party pledged to improve the life and working conditions of peasant classes, other sections and groups

existing in rural areas of the Punjab. It also vowed to stop the manipulation of moneylenders and to bail people out of their clutches as well as to improve the living standards in rural areas by opening rural dispensaries, primary and secondary schools, cooperative societies, veterinary dispensaries, and *panchayati* network.¹⁰

With much emphasis on ethos of community associated with agriculture, its leadership worked diligently for the progress and development in rural areas. Since its leadership consisted of people belonging to Punjab's landed gentry, the Unionist Party took care of the interests of feudal class while making its forays into electoral politics. It also remained committed to the British for their own socio-political and economic interests.

Sir Fazl-i-Husain with the support of 32 Muslim members from rural alliance in the first Provincial Council of the Punjab completed the formation of his party. The reason was that majority was affiliated to the rural community.¹¹ The British in the Punjab had a strategic plan to prolong their administration and for that they started to reconcile and strengthen their relations with opulent classes. Those who formed the Unionist Party enjoyed the British support, the land-owning gentry. The poverty-stricken masses had a weak educational background thus lacking political consciousness. Besides, the AIML was yet to make its presence felt in the regional political affairs of the Punjab. The Unionist Party emerged in Punjab and proved its strength throughout the Province. It created a sufficient space to adjust conveniently in the regional politics.

Aims and Objectives of the Unionist Party

Drawing the manifesto of the Unionist Party in 1923, Fazl-i-Husain and Chhotu Ram had initially agreed certain terms and objectives.

These were *inter alia*:

One of the important aims and objectives was to struggle for the attainment of dominion status within the British Commonwealth of Nations by constitutional means as early as possible.

Unionist demanded the identical and equal political opportunities for the locals besides other Indians in government administration, business and political representation. They called for early political reforms, which would be more beneficial for the local communities.

The party committed itself to provide the people opportunities to

help improve the life of suppressed strata, and to enhance the efforts to develop the illiterate and backward classes and regions by enabling them to have access to modern facilities of life and services. Another objective was to help evolve a rational formula regarding provincial taxes and revenues and its sharing between agrarian and poor segments. It also called for an unbiased and fair representation of all factions in the public and services sectors of the province. The charter of the party also provided for a check on the manipulation of fiscally retrograde classes by economically strong sections of society. It emphasised on the promotion of indigenous industries by encouraging the use of *Swadeshi* articles and commodities. Decentralization was also emphasised to ensure growth of local self-governing institutions. Abhorring litigation, strong administration was stressed to help suppress corruption and bribery. It called for moderate approach towards "Punjab Land Alienation Act" to protect the backward classes.¹²

Creed of the Party

The creed of the Party was *Nationalism* as distinguished from Communalism, Sectarianism, Communism and Socialism. It laid stress on the development of national self-respect lawfully and constitutionally; with the provision of equivalent and identical services and opportunities for the retrograde classes and parts of the Province. It worked on the promotion and protection of the interest of people without excessive intrusion on the benefits of entrepreneur classes, feudal and moneyed people. The party intended to reconstruct and reorganise the agricultural and industrial life of the Province economically and commercially. The party had in view rural uplift by infusing the real and enlightened spirit of village community and making every village a unit of true social and national life. Furthermore, it efficiently encouraged the security of pure administration and the reduction of cost consistently. They demanded the distribution of taxes fairly and equitably. The party raised voice to secure funds for promoting and developing beneficent activities. A great emphasis was made on the protection of the religious culture and social integrity of each community with a check to see that one community might not dominate another. The party worked on the infusion of the spirit of mutual goodwill, co-operation and toleration and thus to prevent religious, communal or social difference and disputes. The members sought to work out the reforms, despite their being unsatisfactory and imperfect, and to make strenuous efforts to obtain positive outcomes.¹³

Fazl-i-Husain and Chhotu Ram were encouraged whole-heartedly by the British establishment for the unification of the rural community. During the 1921-1929, the money lending thrived as a lucrative industry than the enrichment of agricultural sector. Owing to the monopoly of the money-lenders, the landowners wanted effective implementation of Alienation of the Land Act 1900, to control the transfer of the land ownership in the Province of the Punjab. Sir Fazl-i-Husain not only considered these issues but also included them in the Party manifesto. It was on the bases of these tactics, that they were able to gain support of the rural legislative members.¹⁴

In Punjab, the regional political parties like Unionist, *Shiromani Akali Dal*,¹⁵ *Kirti Kisan Party*¹⁶, *Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam*,¹⁷ and *Khaksar Movement*¹⁸ etc. were mainly focusing on the rural areas instead of urban. Congress and Muslim League were denoted as national political parties. During this period, such local rural parties appeared as the tangible threat for the Unionist Party.

The Government of India Act 1935 and the Unionist Party

The Government of India Act, 1935, led to a new phase in Indian politics.¹⁹ It provided for two-tier governing structure at federal level and amenable governments in the Indian provinces having three lists of subjects like Federal, Provincial and Concurrent. Each province was to have a Council of Ministers, responsible to the provincial legislature.²⁰ It also introduced a constitution that provided for a political structure in which autonomous units, consisting of governor's provinces, chief commissioner's provinces and the acceding princely states, would be integrated into a federal framework. The governor-general was given unrestricted powers in defence and external affairs. The central executive was to operate on a diarchic basis, and only "transferred departments were to be responsible to the federal legislature".²¹

Six provinces administered by the Governors, including the Punjab, were given full provincial autonomy. Diarchy system was abolished and full powers vested with the Council of Ministers that was responsible for legislation. The Governor remained the titular head of the province.²² According to the G.O.I. Act of 1935, there were reserved seats for women, landholders, scheduled castes, Muslims, Sikhs and general seats. Eighteen seats were also reserved for special groups, such as landowners, smaller groups like Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians, and other functional groups, such as commerce, labour and university graduates.²³

According to the Government of India Act 1935, the eligible criteria for the voters were: Landowners paying five rupees' tax per annum, peasants with six acres irrigated land and 12 acres' arid land and villagers paying eight rupees tax.²⁴ According to this formulation 1/10 population of the Punjab was eligible to cast vote in the elections.²⁵

According to the provisions of the 1919 Act, only 7,45,000 Punjabi communities were able to exercise their right of vote. The British Government enhanced the franchise in the Government of India Act 1935 and more than 2,000,000 individuals became eligible to vote. The people who got the right of vote mostly belonged to different sections of society such as landlords, small farmers, municipals voters and the common people of the rural community.²⁶

The Unionist Party and 1937 Elections

On April 1, 1936, Fazl-i-Husain formally inaugurated the party headquarters at Lahore 14-C, Davis Road, and announced the elections manifesto of the Unionist party. In order to manage a successful election campaign, following steps were recommended by the central committee of the party:

A committee on economic affairs was set up to suggest necessary changes in provincial taxation system in order to implement the economic programme of the party. An election cell was set up to provide information to candidates individually. A district-wise plan was sorted out to win the largest number of seats by adopting modern methods. A detailed scheme was drawn to organize the workers at tehsil level. Workers were chosen to mobilize the election campaign from district to tehsils and village level. A plan was chalked out to organize the party branches in cities, towns and tehsils headquarters. Workers were sent to districts with handouts. It was decided that all the branches in villages, towns, and cities were to work under the general supervision and direction of the party headquarters at Lahore.²⁷

A committee was also constituted to deal with the Press. Monthly subsidies were given to press to publish pamphlets and leaflets to propagate the party agenda on modern lines nationwide. The *Eastern Times* and *Inqilab* were supporting the Unionist party. Moreover, Rs.50,000²⁸ were spent on the inauguration of the party headquarters.

Fazl-i-Husain stood for the prosperity, elimination of communal conflict and contention among the different communities in the Punjab. He desired to boost-up common people as his son Azim Husain claimed

that "The aim of Fazl-i-Husain was that there should be no one ruling class, but the leaders should arise from among the common people and not be confined to the aristocracy, the upper middle and middle class".²⁹ Fazl-i-Husain open-heartedly admitted, "in spite of the existence of the Unionist Party for over twelve years, he found the party towards the end destitute of first rate Muslim leaders".³⁰ He wanted to establish a peoples' political party but his sudden death ended his mission. Particularly, "the factional rivalries among the landlords of Multan, Jhang, Muzaffargarh and Dera Ghazi Khan districts frustrated his efforts to create Unionist district branches there".³¹

The Unionist Party accepted and enthusiastically welcomed the reforms introduced under the Government of Indian Act of 1935. The Congress and Muslim League were not completely in favour of the reforms introduced under the Act. When the Act was introduced, the Unionist Party re-organized and revised its aims and objectives.³² The party also renamed itself as the Punjab Unionist Party or *Ittihad* Party.³³ Fazl-i-Husain announced a detailed programme before the provincial elections of 1936-1937. The main purpose behind the plan was that how to combat the other political parties like Muslim League and the Congress in Punjab. The Party's organizational structure was based on a five-tier system.³⁴

The Central Committee had its headquarters at 14-C Davis Road, Lahore. Its members were elected through a certain procedure. It contained two members, nominated from each tehsil and city committee (total strength of the committee was limited to 30 members). The Central Committee had a tenure of three years and consisted of President Fazl-i-Husain, Vice-President Chhotu Ram and one of the General Secretaries was Ahmad Yar Khan Daultana. Sardar Habibullah, Maulvi Ghulam Mahmood were Drafting and Propaganda Secretaries. Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz was appointed as Office Secretary. Until June 1936, the Party collected a fund of Rs. 50,000 through different resources.³⁵ The district level Committee consisted of two members from each tehsil, city and village committees and five members were taken from various groups like labour, etc. the district committee had one president, more than one vice president, one secretary and assistant secretary and a treasurer who were chosen for the period of three years. The committees at tehsil level had two members from each zail committee. The zail committees were formed on similar course with one member from each village. The city committee was formed on the same pattern with one member from wards and *mohallas*. Committee members were elected

for a period of three years, while the small towns and villages communities could enrol any individual as a member above the age of 21.³⁶

In the election held at Lahore; special attention was paid for propagation through the Press. The election manifesto prepared chiefly by Sir Chhotu Ram deliberately stressed on issues like: Attainment of dominion status by constitutional means for Indians living overseas and securing an honourable status for them, provincial autonomy for Punjab, economic criteria as the basis for forming political parties, equal facility and opportunity for all, with special consideration for backward classes and rural areas.³⁷

The Unionist Party leadership was conscious of the socio-political imperatives and the native communities of the Punjab. They understood the fact that the people of the Punjab could be won over by appeals to religion, caste and regionalism. So, the Unionist leadership proceeded to gain support of leading *pirs* and other socio-religious leaders. Majority of such *pirs* comprising those of Golra, Tonsa, Jalapur etc. came under the umbrella of Unionist Party.³⁸ On the same pattern, the party leadership tried their to retain the goodwill of the leading landholding families like Qizilbash's of Lahore, Hayat's of Wah etc. These families played a crucial role in the electoral victory for the Unionist Party. The Unionist Party also received reasonable support from the non-Muslim peasant communities of the Punjab.

Compared to the hard work and strategies of the Unionist Party, the Congress and the Muslim League were in a much weaker position in the rural areas despite their hard work to infiltrate in the rural areas of the Punjab. However, the Muslim League and the Congress conducted their election campaign with great zeal and challenged the popularity of the Unionist Party but could not produce favourable impact.

The Unionist Party had strong position than rival political parties in 1936-1937 elections in the Punjab province. The Muslim League leader, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, established a central Parliamentary Board in May, before the elections to make the position of his party strong. The Board comprised 11 members from the Punjab drawn from *Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam* and *Ittihad-e-Millat* parties. The League position became vulnerable in the Punjab in June 1936, when both *Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam* and *Ittihad-e-Millat* parties members resigned from the Muslim League Board. At the same time, as compared to Unionist Party, the Congress too had a weak position in the politics of the rural areas of the Punjab province, in spite of its network of primary branches throughout the province.

Besides, Indian National Congress established Punjab Parliamentary Board to launch socio-political propaganda. The regional non-Muslim Parties Hindu Nationalist Party and *Akali Sikhs* agreed to collaborate with the Congress. Most of the leaders in the Punjab contested election not out of any commitment with the programme of the Unionist Party but simply to secure victory to perpetuate their traditional, social and religious influence. After gaining victory in the election, they joined the Unionist Party. A number of contestants received votes based on *biradarism*.³⁹ The Muslim spiritual and religious leaders supported the Unionist Party. The Unionist Party secured 98 seats out of 175; the other political parties secured the seats as follows:

Election Results⁴⁰

Party	Number of Seats
Punjab Unionist Party	98
Indian National Congress	19
Muslim League	02
Khalsa National Party	13
Hindu Mahasabha	12
S. Akali Dal	11
Majlis-i-Ahrar	02
Ittihad-e-Millat	02
Independents	16

In 1937 elections, Unionist Party set an example of a splendid victory, which was matchless in history. The British Government seemed to be rejoicing on the Unionists success. Sikandar Hayat became strongest Chief Minister of the Punjab by securing 120 seats out of 175 in the Punjab Assembly, under the Act of 1935 and retained a robust pro-government ministry in the Punjab.⁴¹ Sir Sikandar Hayat was the first Premier of the Punjab. According to M.A.H. Ispahani initially he wanted to provide safe place for his ministry to avoid the Congress influence.⁴² To release the pressure of Congress, Sikandar joined hands with the Quaid-i-Azam. According to Kirpal Singh, Sikandar's considerate attitude with the Muslim League "greatly enhanced the power and prestige of that party."⁴³ The understanding consolidated the hands of the Premier but it paved the way for the League to make inroads into the power base of the Unionist government. Sikandar's famous Pact with Jinnah of

October 1937 was an attempt to take the Muslim League effectually under the Unionist subordination. However, its outcome was contrary to what Sikandar thought. Owing to that in October 1937, in the Muslim League's annual session at Lucknow, Jinnah-Sikandar Pact was approved, which later had far-reaching consequences. The main understanding under the pact was:

1. Muslim League and Unionist mutually decided to support each other nation-wide.
2. The premier of the Punjab also decided that the Unionist members of the Assembly would join the Muslim League.
3. Both parties agreed on the admission of the provincial and central board of the League.
4. The Parliamentary Board of the Province was also reorganised.
5. The League decided to have no issue with the rule of Unionist Party.⁴⁴

The prominent leader and co-founder of the Unionist Party, Chhotu Ram did not favour the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact and believed it was an immense mistake.⁴⁵ According to him, it would be fruitful for the League instead of the Unionist Party. In reality, the understanding demonstrated a vital blow to the standing of the Unionist Party and entailed advantages for the Muslim League in the coming years.

The British government in Punjab had succeeded in producing a communal class of trust worthy supporters of the British among the *Punjabi* Muslims, (represented by the Unionist Party) as well as Sikhs and the followers of *Hindu Mahasabha*.⁴⁶ These sections firmly believed that the prosperity and welfare of their communities /groups they represent depended upon the British rule.

Moreover, Amarjit Singh in his book *Punjab Divided, Politics of the Muslim League* says that the Punjab Muslim League met with an immense obstacle of its history in 1937's elections.⁴⁷ Unionist Party gained massive victory in the elections of 1936-1937. Mr Jinnah was a less known man in the Punjab until the Lahore Resolution in 1940. The League's decision to participate in the regional politics was a turning point in the history of the Indian Muslims that enabled it to permeate among the masses. The Unionists intended to outwit the Muslim League but became a victim of their own tactics.

The works of Drs. Tahir Kamran, Ian Talbot, David Gilmartin and Qalb-i-Abid etc. mention the political and social activities of Unionist

Party of Punjab. National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, Pakistan, also published selected record relating to Unionist Party which is an authentic resource to identify the political activities and strategies of Unionist leadership. In fact, they explored the feudal approaches of its hegemonic members. The contributions of landlords, feudal strata and *sajadah nashins* in pro-Unionist politics of Punjab are also discussed in detail. The comparative analysis of these primary and secondary resources is helpful to draw key findings of Unionist's 'Model' of politics in British Punjab.

Conclusion

The Unionist Party of the Punjab was established as a pro-British political group. The landlord and feudal stratum joined it for their own socio-political and economic interests. Unionist Party continued to hold its political sway in the Province until the emergence of the Muslim League after the former's victory in the elections of 1937. The on-going foray of the Muslim League in Punjab politics was a major setback that led to the decline of the Unionist Party. Historically, the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact added to the weakness of the Unionist Party. It was a wrong political decision on the part of the Unionists who wanted to humble the League but received the opposite results. The hefty turnout of voters in these elections shocked the *status quo* Party, and ultimately Muslim League received a heavy mandate. During elections, the performance of the Unionist Party was also not commendable and could not convince its voters, while the voters also wanted to assess the different 'Muslim League'. British administration was also in favour of Unionist Party because of its feudalistic hegemony. Overall, Unionist Party gave a tough time and countered well the Muslim League in 1937 elections.

Notes and References

1. The British annexed Punjab in their territory in 1849.
2. Muhammad Khurshid, "The Role of Landlords and Pirs in the Punjab Politics and its After effects." *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* XXXI, 2 (April 1994), pp. 45-60.
3. The area stretching from Gujranwala to Gurgaon with cities of Lahore and Amritsar.
4. Comprising hill states of Simla, Chamba, etc.

5. The area stretching from Attock to Hoshiarpur.
6. The area stretching from Mianwali in the north, Montgomery (now names Sahiwal) in the west and Dera Ghazi Khan in the south.
7. Including Punjab states, the area of Punjab was 136,905 sq. miles. *Census of India 1921*, Vol. XV, Punjab and Delhi, p. 25
8. Of the remaining 2 per cent, the Christians comprised the largest number, the rest being Jains, Buddhists, Parsis and Jews, *Census of India 1921*, Vol. XV, Punjab and Delhi, pp. 87-90, 172.
9. The prominent leader and landlords in the Punjab, under the Act of 1919 were given vast powers in their specified areas and rural community which designated as honorary magistrate, local magistrate, extra assistant commissioner etc. The British wanted to rule on the rural community through their own landlords and local landowners.
10. Azim Hussain, *Fazl-i-Husain: A Political Biography*, London, Longman Green & Company, 1946, p. 153.
11. Raghuvendra Tanwar, *Politics of Sharing Power the Punjab Unionist party 1923-1947*, New Delhi, Manohar Publications, 1999. p. 50.
12. Azim Husain, *Fazl-i-Husain: A Political Biography*. p. 154-155.
13. Letter dated 23 January 1936 from S. Din to Fazl-i-Husain.
14. *Report of the Punjab Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee 1929-30* (Lahore: Govt. of India, Central Publication Branch, 1930). 10
15. The Sikh Gurdwara Act, 1925 was passed placing all the Sikh gurdwara under the management of a Sikh Central Board known as the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandak Committee (SGPC), comprising 175 members, claimed as its moral right and duty the control of the Golden Temple and all Sikh shrines in the Punjab. The Akali *jathas* (headed by a *jathedar*), bands of Sikh volunteers who called themselves Akalis (immortal soldiers). The SGPC decided to bring these independent *jathas* under its wing. In December 1920, the SGPC sanctioned the formation of the Shiromani Akali Dal. The chief function of the Shiromani Akali Dal was to maintain a register of the membership of the *jathas* that subordinate to it and to convey instruction from SGPC to the *jathas* at the local levels.
16. The Kirti Kisan Party formed in April 1928 was a communist and revolutionary party whose objective was to "liberate the working class from bourgeois and capitalistic ideology". It drew support from former *Ghadrites* and Akali Sikhs and it sought to organize the Sikh cultivators of the districts of the central Punjab on issue of payment of taxes and land revenue. The communist Kirti Kisans were active in the Sikh districts of central Punjab.
17. The *Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam* (also referred to as the Ahrars) or the Ahrar Party, was established in 1929 with the avowed aim of creating an Islamic State within the Subcontinent that would manage its affairs in accordance with Islamic dictates of Life. It was party framed partly under the impact of the October Revolution of Russia (1917) and the communist ideas that it had disseminated.
18. Inayatullah Mashriqi founded *Tehrik-i-Khaksar* in April 1930 at Lahore. Its first regular contingent put up a disciplined parade, followed by the parade of its trained Lahore contingent on February 14, 1932. Mashriqi wanted to unite all the variegated forces, organize them into small groups who would render socio-political services without being violent, bring about an inter-communal unity, that would be able to dismantle British rule.

19. Safdar Mahmood, *Pakistan Political Roots & Development 1947-1999*, Karachi, OUP, 2000, p. 14.
20. Reginald Coupland, *India: A Re-Statement*, London, OUP, 1945, p. 113.
21. Reginald Coupland, *The Indian Problem, 1833-193*, London, OUP, 1964, pp. 134-135.
22. Tan Tai Yong, *The Garrison State, The Military, Government and Society in Colonial Punjab, 1849-1947*, New Delhi, Sage Publications, 2005, p. 273.
23. Kirpal Chand Yadav, *Elections in the Punjab, 1920-47*, New Delhi, Manohar Publications, 1987, p. 17.
24. Ian Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj 1849-1947*, p. 96.
25. File No. 9/1/33- R & K.W. and 9/7/33-R & K.W. Reforms Office, National Archive of India.
26. File No. 9/1/33-R & K.W. Reforms Office, National Archive of India.
27. The central committee was organizing under the chairmanship of Ahmad Yar Khan Daultana, while Sardar Habibullah, Maulvi Ghulam Muhy-ud-Din, Syed Afzal Ali Hasni and Shah Nawaz of Mamdot held other important offices. Iftikhar Haider Malik, *Sikandar Hayat Khan: A Political Biography*, p. 40.
28. Chhotu Ram and Fazl-i-Husain paid Rs. 3,000 each towards the fund. Other Unionists contributed from Rs. 1000 to Rs. 5,000. Fazl-i-Husain also approached Aga Khan, who agreed to contribute Rs. 20,000. Early in July 1936, his agents sent Rs. 10,000 to Fazl-i-Husain that was half of the promised grant. On Fazl-i-Husain's death, the same month, amount was claimed back. Madan Gopal. 90. See for details *Inqilab*, Newspaper, Lahore, National Museum Library Lahore, Pakistan, May 23, 1936.
29. Azim Husain, *Fazl-i-Husain: A Political Biography*. p. 317.
30. *Ibid*, p. 318.
31. Ian Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj 1849-1947*, p. 106.
32. *The Constitution, Aims and Objectives of the Unionist Party* (Urdu) (Lahore, 1936), was published on the eve of the 1937 Legislative Assembly elections, in the form of a small booklet. The document was the first and only such document published by the party. It was to serve the purpose of the election manifesto, a broad outline of organizational hierarchy, policies, programme, objectives, etc. But essentially and more importantly it was an effort by the Unionist to follow the democratic tradition wherein political parties are expected to make policy statement to seek support from the electorate.
33. The Punjab Unionist Party was also known as the Ittihad Party, but in common and more usual practise it came always to be known as the Zamindara League Party or simple as the Zamindara Party. For reference to Ittihad Party. *ibid*. 1
34. *Ibid*. p. 2.
35. Tanwer, *Politics of Sharing Power: The Punjab Unionist Party 1923-1947*. p. 92
36. *The Constitution, Aims and Objectives of the Unionist Party*. p. 6.
37. *Ibid*. pp. 15-18.
38. Waheed Ahmad (ed.), *Letters of Mian Fazl-i-Husain*, (Lahore: The Research Society of Pakistan, 1976). p. 592.
39. Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj 1849-1947*, p. 108.
40. Shamaila Younas, "Party Politics in the British Punjab: A Study of the Punjab Unionist Party 1923-1937". *International Journal of History and Social Sciences*. vol. IV (2013), p. 76.

41. Sikandar Hayat, *The Charismatic Leader Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah*, Karachi, OUP, 2008, p. 45.
42. *The Civil and Military Gazette* (Lahore), 15 July 1937.
43. Kirpal Singh, *The Partition of the Punjab*, 2nd ed., Patiala, Punjab University, 1989, p. 14.
44. Ashique Hussain Batalvi, *Iqbal Kay Aakhri Do Saal* [Urdu], Lahore: Sang-i-Meel Publications, 1989, pp. 492-494.
45. Governor to Viceroy, Oct, 1937, L/P&J/5/138, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, Pakistan.
46. S. Qalb-i-Abid, *Muslim Politics in the Punjab, 1921-1947*, Lahore, Vanguard, 1992, p. 178.
47. Amarjit Singh, *Punjab Divided, Politics of the Muslim League and Partition 1935-47*, New Delhi, Kanishka Publishers, 2001, p. 57.